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HIS MAJESTY KING GEORGE V

At the time of going to press the serious illness of His Majesty is causing the gravest anxiety.

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THE INTERNATIONAL REVIEW OF MISSIONS

A MISSIONARY SURVEY OF THE YEAR 1928

INTRODUCTION

A MISSIONARY survey of the year 1928 may well begin with a reference to the meeting of the International Missionary Council at Jerusalem in March and April. The months that have passed since the delegates left the Mount of Olives have in an increasing and cumulative measure shown the immense significance of the gathering. The meeting itself was of a sufficiently remarkable character to arrest the attention of much of the world's press, but that aspect of the matter has been fully described and is not the most important. It is becoming clear that both missionary work in every part of the world, and the thought of the Church in the ' sending countries ' are being profoundly affected by what happened at Jerusalem.

Some aspects of the meeting which have had and are yet to have wide influence must be taken into account in a survey of the missionary year 1928. First, the unity reached regarding the Christian message has been fraught with great good. It showed that conservative and liberal were nearer together than many of either group had ever believed. It gave the task of evangelism in relation to the non-Christian religions a new tone of sympathy and respect which yet derogated nothing from the absolute claims of the Gospel. It called attention to a fact, not new but largely unrealized—the emergence all over the world of secularism

as an alternative to Christianity. The tasks implicit in the statement on the Christian message, tasks evangelistic and apologetic, for the thinker and the preacher, are claiming and must claim the ablest minds of Christendom.

Next, the work of religious education has been thrown into prominence; the resources of educational science, too much neglected even now, were revealed; so also was the kinship between what the best teachers want and what Christianity declares about life. The improvement of the religious education given in home and Church, as well as in school and college, stands out as a task within the power of the missionary movement, and one which brooks no delay.

Thirdly, the Christian world mission has been seen related to the great secular problems of modern life. Questions concerning race, industry, the life of the rural communities—all have been shown to have a claim on the Christian conscience. One result has been a new interest in the missionary enterprise on the part of many who had completely disregarded it.

In the fourth place, what to many has been the most important aspect of the meeting was the prominence assumed by the younger Churches and the new emphasis given to the fellowship in which foreign mission and indigenous Church can and must carry on their common work. The issues bound up with this fact are numerous and difficult, but they must be faced. Organization, finance, the recruiting of missionaries, the training of both missionary and national workers—these and many other points have begun to assume an added importance and urgency.

The Editors of this Review are happy in being in touch with the manifold working out of the results of that great meeting at Jerusalem, and they are bound in honesty to begin their survey with a note of confidence and thanksgiving. No one could maintain contact with the extraordinarily varied and living activities which have come out of those days on the Mount of Olives without experiencing a sense of Divine care and guidance in the whole movement.

I. THE JAPANESE EMPIRE

JAPAN

THE first general election in Japan on a universal manhood suffrage took place in February 1928, from which the Government and the Opposition emerged with an almost equal number of members, thus giving what was virtually a casting vote to the labour and independent members. Since the election, however, at least half of the Opposition has formed a new independent party, with strong government leanings. During the session a petition for women's suffrage was presented to the Diet and received support from members of all parties. Adjournment, however, preceded the introduction of the proposed bills. Shortly after the new Diet was formed, a raid was made by the Government on individuals and societies known to hold, or suspected of holding, communistic beliefs, resulting in hundreds of arrests and the disbanding of three labour organizations. Many students were among those arrested. Knowledge of the widespread nature of communist activities seriously disturbed the authorities who, fearing trouble at or preceding the enthronement of the Emperor (an impressive ceremony, duly and happily carried through in November), issued in June an Imperial Ordinance making leaders of communist activities liable to a death penalty or to a long term of imprisonment. While this setting aside of ordinary legislative procedure in favour of an edict has aroused some criticism, public opinion does not appear to be against the terms of the Ordinance. Meanwhile, so Mr Toyohiko Kagawa maintains, the disbanded societies still exist under various disguises and are indefatigable in spreading their doctrines. In addition to adopting stern repressive measures, the Government, believing that a prevailing irreligious attitude of mind was the cause of undesirable political theories and activities, sanctioned the erection in Tokyo of a gigantic statue of Kwannon—the Buddhist Goddess of

Mercy—with a view to turning the minds of the people towards religion, the motive being wholly utilitarian.

It is obvious that a secularist spirit is abroad in Japan, and a comparison of the methods taken by the civil and by the religious leaders to meet the situation is enlightening. Leaders of the three main religions followed in Japan—Buddhism, Christianity and Shinto—called representatives to a 'Three Religions Conference' in Tokyo in June. The membership was 1660, being roughly one-third Buddhist, one-tenth Christian and one-sixth Shinto. Since the remainder, classified as 'others' (largely government officials), numbered nearly forty per cent of those attending the conference, it seems to point to a genuine interest in religion on the part of many who have not officially allied themselves with either of the three. The subjects discussed were religious education, social reform, the trend of contemporary thought and international peace. The Christians present, though a small minority, exerted a great influence. The conference emphasized the need for religious revival to combat the drift towards secularism, and expressed the opinion that men of all religions should support the League of Nations. It desired the creation of a religious department in normal schools, the giving of a greater place to religion in school text-books, and in the curriculum generally, and the creation by the Education Department of a Council of Religious Education. The future will show how much of practical value will result from the conference.

At the annual meeting of the National Christian Council in 1927 the Minister of Education assured his audience that the Government wished 'to respect to the utmost the freedom and self-government of religious bodies,' and indicated that there was no intention of presenting a Religions Bill on any such lines as that of 1927. The year 1928 has therefore been unclouded by fear of official restrictions on liberty of belief or worship. It is reported, however, that another Religions Bill is contemplated. The Government has now removed the restriction against the use

of school buildings in certain circumstances for religious purposes out of school hours.

The Department of Education has raised to the rank of a college the nurses' school in connexion with St Luke's International Hospital, Tokyo (under the Protestant Episcopal Mission), the first school of nursing in Japan to receive this distinction. The Kwansai Gakuin (for women), founded at Kobe in 1875, has attained to university grade, one of only three such institutions in Japan. The influence of the remarkable mission in the Doshisha University (Congregational), held in 1927, which led to the baptism of hundreds of the students, has continued and deepened. The atmosphere in the whole university and school is changed, and the chief missioner is now a member of the staff.

The Sei Ko Kwai New Life Hall in Tokyo, from which newspaper evangelism is carried on, still, after four years' work, receives about one hundred applications for further instruction for every article published. As a result of the correspondence course in religion, recently developed, there have been a number of baptisms. Some seven other bodies also, missionary societies, carry on newspaper evangelism, and an association has been formed of those engaged in this work by which comity is observed in regard to the use of papers. That there is an increase in the study of the Bible may be inferred from the enlarged circulation reported by the Bible Societies.

Political relations with China were greatly strained by a clash between forces of the two nations in Shantung in the spring. Feeling ran high on both sides, and a boycott of Japanese goods was established in China during the summer. Negotiations for a settlement were set on foot later in the year, and were expected to lead to a satisfactory settlement, as Japan greatly desires friendship with China.

With the ratification by the Japanese Government of the Geneva Opium Convention of 1925, a sufficiency of ratifications was obtained to put its provisions into force.

Japan was represented by nine members (of whom six

were Japanese) at the Jerusalem meeting of the International Missionary Council, and on their return a conference was held in Tokyo under the auspices of the National Christian Council, to receive their report, and to consider its future policy in the evangelization of Japan. The conference issued a message to the Christians and Churches of the empire, stressing the need for a greater measure of unity among Christians as an essential for prosecuting the work of the Church; it was also decided to launch a united evangelistic campaign throughout Japan. The Federation of Christian Missions held a separate meeting later, to receive and discuss reports of the Jerusalem meeting, more from the point of view of the missions.

FORMOSA

Formosa has been under Japanese rule for thirty-three years. Everywhere peace and security prevail; travelling is comfortable; electric lighting and a pure water supply are available; elementary schools have been erected in all parts. The new rulers have not, however, gained the heart of the people. The nationalist spirit, which has swept like a tidal wave over China, has had its effect on Formosa, and the consciousness of oneness with their kinsfolk in China has been greatly quickened.

The attempt to enforce attendance of all school children at the Shinto shrines and the refusal of Christian missionaries to allow their pupils to attend the ceremonies still remains an unsolved problem. Apart from institutions supervised by missionaries, attendance by children of Christian parents is probably not uncommon.

The nationalist spirit has its repercussions within the Formosan Church, which, though it has had all the forms of self-government for over thirty years, yet for long has depended largely on the advice of missionaries. But the Church has within the last two or three years been making valiant efforts to organize its own affairs, and Formosan

ordained pastors connected with the English Presbyterian Mission have doubled in the last two years. In their desire to become self-supporting, the leaders often tend to neglect the weaker congregations, and hesitate to break new ground or attempt aggressive evangelism. Much time is spent on committee work of all kinds, and there is a tendency to split up into factions, each working for its own ends. About three years ago there was reason to hope for a united theological college for the whole island, but now this project is shelved for an indefinite period.

Nowhere in non-Christian lands can evangelism be carried on with more freedom. In view of this fact progress is disappointingly slow, the annual increase in communicant membership for the island being only three to four hundred. Work among the Japanese immigrants, who now number about two hundred thousand, is carried on exclusively by the Japanese themselves.

Formosa was represented by one (foreign) delegate at the Jerusalem meeting.

KOREA

The depressed condition of trade and agriculture still causes much anxiety to all concerned with the well-being of Korea. There is great poverty both within and without the Church, seriously affecting church life and the maintenance of services. Although agricultural returns show an increase of produce, large quantities of the rice grown is exported to Japan, the rural population subsisting on coarser and less nourishing grain. Many farms are mortgaged to Japanese, and owing to foreclosures are constantly passing out of Korean ownership.

Complaint is still rife that Koreans have little place in public institutions or in civil administration, the higher posts being occupied by Japanese, while only such posts as that of village headman or county magistrate fall to Koreans. Poverty, unrest, and at the same time the increasing ease of communication and transport, are leading to steady

emigration, chiefly to Manchuria, but also to other parts of China and to Japan.

At the request of Korean Christian leaders, a survey of the economic, social and religious conditions of rural Korea was made in 1927 by Dr E. de Schweinitz Brunner and published among the preliminary papers of the Jerusalem meeting of the International Missionary Council, and a conference was held during 1928 on the rural problems of the Church. Four Koreans and two foreigners represented Korea at Jerusalem, and the National Christian Council met in September to receive their report of the meeting.

A statement prepared by a leading Korean Christian early in 1928 points out the need for a closer relation between the Church and the practical life of the people, especially the younger generation, of to-day, and summarizes the needs of Korea thus : A spiritual awakening, food for the mind in the shape of Christian literature, a better qualified ministry,[1] scientific methods of religious education, industrial education, church unity and an increase in professionally-qualified missionaries.

The question of whether schools should be registered with the Government, or be satisfied with designation only, is still to the fore with a number of the mission schools. The Sunday School Association is paying increased attention to the training of teachers, and the daily vacation Bible school system is being steadily adopted.

The Federal Council of Missions issued in 1928 the first *Korea Missions Year Book*.[2]

A step forward in the direction of physical health is being taken by the Methodist Episcopal Church, which has been able through generous gifts to build an up-to-date tuberculosis sanatorium for Koreans near Haiju. The social centre at Seoul continues to prosecute welfare work among women and children.

[1] The Roman Catholic Church reports that 251 Korean youths are engaged in a twenty-year course of preparation for the priesthood.

[2] See review, p. 151.

II. CHINA

THE dominating facts in China during the past year have been concerned with the gradual extension of the power of the Southern Government over the whole of China. Peking was occupied by the Southern troops in June. The Northern troops withdrew into Manchuria, and the death of Chang Tso-lin probably sealed the final failure of the Northern Government to contest the authority of Nanking over China. The Nanking Government has before it the gigantic task of consolidating its authority over the country. Occasional communistic outrages as at Canton, Swa-bue and elsewhere show that their task is not easy, but the new Government, composed of five councils (executive, legislative, judicial, examination and control), with the government council presided over by Chang Kai-shek, contains practically all the generals who hold power in important areas of China. There is general agreement that better prospects for the establishment and consolidation of settled government exist now than have appeared likely at any time in the recent past. A group of American financiers has been invited by the Nationalist Government to act as advisers in certain works of reconstruction. If the Nationalist party can refrain from internal dissensions, its prospects are distinctly hopeful. The newly constituted Central Bank of China was opened in Shanghai in November.

Chinese relations with foreign powers are also approaching stability. A settlement of the question connected with the Nanking disturbances in March 1927 has been arrived at with both the United States and Great Britain. Tension between China and Japan was for some time greater than between China and the western powers, Japan having actively asserted herself in Shantung with resulting conflict between Japanese and Chinese troops, but at the close of the year negotiations between the two nations were on foot. China had also concluded treaties with the United States, Norway and Belgium, and was negotiating with other

countries. It is probable that when the unification of China under a single government has been accomplished, followed by the inevitable recognition of that government by the powers, and the appearance of its representative at Geneva, that the League of Nations may play an important part in the stabilizing of Chinese relations with foreign powers. An encouraging feature of the situation is that the anti-foreign agitation has almost completely spent itself, except to a limited extent in the case of the Japanese, the boycott of Japanese goods being still continued in some places.

Among the non-political troubles with which China has had to deal have been banditry, famine, which is expected to reign throughout the winter in the northern provinces (see article by Walter H. Mallory in the Review for October 1928), and the Moslem rising in Kansu, reported to have resulted in the massacre of 200,000 Chinese.

Of the religious outlook in China it is naturally difficult to speak, for the troubled state of the country has made regular observation virtually impossible. The Nationalist movement has influenced Christian work in three chief ways: property has been destroyed in places, and organized work stopped and a few Christians, both Chinese and missionaries, have lost their lives; the patriotic attitude of Christians towards a Chinese government has been strengthened; and some of the Christian leaders have been stimulated to study more deeply the fundamental meaning and value of Christianity. On the whole, the anti-Christian movement has had the effect of awakening Christians and stimulating them to new activity and to deeper thought and self-examination. Administrative functions and a large variety of work have been transferred, through the evacuation of many missionary stations, to Chinese Christians, who have shown ability and initiative to a high degree. The period of western leadership is now definitely past. There are movements towards a church consciousness, discussions on the development of Chinese leadership are frequent. Group consciousness has been stimulated, shown by the provincial denominational

unions established in Hunan, Fukien, Canton, Szechwan and Kwantung.

The many and widespread eclectic religious societies which arose between 1914 and 1922 are losing their activity, being swamped by politics, but the development of the secular movement chronicled in other parts of the world, and prominent among the messages of the Jerusalem meeting, is strongly felt in China. The educated Chinese are strongly dominated by the scientific outlook on life, and religious ideas are tested by the scientific criterion. Nowhere is the need for the formulation of a Christian approach to the secular temper more urgently needed.

In most parts of China both men and women missionaries have now been able to resume their posts. In the south conditions have become almost settled; roads are being built and popular education is being pressed forward. Great friendliness has greeted returning missionaries. Everywhere stories are told of the constancy of groups of Christians, often isolated, under severe persecution, and of the vigour of the Christian Church.

China was represented at the Jerusalem meeting by fourteen Chinese and seven foreigners.

A union hospital in Hankow, supported by the London and Wesleyan Missionary Societies, was built during some of the worst disturbances in Hankow and was opened in April.

The movement towards unity in the Christian Church is powerful in China, as in India. There have been important unions, within certain denominations, of their separated sections; Anglicans, Methodists and Lutherans are now united in national organizations; the Church of Christ in China at the present time embraces about one-third of the total Christian community, and has 120,000 communicants. It comprises Congregationalists, Presbyterians and Baptists.

Much attention has been given in China to the question of military protection of missionaries. The Prudential Committee of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions passed a resolution that a petition be sent

to the United States Government, asking that it shall be possible for the missionaries of the Board who desire to do so to live outside concessions, and to be given only such diplomatic protection as may be provided without the use, threat or show of military force, and by such methods only as will promote goodwill in personal and official relations. The resolution passed at the Jerusalem meeting[1] indicates the widespread desire of missionaries not to appear to depend for their safety on the armed forces of their countries.

Developments in the field of education are the most difficult of all to chronicle. A national conference which met in May outlined plans for developing education under the new Nationalist Government. The Christian colleges have on the whole maintained their position remarkably well. Seven of the foremost colleges now have Chinese presidents, and deep satisfaction is expressed by missionaries in regard to the future leadership of Christian higher education in China. The China Christian Educational Association has prepared a report which is now being considered by mission boards, respecting co-ordination of Christian higher education under a correlated policy. Colleges in Hupeh and Hunan had to close for a considerable time in an attempt to eliminate communists from the student body, but many of the colleges, notably those in Peking, Canton, Fukien and Shanghai, have been crowded to their full capacity. The University of Nanking has been registered, and almost all colleges and middle schools are taking the same line, but a few are closing in protest against the registration condition of voluntary attendance at religious instruction.

An important new step has been taken in the foundation of the Howard-Yenching Institute of Chinese Studies, to promote both in America and China study and research in the various branches of Chinese culture, with the object of encouraging Chinese to study their own civilization in the light of occidental methods of research, and to interpret this civilization to the West.

[1] *Report*, Vol. VIII., pp. 155–6 (American edition), 201–2 (British edition).

Industrial reconstruction occupies much of the public mind. A national economic conference was held at Shanghai in June, including bankers, mill-owners and merchants; a model city is being built at Chengchow; and a national university of labour is opened at Kiangwan. The Church is much concerned with the relation of Christianity to industrial problems, and in August a conference on the Christianizing of economics was held, which endeavoured to find a basis for Christian action in the present industrial situation. An example of recent effort is the action of the Shanghai Y.M.C.A., aided by the American Friends' Service Committee, in constructing a model village in one of the congested suburbs of Shanghai, together with an industrial school for labourers, an English evening school for workmen, an evening school for women, reading-room, playground and dispensary.

Reviewing the missionary situation in China during 1928, it can be stated, with confidence, that the Chinese Church has weathered the storms of the last few years. The prospect of a stronger central government and the dying down of the anti-foreign agitation give promise of more settled conditions in the future, and it will not be surprising if the experience of the years following the Boxer Rising is repeated and the Church grows by leaps and bounds in the coming days.

III. INDIA, BURMA AND CEYLON

THE atmosphere in India has been heavily charged during 1928 with political feeling. The appointment of the Simon Commission, composed entirely of British members of Parliament, was interpreted as a refusal to admit the right of Indians to share in the decisions to be taken regarding the future government of India. The discussions in the Provincial Councils and in the Assembly on the question of co-operation with the Simon Commission have maintained the political tension. Passions have run high, and although the Indian National Congress

has not committed itself to the ideal of complete independence, for the first time in India an influential section is prepared to plead for this. It is agreed that the relationships of Indians and Europeans have suffered in consequence of the aggravated political feeling. The policy of co-operation with the Simon Commission has now been accepted by most of the Provincial Councils and by the Council of State, but not by the Legislative Assembly. Sir John Simon has made it clear that the policy of the Commission will be to co-operate fully with the Provincial and All-India Committees appointed by the Legislatures, that all information will be furnished to these bodies as well as to the Commission, and their report annexed to the report of the Commission for submission to Parliament. These measures appear likely to secure a better atmosphere for the working of the Commission during the ensuing year. It is to be noted that the political agitation in regard to the Simon Commission has once more tended to accentuate differences between the Hindus and the Moslems, the Moslems, on the whole, being in favour of co-operation with the Commission.

One aspect of the political issue which must bear directly on Christian work in India is the subject of minority representation and of the relations between the greater and the smaller religious communities. Indian Christians are inclined increasingly to accept the view that the abolition of communal representation coupled with the securing of certain minimum rights of minorities is the soundest policy for the State.

Apart from the Simon Commission, the principal event of the year to arouse universal interest in India has been the dispute regarding the assessment of taxes in the Bardoli taluka, which was settled by the institution of a committee of enquiry.

The Commission on the future government of Ceylon reported in July 1928. It is proposed that Ceylon should become a self-governing colony and that the elected mem-

bers of the Council should conduct the government. It is held that there is no prospect of a party system growing up in Ceylon, and a system is proposed whereby standing committees, among which all the elected members are distributed, shall supervise the different activities of government. It is proposed also that there shall be a wholesale extension of the franchise.

The condition of Indians overseas continues to occupy public attention in India. The settlement achieved in 1927 between the Governments of South Africa and India has been maintained, and occasional recrudescences of anti-Indian feeling have been offset by the universally admired services of the Rt Hon. Srinivasa Sastri, whose forthcoming retirement is heartily regretted. There is anxiety regarding the future of Indians in Kenya, and the forthcoming report of the East Africa Commission is eagerly anticipated. In Tanganyika, Uganda and Zanzibar there is no segregation of Indians. It is proposed greatly to extend Indian colonization in British Guiana.

The conditions of religion in India are to some extent bound up with the state of communal feeling, and it is to be feared that the religious outlook is somewhat unfavourable. Fortunately it can be said that Hindu-Moslem rioting is relatively rare, but the determination of both communities to secure, if possible, political aggrandizement is a menace to religion. On the other hand, the growth of a secular spirit is a noticeable fact in all the centres of education; the western type of agnosticism has become common among educated men, including many of those who are most earnestly engaged in education and social reform.

An event of considerable importance to the Moslem world in India was the manufacture at Delhi of the Holy Carpet and Curtain by request of Ibn Sa'ud. These have in the past been sent to Mecca from Cairo.

In the sphere of education, the development of the public demand for compulsory elementary education is marked. The United Provinces and the Panjab have both

extended the areas in which compulsion is in vogue. A special committee is co-operating with the Simon Commission in the study of Indian educational problems.

Few facts are more noticeable in modern India than the growth of the women's movement, which is less political than social and educational. The second All-India Women's Conference was held at Delhi in February 1928, presided over by the Begum Mother of Bhopal. Resolutions were passed in favour of the age of marriage being raised to sixteen years for girls and twenty-one for boys; of compulsory primary education of girls; of the establishment of an all-India fund for the promotion of women's education; of compulsory medical inspection and medical training for girls as well as for boys, and of increasing the number of training colleges.

A bill was brought forward in the Assembly raising the age of consent to fourteen and sixteen years for married and unmarried girls respectively. A government committee of enquiry has been appointed to investigate the law relating to the age of consent. The age of marriage has been fixed by the Baroda Legislative Council at fourteen years for girls and eighteen for boys. Similar laws have been sanctioned by Kashmir, Mysore and some other Indian states. Rajkot has raised the age of marriage to fifteen years for girls and nineteen for boys. A bill was introduced into the Assembly making Hindu child marriages invalid and was altered in Select Committee so as to be applicable to all communities, the minimum age of marriage being fixed at fourteen years for girls and eighteen for boys. The bill has been hotly opposed by the orthodox body of Hindus.

The Madras Legislative Council has adopted a resolution recommending total prohibition in the Madras Presidency within twenty years. The governments of the provinces concerned have appointed committees of enquiry into the excessive use of opium in the areas where the worst abuses occur—e.g. Calcutta, Orissa and parts of Bombay.

The Royal Commission on Agriculture in India signed

its report on April 14th after eighteen months' work. The Commission recommends the appointment of an imperial council of agricultural research with provincial research committees in the major provinces. Strong support is given to the extension of co-operative activities in the villages.

All the slaves in the so-called 'Triangle' in Upper Burma have now been released. The slave-releasing mission is enquiring into the condition of the slaves liberated during the last year.

The year 1928 has seen serious industrial disputes, particularly in the cotton mills of Bombay and on the railways. Communist agitation is alleged, but the conditions of work in the crowded industrial areas, combined with the rising cost of living, are sufficient to produce serious unrest. The British Trade Union Council sent a delegation to India to study labour conditions, and its report has been published. The National Christian Council of India is engaged in a survey of industrial conditions, the results of which will be published during 1929. The object of this survey is in particular to lay the foundation for a policy for the Christian Church regarding industrial conditions.

Christian evangelistic work has continued steadily in all parts of India throughout the year. The mass movements, while not maintaining the momentum reached ten years ago, are an important fact, especially in the Telugu field and also in the north. In Hyderabad and other parts of the Telugu country there is a noticeable movement of caste Hindus towards the Church in the areas where the mass movement among the outcastes has proved most effective. Two years ago there were not a dozen high-caste Hindu converts in all the Hyderabad villages; to-day there are at least eight hundred, and similar facts are recorded in other parts of the country.

A conference of the Mass Movement Commission of the Church Missionary Society, bringing together bishops, missionaries and other workers from all the mass movement areas occupied by the C.M.S., was held at Bezwada,

November 21st to 28th. The object of the meeting was to survey the present state of the movement in each area and to outline the policy for the future.

Five missionary societies have decided to combine in working a Benares United City Mission, with the object of reaching the crowd of pilgrims who go to Benares for the innumerable Hindu festivals. The co-operating bodies are the London Missionary Society, the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society, the Zenana Bible and Medical Mission, the British and Foreign Bible Society and the Christian Literature Society. This is the first attempt in India at co-operative unity for continuous evangelistic work. It is proposed to start with three or four couples of missioners from different parts of India, so that between them about a dozen different languages will be available.

A united school for the study of Islam was held at Dacca, lasting for four weeks and drawing Indian workers from all parts of Bengal and Assam. The proceedings were conducted entirely in Bengali and the teachers were themselves Bengali converts from Islam, together with Mr Bevan Jones of the Baptist Missionary Society. Plans for the establishment of a united Christian school of Islamic studies at Lahore are well advanced, and it is expected that the school will be opened in October 1929. Its object is threefold: to provide adequate study of Indian Islam; to produce literature; and to train workers, both Indian and missionary, for Islamic fields in India.

The Indian Church Measure, passed by the National Assembly of the Church of England, and the Indian Church Act came into operation on January 1st, 1928. By these measures the Anglican Church in India is legally free from the constitution of the See of Canterbury and the Houses of Parliament. The date of severance will be in 1930. The spiritual continuity between the Church of England as now established in India and the future Church which will be legally free has been effectively maintained. The importance of this measure is manifest, not least in its bearing

on the relation of the Anglican communion to other bodies in India. A new Anglican diocese, that of Nasik, has been formed by division of the over-large diocese of Bombay.

A similar development has been begun in the Methodist Episcopal Church, whose general conference held in 1928 in the United States has provisionally accepted the principle of the election of bishops by national conferences rather than by the general conference held in America, and looks towards the development of national autonomy among Methodists in different parts of the world.

In the field of church reunion the recent developments in India have attracted attention in all parts of the world. The Joint Committee representing the South India United Church, the Anglican Communion in India and the Wesleyan Church, at its meeting in July held at Bangalore, arrived at an agreement which is now being laid before the separate bodies for their decision. The basis of agreement is that the future government of the United Church shall be a constitutional episcopacy, that the ministries now exercised in the separate bodies shall after union without re-ordination or re-commission be regarded as valid ministries in word and sacrament, and that no minister shall during the interim period, when the United Church contains ministries of different origins, be entitled to minister in a church of a branch other than that with which he was formerly connected, without the consent of the congregation and of the local minister. It is proposed that the United Church shall maintain continuity and communion with all the bodies with which the uniting sections are now in communion, remaining in communion with Canterbury and seeking membership of the world organization of the Presbyterians, Methodists and Congregationalists. It is impossible to attach too high importance to these proposals which, if successful, are likely to afford a precedent to those engaged in the work of Christian reunion in other lands.

The work of Christian and missionary co-operation as distinct from organized church reunion is being carried on

satisfactorily by the national and provincial Christian councils. During the year particular attention has been given to the important subject of religious education, and studies were conducted in different parts of India in preparation for the special gathering held in Bombay at the end of January. The findings of this body have been regarded as of high value, and are incorporated in the reports of the Jerusalem meeting of the International Missionary Council. The increased competition which Christian schools and colleges necessarily have to face is forcing to the front the importance of quality, and increased effort is being devoted to the improvement of the Christian institutions carried on by missions, especially in the thoroughness and Christian value of their religious teaching.

The National Christian Council, together with the Christian Medical Association of India, has conducted a medical survey shortly to be published. It is believed that this study will be of value in the formulation of the future policy of medical work in India. The proposed united missionary tuberculosis sanatorium is shortly to be established in the Deccan, and the name of Sir W. J. Wanless, the famous surgeon of Miraj, is to be associated with it.

India, Burma and Ceylon were represented at the Jerusalem meeting of the International Missionary Council by twenty-two delegates and co-opted members, fifteen being from their own people and seven from the West.

Three conferences about to be held as this issue of the Review goes to press should find mention in any survey of India for 1928. They are: the meeting of the general committee of the World's Student Christian Federation, in Mysore, December 5th to 16th; the quadrennial conference of the Indian Student Christian Movement, in Madras, December 24th to 30th; and an enlarged meeting of the National Christian Council, in Madras, December 31st to January 4th. Dr Mott and the Rev. W. Paton left Europe for India in November and expect to attend all three conferences.

IV. MOSLEM LANDS

THERE is, perhaps, no part of the world in which more important and rapid changes are taking place than in the Moslem lands of the Near East. The spread of modern culture, the consequent modification of traditional Islam, the new political ideas, the developments in social habit and the growth of nationalism not only provide the student of affairs with a fascinating picture but radically affect the work of Christian missions. The precise manifestations of this wide movement differ in the different lands, but there are close resemblances between them.

TURKEY

The speed with which the laicization of Turkey is proceeding has astonished all observers. Islam was declared to be no longer the state religion of Turkey, by an Act passed unanimously in April. Membership of a dervish order, or even attendance at a *zikr*, is now an offence for which men can be hanged. Whether such drastic and speedy measures can be attended by the permanent success which their authors look for is doubtful. The Turkish Government and people appear to desire a foreign culture and outlook, at least to a large extent, but equally appear not to desire the presence of foreigners as a means to that end. The method adopted in education, and in all those departments of national life which have been modernized, has been to send abroad specially selected Turks and allow them to introduce the necessary reforms on their return. The more effective method of inviting westerners to live in Turkey and make their contribution there does not seem to commend itself, apparently because foreigners are thought of as necessarily centres of anti-Turkish influence.

The centre of the secularist policy of Turkey lies in the schools. The constitution nominally permits freedom for religious propaganda, though that freedom is rarely accorded

in practice. The exclusion from the schools of religious propaganda of any kind is absolute. Widespread attention has been drawn to the trial at Brousa of two American women missionaries on the charge of engaging in Christian propaganda, four Moslem girls having expressed their desire to become Christian. Their school was closed and they were sentenced to a nominal penalty, but on appeal the verdict was annulled and a new trial was ordered. It may be that the real reason behind the prosecution was a dislike for foreign institutions rather than a desire to suppress a religious movement. The result for missions is much the same in either case. The missionaries of the American Board believe that they can still render a useful service by continuing their schools, though the development of events has caused much anxious thought throughout the year. It is worthy of note that Turkish students are coming in greater numbers to Robert College (Constantinople). The International College at Smyrna has seen the first graduate class pass out since the college was reoccupied in 1922.

The Vatican decided in July to remove the Armenian Catholic Patriarchate from Constantinople to Beirut, another indication of the attitude of Turkey toward foreign religious institutions.

The new Latin script and alphabet imposed on Turkey by the energy of Mustafa Kemal Pasha is welcomed by the missionaries, as likely to lead to the more rapid spread of education among the poorest classes. It is largely phonetic and much more easily learned than the old alphabet.

Medical work at the present time is felt to be of great value, as a Christian witness that cannot easily be misunderstood. It is a remarkable fact, too, that the sales of Bibles in Turkey during 1928 have greatly increased.

PERSIA

As in Turkey, it is around education that the principal difficulties have been found to centre during the past year.

The demand was made that mission schools should teach the Moslem law (*Shariat*), and that they should not teach the Bible to Moslem pupils. That the schools would not be permitted to continue solely for Christian pupils was made clear when a group of schools in Hamadan which dismissed their Moslem pupils was immediately closed. It appeared that the only alternatives before mission schools were to shut down altogether, or to continue on condition that the *Shariat* was taught to all pupils, and the Bible to none who were Moslems. Continuous negotiations have taken place between the American Presbyterian Mission, the Church Missionary Society and the successive Ministers of Education, and it is now agreed that Moslem pupils in mission schools, in order to have the same privileges as those in government schools, must take the examinations in Moslem law, ' whether they prepare for these examinations in the mission schools or outside them ' ; that is, the mission school is not required to teach Islam. On the other point, ' the teaching of *Taurat* and *Enjil* in the programme of Moslem pupils is forbidden, but there is no objection to the teaching of selections from the great prophets and renowned scholars.' The Bible, that is, cannot be taught as such to Moslem pupils, but ethical courses drawing largely on Biblical material and complete freedom in extra-curriculum work are allowed. The educational regulations of the Government are likely to be more irksome than the religious, for, though a school may be kept open if it teaches certain courses in Persian and observes the regulations regarding Bible teaching, it cannot present its students for government service, technical schools, etc., unless it submits to the full government curriculum and examinations, which are not considered by the missions to be at all satisfactory.

Temporary agreements have been arrived at between Britain and Persia pending the conclusion of a treaty. These agreements provide for missionary work to be carried on freely if it does not infringe the laws of the country.

Steady, quiet progress is being made with evangelistic

work. A notable event was the meeting of four Persian Christians, without the presence of any foreign missionary, as a continuation committee of the Inter-Church Conference of 1927, to plan for home mission work in Persia. This is one of the countries in which the determination of the Christians to achieve a united Church is most manifest.

Great activity is being shown regarding Christian literature, recent additions including a Bible dictionary and some important commentaries. Printing for the inter-mission literature committee of Persia is being done not only in Persia but in Cairo, Beirut, Berlin and London.

IRAQ AND ARABIA

The Arabian Mission has reopened medical work which had been closed for fifteen years. Dr Paul Harrison has opened a dispensary and in-patient department in the province of Oman, at Matrah, which is the head of the caravan route to the whole hinterland.

At Basra a large, new school for girls is being built, and it is noted that a desire for modern education is growing on all sides. At the same time, village schools of the old type are also increasing, and at least they remove illiteracy.

The mission at Kuwait is developing its field more extensively, visiting villages at a distance from the central town to which the work has hitherto been confined.

SYRIA AND PALESTINE

The establishment of the Newman School of Missions at Jerusalem, through the co-operation of the Methodist Episcopal Church, the Church Missionary Society and other bodies, adds one more to the list of training institutions for missionaries. The school opened in January with over sixty students and, though the numbers fell later on to about fifty, it was a remarkable beginning indicating the need for the school. Special efforts are made, in addition

to the regular work of missionary training, to provide lectures and other help for Palestinian Christian workers. The school works in co-operation with the Beirut language school and the School of Oriental Studies at Cairo.

At Nablus and at Gaza trouble occurred after the Jerusalem meeting of the International Missionary Council, but the work of the missions has gone steadily on, including a remarkable movement of Moslems towards Christianity in one part of the Church Missionary Society's field.

In Damascus an untoward development was the closing of the reading room conducted by Pastor Nielsen of the Danish Mission. The mandatory authorities claim to have acted in deference to the feelings of the Moslems regarding the work carried on, though no definite charges were made.

It is noticeable that here, as in other places where Moslem feeling runs high, medical work goes on quietly and steadily.

EGYPT AND NORTH AFRICA

A dramatic proof of the extension of the modern movements of thought in Egypt may be seen in the decision to modernize the teaching of the Azhar University, for so long dedicated to the traditional Moslem learning. The Rector of El-Azhar in a public communication laments that, owing to the withdrawal of Moslem scholars from contact with the outer world of thought and life, 'Islam is without adequate defenders and without real preachers.' He points out the great need for moral character in the nation, and states categorically that 'all the efforts made to reform the theological schools in the past twenty years have made no appreciable difference as regards the form of the teaching.' A large reform is now projected, whereby both a more scientific method will be brought to bear upon the teaching of the Qu'ranic subjects, and the whole of the ordinary secular subjects now required for the government schools will be included in the Azhar course. Other religions are to be studied and the Bible is to be read.

Modern thought, which in Turkey has tended to drive out Islam from official recognition, works differently in Egypt, and is acting as a ferment within Islam. Men of the type of Taha Hussein, the hero of the trial for heresy, are virtually theists without being Moslems. But communal Islam is still powerful and a legal case in which one mission in Egypt has become involved demonstrates the unyielding character of the Moslem claims: a nurse in a mission hospital, who stated her intention of becoming a Christian, was taken from the hospital by her relatives and has been adjudged by the courts (which operate according to Moslem religious law) to have no rights of freedom until she is past marriageable age. This is undoubtedly the true reading of the *Shariat*, but it appears clearly to be incompatible with the provisions of the constitution of Egypt for securing complete religious liberty to the individual.

Active propagation of Sunday school work in Egypt and the Sudan continues, and recently there was formed the Egypt and Sudan Sunday School Union, including the Egyptian Presbyterian and Anglican Churches. Though the Coptic Church does not officially co-operate, eight thousand Coptic children are in Sunday schools.

The School of Oriental Studies continues its work, with greater efficiency since it has become a part of the American University of Cairo. Since then it has sent out over 250 trained missionaries to all parts of the Arabic-speaking field.

General

The several instances of hostility on the part of Moslems to the work of Christian missions are worthy of close attention. There is not, apparently, evidence which would justify us in saying definitely that these phenomena proceed from a common cause or that there is a widespread organization with an anti-Christian purpose. Causes for Moslem unrest and uneasiness are plain. The meeting of the International Missionary Council on the Mount of Olives was

misunderstood to be an attack on Islam, and its necessary privacy was interpreted as proof of nefarious design. More important, the abolition of the Khalifat and the anti-Islamic measures of Turkey have shaken Islam to its foundations. The ulema and official leaders of Islam are therefore everywhere watchful. There is a steady infiltration of Christian ideas through literature, evangelistic work and the mission hospitals. On the other hand, there is the rising tide of secularism; many of the younger intelligentsia would, if they dared, copy the Turkish attitude towards Islam. It is also thought by some that Soviet influence is not unready, irreligious though it is, to use religious bigotry to embarrass the mandatory powers in the Near East. The situation is in a high degree unstable; there can be little doubt that in every one of the lands surveyed there would be a flame of indignation should more than a few Moslems begin to turn publicly to Christianity. Nowhere in the world is the separation of missions from any kind of secular aim or policy more obviously necessary.

The Central Committee on Christian Literature for Moslems has continued its remarkable work. It has correspondents all over the Near East, in India and South-Eastern Asia and now in Chinese Turkestan. The committee maintains close contact with the literature committee in India, and by the supply of manuscripts and the propagation of its programme is fostering the supply of Christian literature for Moslems literally all over the world.

The Sudan Pionier Mission, having taken over the work of a missionary in Persian Kurdistan, has changed its name to the Evangelische Muhammedaner Mission, with headquarters at Wiesbaden.

Moslem Lands were represented at Jerusalem by two Egyptians, two Syrians and eighteen westerners.

The Council for Western Asia and Northern Africa has become firmly established, and is developing work throughout its wide area in relation to evangelism, education, medical missions, literature and relations with Governments.

V. AFRICA

FOR purposes of this survey, North Africa has been included in the section on Moslem Lands, while matters concerning specifically West, East and Central, and South Africa will be found under those headings respectively.

WEST AFRICA

The year 1928 was notable in West Africa for several reasons. Attention was directed to developments in the Belgian Congo by the visit to the colony of LL.MM. the King and Queen of the Belgians. The section of the Leopoldville-Katanga-Dilolo railway opened by them gives access to the coast from the Katanga copper mines in the heart of the continent, wholly within Belgian territory.

The report of the ' Comité Consultatif de la Main d'Œuvre Indigène,' called by the Prime Minister early in the year, carries a stage further the important investigations and proposals in regard to native labour made by a similar committee in 1925 in a report which attracted widespread attention.[1] Throughout the colony economic as distinct from political zones are to be defined, in each of which a programme of labour for a limited term of years is to be drawn up, taking into account not only the physical and economic status of the African labourers and the requirements of the employers, but also the arrangements for the welfare of his workers which the individual employer is prepared to make. In addition, over-large concessions have been drastically reduced, and development generally slowed down, no new concessions being allowed for the present. These provisions should do much to safeguard conditions of labour and tend to the well-being of the African.

Both the Belgian Government in Congo and the French in the vast territory under their rule are giving a central place to their medical services, to which substantial sums are allotted ; centres for training African medical assistants

[1] See article by M. Anet in IRM for October 1928.

and midwives are being established. An American expert has recently gone to Belgian Congo to make investigations into sleeping sickness, while the development of medical work in French territory indicates a promise of arresting the high mortality from this disease.[1] The loss of Dr W. A. Young (director) and Professor Hideyo Noguchi, of the Rockefeller Institute for Medical Research, who died within a few days of each other at Accra, from yellow fever contracted while investigating the disease, is a reminder of the price at which such work is carried on.

The Anti-Slavery Ordinance passed by the Sierra Leone legislature in 1927 came into force in January 1928, abolishing all forms of slavery in the Sierra Leone Protectorate.

The year marked the centenary of Sierra Leone cathedral, the centenary too of Fourah Bay College, which has lately received more than one generous legacy from Africans who valued its work.

The Paramount Chief of Akim Abuakwa, Sir Ofori Atta, while on a short visit to Great Britain, paid a tribute to the work done among his people by the missionaries of the United Free Church of Scotland, going in person to Edinburgh to convey his thanks to the Foreign Missions Board.

On the occasion of the jubilee of Protestant missions to Congo, in September, the West Africa and Congo Jubilee Conference was held at Leopoldville-Est, Belgian Congo.[2] Delegates attended from all parts of Congo; representatives came also from French Equatorial Africa, Cameroons, Nigeria, Liberia, Togo and Angola; America and Europe were also represented. The findings marked out a programme for education, including religious education and in relation to health, agriculture and industry. Other matters where the work of missions touches closely that of governments (i.e. concerning land and labour and medical service) were discussed; also questions regarding the development of a truly spiritual African Church.

[1] See also article on pp. 121–30.

[2] For fuller information see supplement, *Quarterly Notes*, p. i.

The remarkable movement towards Christianity on the Ivory Coast, following the preaching of 'the prophet Harris,' taxes to the uttermost the resources of the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society for shepherding the thousands flocking into the Church.[1] In the Northern Niger delta also a mass movement towards the Church among the Isoko is steadily growing, and more missionaries are urgently needed.

The production of African Christian literature has received a set-back it could ill afford in the death of the Rev. W. T. Balmer, shortly after a visit to the Ivory Coast.

In response to claims made by the Basel Trading Company, the British Government decided to restore land and buildings in the Gold Coast, formerly the property of the Company but sequestrated during the world war. After much publicity had been given to the matter in Parliament and the press, it was finally agreed that the property, which had been vested in the Commonwealth Trust, Limited, should be ceded by the latter in exchange for £55,000. The Trust is now carrying on its work in other premises acquired by it in the Gold Coast.

EAST AND CENTRAL AFRICA

Following the national rejoicing celebrating the jubilee of the Church in Uganda, in 1927, news comes that Christianity is rapidly penetrating the south of the Protectorate, and also the contiguous territory of Belgian Congo. The recent publication of the four gospels in Lunyaruanda puts this portion of the Bible within the reach of between three and four million people in Central Africa.

The railway extension in West Africa has its counterpart in the east of the continent; the year under review saw the completion of another section of the Kenya-Uganda railway, giving Uganda a through route by rail to the coast. A new bridge over the White Nile, between Khartoum and Omdurman, has also been constructed. That missionary

[1] See article by Rev. E. W. Thompson in IRM for October 1928.

work is vitally affected by increasing speed of transport and facility of communications is obvious.

A British Government Commission, under the chairmanship of Sir Edward Hilton Young (and including Mr J. H. Oldham), visited Uganda, Kenya, Tanganyika, Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia during the year, to investigate questions concerning future developments. The report of the Commission will be published early in the new year.

Uncertainty regarding the future inter-relations of these East African territories, as well as questions of liturgy, appear to have been factors in the refusal of the diocesan synods (Anglican Church) of Mombasa and the Upper Nile to support the recent proposal for an East African Province. The formation of the Province is, therefore, being postponed for a time.

The first step towards an African ministry (Anglican) for Northern Rhodesia has been taken with the opening at Fiwila of a central training college for teachers.

The government training school at Kabete, Kenya Colony, for training supervising teachers of the 'Jeanes' type, has proved so successful that the Governments of Nyasaland and of Northern Rhodesia are each about to open a similar training school.

There continues to be much dissatisfaction among Indians in Kenya about their present political status, and fear that the future will not improve it. As a protest against the communal franchise roll, the Indian community boycotted the elections to the Legislature in March. The *Kenya Daily Mail*, conducted by Indians, has offered to defray passage expenses to and from Mombasa and Bombay to a certain number of political leaders and editors, in order that information about Kenya and the life of Indians there may be disseminated in India on their return home. The Kenya Land Trust Bill, which deals with the fundamental question of Native rights in land, has been the subject of animated discussion, and a final decision in regard to it is still pending.

Research into the incidence of malaria and measures

for eradicating it is being encouraged by the grant of £5000 by the Legislative Council of Uganda for a medical entomologist.

The Mozambique Convention, negotiated between Portugal and the Union of South Africa,[1] will steadily reduce the number of African labourers from Portuguese East Africa working in South African mines. It is not expected, however, that labour policy and conditions in the Portuguese territory will be affected by the Convention, except that the provision for the return of the Native to his home, after an absence of eighteen months, will greatly benefit the family life of the people.

The death occurred, in November, of Archdeacon Johnson, well known throughout Nyasaland, where he had worked as a missionary since 1876.

South Africa

In South Africa the Native question continues to dominate the scene. In the earlier part of the year evidence continued to be taken by a Select Committee of the Union Parliament, in regard to the four bills embodying General Hertzog's Native policy.[2] Following upon conference, however, between the leaders of the Government and of the Opposition, it was decided to withdraw the bills, and any attempt to deal constructively with the Native problem is postponed for the present. The Women's Enfranchisement Bill, which was killed for the present session in the report stage, only survived the committee stage after the second reading by adopting an amendment to confine the vote to European women.

Deferred in the political field, the Native question has become acute in the economic sphere. The Trade Union Congress, which early in 1928 refused affiliation to the Industrial and Commercial Workers' Union (the I.C.U., a

[1] See also section on South Africa, p. 35.

[2] For details, see IRM for January 1928, pp. 57–8.

union of African labour), later upheld the cause of the I.C.U. as ' a legitimate trade organization,' and later, after a canvass of unions, declared for the admission to its own membership of ' all workers, irrespective of race and colour.' The Secretary for Native Affairs has informed the T.U.C. Executive that the Government cannot regard the I.C.U. as a body entitled to recognition as a trade union. The question of the recognition of the I.C.U. led in November to a political crisis. The Minister for Posts and Telegraphs received a deputation from the Union with reference to the position of Native postal and telegraph workers, acting thereby in a manner contrary to the policy of the Minister of Agriculture, who in a recent strike declined to recognize the trade union leaders. This action gave rise to a political crisis, the Prime Minister calling on the Minister to resign, and on his refusal forming a new government.

The Mozambique Convention, negotiated in September between the Union of South Africa and Portugal, provides for an annually decreasing supply of Natives from Portuguese territory for South African mines, until the number is stabilized at 80,000 at the end of 1933. This is an ultimate reduction of 25,000 labourers, and the mining interest, concerned for its supply of workers, is looking about for fresh sources upon which it can draw.

Meanwhile, the Churches, the missionary societies and all men of goodwill in South Africa are trying to show forth Christ, in word as in deed, and the year under review has brought several reminders that milestones are being passed on South Africa's journey to the kingdom of God : the German missionaries of the Moravian Brotherhood have this year celebrated the centenary of their work among the Kafirs, the Finnish missionaries the sixtieth year of their work in Amboland, and the Anglican Church its jubilee in the Transvaal.

A scheme for training African women to help the community, through first aid, simple medical knowledge, midwifery and child nurture, and domestic subjects, is being started at the London Missionary Society's station at Hope

Fountain. The scheme is being financed by the Carnegie Trust, mediated through the Government. Maternity and welfare work is being started at Mbereshi, in Northern Rhodesia, also by the London Missionary Society. The American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions is further developing its medical activities. The new Bridgman Memorial Hospital in Johannesburg will provide for work urgently needed and already begun in clinics and infant welfare centres.

The General Missionary Conference of South Africa, which meets every third year, was held at Lovedale in June. A large section of time was given to economic questions, Mr Clements Kadalie, organizer of the I.C.U., being present as a speaker.

An interesting work of vital importance, organized by the Roman Catholic community at Mariannhill, has continued to develop. Farmers' associations, leading up to people's banks and co-operative societies, are being formed among the Natives, on a social-economic-religious basis. A week's intensive vacation course is becoming an annual institution, the lectures and practical work of which are attracting increasing numbers. The course is open to all without distinction of creed.

Mariannhill was also the scene of the first Native Education Vacation Course, held in July, under the auspices of various education authorities, with the co-operation of the Carnegie Corporation of New York. Lectures were given on Bantu social systems and philology, on school supervision and inspection and kindred subjects. The course was attended by 110 students, of whom 38 were Europeans.

Indians in South Africa, as in India, anticipated with deep regret the close of the Rt Hon. Srinivasa Sastri's term of office as Agent-General of the Government of India in South Africa, at the end of 1928. It is recognized that his personality has counted for much of the success of the appointment. A difficulty arose during the year over what is known as the ' Condonation scheme ' of the Union Govern-

ment to regularize the domicile of Indians who had entered the Union illegally. The South African Indian Congress felt unable to give certain guarantees asked, but about 1460 persons asked for and received protection certificates.

Among books dealing with South Africa which appeared during the year should be mentioned the first missions year-book—*Christianity and the Natives of South Africa*—and a second edition of Dr Junod's *Life of a South African Tribe.*

Before leaving the survey of Africa, mention should be made of the new quarterly, *Africa*, launched by the International Institute of African Languages and Cultures; also of Professor Raymond Buell's book surveying the work of administration of every government in Tropical Africa;[1] also of Dr Monroe Work's *Bibliography of the Negro in Africa and America.* And reference cannot be omitted to the nine new versions of the Bible in African tongues.

Four Africans and five westerners represented Africa at the Jerusalem meeting.

MADAGASCAR

A systematic scheme of hut-to-hut visitation of villages by Malagasy Christians in connexion with the London Missionary Society in 1927 has added many to the Church and rekindled the zeal of many who had become lethargic. The visitation continued during the early part of 1928. About ten per cent of the population is now Christian.

Southern Madagascar is the scene at the moment of a movement centring round a Christian woman, Ravelonjanahary, who is devoting her life to prayer and healing. Thousands resort to her, and many writers, both Protestant and Roman Catholic, have testified to the cure of patients suffering from nervous diseases, and more especially to definite conversions and spiritual quickening in the Church.

Madagascar was represented at Jerusalem by two delegates, one a Malagasy.

[1] *The Native Problem in Africa.* New York and London: Macmillan.

VI. THE PACIFIC AREA

THE year 1928 has seen a great extension of wireless stations in the Pacific area, the Fiji, Cook, Solomon, Samoan and Hawaiian Islands, New Caledonia and the New Hebrides being linked up with Australia. It has also seen the bicentenary of the birth of Captain Cook and celebrations in Hawaii in memory of his discovery of the Islands in 1778—a reminder not only of the short period since the first communications were established but also of the way by which foreign missionary work in the Pacific Islands was made possible. Although the Church was not the first in the field, it is encouraging to learn from French, German and British missionaries alike that the serious depopulation in many of the island groups, due to contact with the white man's civilization, is being arrested wherever there are Christian communities. Once again the simple truth is being illustrated : ' I came that they may have life, and have it abundantly.' There is an increasing and definite will to live among the communities which have learned to know Jesus Christ. There still exists, however, the practice of recruiting indentured labour ; this is active in many of the islands, and is depleting the villages and divorcing men from village and home life.

The Paris Missionary Society reports good results from co-operation with government medical services, especially for the treatment of leprosy. The administrative, medical and educational work of the Government of New Zealand in Western Samoa is appreciated by missionaries in that area.

The Royal Commission appointed in 1927 to enquire into alleged grievances in Western Samoa against the administration (New Zealand mandate) resulted in the complete exoneration of the latter. The New Zealand Government banished the (European) leaders who had stirred up the trouble, but their influence still continues to be active. The matter came in June and again in October

before the Permanent Mandates Commission, which also fully vindicated the administration.

The general atmosphere of unrest and the seething spirit of nationalism has naturally penetrated the Church also, and the London Missionary Society sent a deputation in August to visit the churches of their communion and discuss the situation. Their report has not been received at the time of writing.

Early in the year the murder of British officials in the Solomon Islands by natives in the interior, who misunderstood and resented the imposition and collection of taxes, was made the occasion for two appeals, of which the first was for more support for missions, based on the ground that Christianity brought enlightenment and would make murder impossible and the consequent punitive expedition unnecessary; the other, issued by three men of science, pressed for an anthropological training for all—missionaries, traders, officials—who go to the Pacific Islands, on the ground that such a training would teach men how to avoid actions which might lead to such a clash as had occurred. A growing opinion among missionaries would support the second appeal no less than the first.

Translations have been made of part of the Bible into two new Pacific dialects—Tawarafa for the Solomon Islands, and Tubetube for South-East Papua.

The spirit of nationalism, which is working so strongly in the Philippine Islands, is being directed by missionaries, in the case of the Church, to the growth of independence and self-support.

The Institute of Pacific Relations has started an information library, which will contain, besides books, material not in permanent form, files of newspaper cuttings and so forth, which should prove most useful. The Institute did not hold a session in 1928, but in August the first pan-Pacific women's conference, which it is proposed to hold every second year, was held at Honolulu. Its object was to further mutual understanding and knowledge, and

discussion centred round subjects concerning women in industry, in politics and so on. It is noteworthy that the first address was delivered by a Japanese woman, on women's suffrage in Japan.

The first Gilbertese to offer for foreign missionary service is in training, and hopes to be sent to Papua; and the synod of New Zealand (Anglican) has acceded to the request of the Maori people for a bishop of their own race, and a Maori has been appointed the first bishop of Aotearoa, suffragan to the bishop of Waiapu.

The news that an aerial medical service has been started in Australia, by the Presbyterian Church, with government financial assistance, for bringing medical aid to settlers in remote regions, opens up possibilities for medical mission work in other parts of the world difficult of access.

In the Netherlands Indies also an air service has been started. In addition to the regular service between Holland and Batavia, daily flights are now established between the islands. This increasing ease of transport, as well as the extension of wireless communication noted above, is bringing the Pacific Islands into the full stream of world affairs, with problems which follow for administrator, trader and missionary alike.

The Pacific area was represented at the Jerusalem meeting by one delegate from the Fiji Islands, three from the Philippines (two being Filipinos) and three from Netherlands Indies (one being Javanese). Australia sent three, New Zealand three and the Straits Settlements two.

VII. LATIN AMERICA

THE sixth Pan-American Conference met at Havana, Cuba, early in the year to discuss questions concerning political and economic inter-relationships, intellectual co-operation and social problems. The conference appears to have strengthened the sense of solidarity existing between

the South American republics noted in the Survey of a year ago.

The year has again been one of disturbance in several parts of Latin America, especially in Mexico, where the antagonism between the civil and religious authorities has led to many clashes, and reached its climax in the assassination of the newly nominated President-elect in July, by a student who appears to have believed that he was advancing the cause of religion by his action. The breach between the Government and the Roman Catholic Church thereby widened. About one hundred representatives each of capital and labour met in November under the leadership of the President-elect to discuss a new labour code to be submitted to Congress as a basis for legislation at the close of the year. The proposals are radical and far-reaching.

Papers are already being written and study groups formed in preparation for the Congress on Christian Work to be held in Havana in June 1929. The congress will provide for the Caribbean area the opportunity for discussion and study provided for the South American area by the congress in Montevideo of 1925.

The presence of some ten million aboriginal ' Indians ' in the rapidly developing South American republics constitutes a grave social problem. The Brazilian and Peruvian Governments, in particular, are developing schemes for the social and economic uplift of the Indian ; but the work of the Church is needed to avert the usual disastrous consequences of the impact of western civilization upon aboriginal peoples, and the governments of several of the republics, recognizing this, co-operate with the missions. The South American Missionary Society has recently opened new stations among the Indians of the Argentine, Paraguayan and Bolivian Chacos, and contemplates starting work in Brazil when funds are forthcoming.

The Religious Education Committee of the Committee on Co-operation is going forward with the publication of graded courses in religious education, for use in varied groups and

for different ages. Thirteen such courses have been prepared and are being published in Spanish and Portuguese.

Dr Jesse Jones' *Four Essentials of Education* is being circulated in a Spanish translation.

Dr Stanley Jones visited Brazil, Uruguay, Argentina, Chile and Peru in an evangelistic tour during the summer, holding meetings, chiefly for the educated classes in the cities, and having many interviews. His experience proved that these classes are not unready to listen to the direct presentation of Christ, and it is now being urged that a number of evangelistic workers of Latin American nationality should be set free to take up work along the same lines. His book, *The Christ of the Indian Road*, was translated into Spanish in preparation for his visit.

The West Indies were visited in September by a severe hurricane, which caused great loss of life and destruction of buildings, including churches and schools.

Latin America was represented at the Jerusalem meeting by seven members—two from Brazil, one each from Uruguay, Argentina, Chile and Mexico, and the secretary of the Committee on Co-operation ; four were Latin Americans.

VIII. GENERAL AND CONCLUSION

THE year 1928, even in these days of many conferences, was a year specially marked by international gatherings having world friendship and unity as their object.

First must be recorded the signing by plenipotentiaries of fifteen nations of the Treaty for the Renunciation of War, at Paris on August 27th. Thereafter should be mentioned the meetings of the following committees, the first three in Prague, the fourth in Geneva : the International Committee of the World Alliance for International Friendship through the Churches ; the Continuation Committee of the Universal Christian Conference on Life and Work (the ' Stockholm Continuation Committee ') ; the Continuation Committee of the World Conference on Faith and Order (the ' Lausanne

Continuation Committee'); the Preparatory Committee for the Universal Religious Peace Congress, to be held in 1930.

Again, the year opened with the tenth quadrennial convention of the American Student Volunteer Movement, and closed as the eighth quadrennial conference of the British Student Christian Movement was about to open.

It would be a fair statement to say that the sections of the Church Universal known as 'Protestant' are beginning to regain the œcumenical outlook which to a great extent they lost at their birth, and are beginning also to seek a way towards union among themselves.

The year saw the centenary of the Rhenish Mission (Rheinische Missionsgesellschaft) with its work in China, the Netherlands Indies and South Africa. It also saw the tercentenary of the birth of John Bunyan, whose *Pilgrim's Progress* has been translated into so many of the languages of the world. Again, it saw the retirement from the archbishopric of Canterbury of Dr Randall Davidson, for twenty-five years Primate, whose knowledge of the world-wide work of the Church is unrivalled. He is succeeded by the Archbishop of York.

A single thought may suffice for conclusion. We began with a note of confident expectation, based largely on the manifest Divine blessing upon the meeting at Jerusalem, and not less upon what has come out of it as the different countries address themselves to the tasks that claim attention. Beneath the surface in nearly every land lie possibilities of set-back and of grave difficulty. No one can be lightly confident about missionary work in the world to-day. But precisely in such circumstances it should be most possible for us to enter into the mood of triumph and expectation. We do not know what the Divine movement in history has in store for us, but we do know that His purpose does not fail. The testing of the purity of our motive and the constancy of our discipleship may for many of us go deeper yet than they have gone; the majesty of His love will then be the more plain.

THE ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH

THE revival of missionary interest noted a year ago [1] has been maintained. The policy of training and appointing native clergy and establishing religious orders among indigenous peoples in all parts of the world is being steadily carried out, as the following facts, taken as examples, will show: Mgr Cheng was consecrated bishop, to succeed the late Mgr Chao (consecrated in Rome in 1926), at Suanhwafu, Chihli, in July; a new missionary foundation, the Disciples of the Lord, for training Chinese priests, has been established by the Redemptorists, also at Suanhwafu; a new religious order of St Joseph for Chinese women has also been founded; Phuyen, one of the six provinces of Annam, has been confided to the care of Annamese clergy; five sisters of the indigenous congregation of Notre Dame des Sept Douleurs have left the mother-house of the order at Trichinopoly to work in Burma; three African priests have been ordained in Tanganyika, after eleven years of training; the first African priest of Togoland has been ordained; a new seminary of the Sacred Heart has been founded for training Egyptian Franciscans. The jubilee of the founding of the White Fathers' order by Cardinal Lavigerie in 1878 was also a reminder that the order has applied itself to training African clergy, 128 students being at the present time in higher seminaries and 800 in lower.

Undoubtedly an event of the first importance was a provision in the French Government Budget for 1929 for bringing back to France the mother-houses of certain specified missionary orders. Some ecclesiastical property was also assigned to the orders. It is stipulated that any order which thus returns to France must undertake to work only 'at a distance from France-in-Europe,' which, of course, by the nature of the case, it would fulfil. While the concession made is but small in itself, and may be due

[1] See IRM for January 1928, pp. 218–27.

to a recognition of what has been called the 'Francophil by-products of French missionary work abroad,' some observers, seeing in it a recognition of the Church as an essential part of the life of a nation, consider it to be of the utmost significance. The articles in the Budget making the above provisions have met with violent opposition both in the Chamber of Deputies and in the press from the secularist party.

The year 1928 has seen the inauguration of a missionary press bureau—*Agenzia Fides*—with headquarters in Rome in the Palace of the Propagation of the Faith, carried on under pontifical auspices. News sent in must be guaranteed by the missionary bishops. The bureau has been active in disseminating items of news. The world missionary atlas, *Testo e Atlante di Geografia Ecclesiastica*, has been completed, but only a limited number of copies has been issued.

Following the precedent established in 1927, Sunday, October 21st, was observed throughout the Church as a day of prayer for missions.

Out of many conferences and congresses which have been held during the year, the following were outstanding: the Sixth Missionary Week at Louvain in August; the International Conference of the Science of Missions at Würzburg in September, immediately followed by the fifth International Student Missionary Congress, also at Würzburg. The Louvain gathering has established itself as an annual event, with a steadily rising membership. The subject in 1928 was 'L'Ame des Peuples à Evangéliser,' the papers read and also the discussions being intensely practical. The Würzburg Conference dealt with missions more from the theoretical and scientific point of view, while the students' meeting disseminated facts about world missions of to-day.

The question of developing medical missions still exercises the minds of leaders of missionary work.[1] The need

[1] See IRM for January 1928, pp. 222–3.

for a medical religious order was urged by Dr Havet of Louvain University at a conference held at Juilly in September. He stressed the need both for fully qualified medical missionaries and for an elementary training for all missionary priests. Lille University has started a six weeks' medical course free to all missionaries. The admission of newly qualified doctors to a year's further training in Africa has been so successful at Kisantu (Belgian Congo) that the experiment is to be repeated; the hospital at Katana near Lake Kivu will be opened shortly.[1] In China, the American Catholic Medical Missionary Council is beginning to recruit fully qualified Chinese men for their hospitals.

New buildings are in course of erection for the philosophical and theological schools of the College of the Propagation, the papal missionary seminary in Rome. It is hoped that the buildings, which will accommodate some twelve hundred students, will be ready during 1930.

It is well known that the soul's desire of the present Pope, Pius XI, is for reunion of the Church. Two encyclicals issued by him in 1928 bear witness to this desire. The first, *De Vera religionis unitate fovenda*, given in January, reviewed recent suggestions for union made by Protestants, and while reiterating the unchanged position of his Church—that there can be no unity except through an acknowledgment of the divine right of the pontiff and a return of dissidents to the Church of Rome—made an appeal for such a return to all who are separated. A further encyclical, *Rerum orientalium*, given in September, recalled the efforts of former popes to promote oriental studies, as witness the growth of the Oriental Institute in Rome, newly housed in adequate buildings, and expressed the earnest hope that a better mutual understanding should be arrived at through these studies, leading to a return to the mother Church of the separated Churches of the East.

W. P.
M. M. U.

[1] See IRM for January 1928, pp. 223–4.

THE TEACHING METHOD OF JESUS AND THAT OF TO-DAY [1]

By CHARLES E. RAVEN, D.D.

IT will already have struck the reader of the report of the Jerusalem meeting of the International Missionary Council that the teaching method of Jesus is not only in definite contrast with that which regards education as concerned with instilling into the pupil a definite body of formulated instruction, but shows remarkable resemblance in its whole character and technique to the best results of modern educational thinking. In the present paper we propose to consider the general characteristics of His system and the importance of its various stages.

The General Characteristics of the System of Jesus. The chief points to be noted are: (1) He is concerned with the development of personality, not with the imparting of information; (2) He always encourages His disciples to discover His lessons for themselves, and never strives to force acceptance or agreement; (3) He aims at creating a right social relationship that His disciples may grow up into a free and full development of their own highest qualities; for this purpose He trains them in the experience of close and trusting fellowship with Him and with one another.

(1) It is remarkable how completely our Lord concentrates attention upon the full growth of every one of His followers. Always He refuses to deal with men 'in the mass': His method is never cut and dried or mechanical; in every case He diagnoses the special need

[1] A former article by Canon Raven, on 'The Teaching Method of Jesus,' appeared in our last issue (October 1928). A fuller treatment of the subject will be found in his recent book, *Christ and Modern Education*.—Ed.

or potentiality of the individual and deals with him not as a case but as a particular and uniquely important person. His aim for us all is that 'ye may be perfect, the children of your Father in heaven'; and therefore, since each has his own road to perfection, treatment must always be adjusted with the most sympathetic insight. His first demand is not 'how much do you know?' or 'what should you be taught?' but 'what sort of person are you?' and 'how can you be helped to become your true self?' It is this quality of individualizing that makes it dangerous to look for a formulated body of teaching in the recorded dealings of Jesus with men and women. If, as Dr Eberhard puts it, 'the educational task is to help growing persons to enter into, and to maintain, active and purposeful relations with the natural world, with society and with God,' then no one has ever fulfilled this task so completely as Jesus.

Consequently, He deals not solely or chiefly with the intellectual side of His pupils but with every aspect of their personalities. His usual line of approach seems to have been the appeal to the æsthetic, to art rather than to curiosity, to the love of beauty rather than to the desire for knowledge. His teaching is pure poetry, the poetry of simple things: we are to consider the lilies how they grow, to learn the lesson of rain and sunshine, to reflect upon the mystery of the seed that dies and bears fruit.

Yet His art is never exercised for its own sake, nor apart from its effect upon thought: to see truly will be to think clearly; vision will illuminate the mind and enable the formulation of correct ideas. Though He never uses formulæ, nor any sort of catechism or scheme of doctrine, those who perceive the inner meaning of His poems will in fact find their whole mental outlook altered.

But intellectual development is never an end, but always a means towards enrichment of life and character. The test is not knowledge or profession, but conduct—'by their fruits ye shall know them.' There is no orthodoxy or conformity or credal test in the teaching of Jesus: 'he

that doeth the will of my Father' is approved rather than he who says Lord, Lord. Whatever be our verdict upon the historicity of the Fourth Gospel, no words more fitly express the educational ideals of Jesus than Life ('I am come that they may have life and have it abundantly'), Light ('whereas I was blind, now I see'), and Love ('I call you not slaves, but my friends').

And in this liberating of the personality for growth Jesus is at one with the psychologists in fastening upon the influence of the right and dominant motive as the source of integration and harmonious development. It is as men become aware of God, form a true concept of God, fulfil the will of God, that their inhibitions can be removed, their distortions corrected, their impulses unified and harmonized. Always He relates the particular need or defect with its source in a wrong attitude towards God, a misunderstanding of reality and misdirection of effort. God is seen to be not aloof but universally manifested, not irrelevant but wholly significant; for in the teaching of Jesus He is not only linked up with the individual's own circumstances, but with all normal human experience. Hence, from the fact of God follows a new relationship to mankind: if He is the Father, mankind is His family; to love God is to love the brethren, to serve Him is to enter upon a life of service to them; 'inasmuch as ye did it to the least of these my brethren' is a phrase which hallows every simplest act of ministry.

(2) Yet Jesus will never compel. He flings down the poems of His teaching with a lavish mastery of generosity, but He will not force His gifts upon His pupils: 'He that hath ears to hear, let him hear'; some are deaf and for them the gift is unmeaning. It is this restraint of Jesus, this refusal to coerce, this infinite patience which marks Him out as the supreme teacher. He always allows His hearers their liberty to reject, He always respects their personalities, He always helps them to discover His meaning for themselves, to appropriate it as their own.

If they are slow and dull He will take no short cuts, will not let them take anything at second hand, will go over His lessons again and again in new form, gradually fostering sensitiveness until at last they become aware of the fresh revelation of the mystery of the Kingdom. Spiritual insight rather than particular results, a type of person rather than a body of doctrine—this is what He desires ; and if so, the process must be one of growth not of arbitrary modelling. As His hearers discover more and more clearly the association between their normal and daily experiences and the fact of God, a fixed and God-centred attitude becomes habitual to them.

It is when He has led them to recognize the highest manifestation of God in Himself that this Godward orientation of their lives becomes complete. For it is in and through personality that men find their fullest and most satisfying relationship. He has let them know Him, has helped them to discover His quality, has given Himself unsparingly to them ; what was at first an attitude of fear, the fear of the Lord, has been enlarged into one of trust by His teaching, and is now quickened into love as they become convinced that Jesus is uniquely what God is. No influence has the power of a love, given and returned, to transform : when they have loved Him, they must needs become like Him.

(3) A significant feature of His method is that He forms His disciples into a definite group, takes them away from their ordinary occupations and travels with them in unfamiliar parts. Thus He fosters close companionship and concentration of interest. If each one of them is treated individually, it is yet in a society that they are set to learn. There is nothing solitary, nothing in the nature of private attention : they are to live together without privileges or special favouritism. It is, of course, recognized by every teacher that the surest way to remove the repressions and abnormalities and limitations of the individual is to plunge him into an atmosphere of frank friendliness, that his shyness may be broken down, his errors corrected, his

angularities rubbed away without wounding his sensitiveness. Jesus never corrects the defects of His followers by open censure until they have reached a stage of utter confidence in Him. Till then He dwells not upon their failings but upon their possibilities, and develops in them a healthy and appreciative family life. 'Judge not, that ye be not judged,' is a saying that goes deep; for the habit of criticism, whatever be its value when a confidential atmosphere has been established, tends easily to foster self-flattery and injures the development both of the critic and his victim. Emulation and the desire to excel are only laudable if they be free from competition and the desire to triumph over others.

By this close community life religion is prevented from becoming a mere department or sectional interest. All the activities of the group are material for their spiritual growth; their whole existence is related to the service of God. Jesus, teaching them that the gift of a cup of cold water is a liturgy, emphasized His lessons in the daily intercourse on the hillside and aboard ship, in the villages and towns. Long before they were able to realize it He had revealed to them that nothing was common or unclean, that there was no barrier between the secular and the sacred, between the natural and the supernatural. Flowers and birds and little children, the manifold activities of nature and of man, the simple duties of every day—it is in these that they will find God, it is by these that they will be brought into communion with Him. Jesus will have His disciples recognize no special services or places of worship until they have discovered that the Kingdom of Heaven consists not in rites or creeds but in meekness, poverty of spirit, purity of heart, and a passion for righteousness. When the community has been welded together in a fellowship of common experience, the outward signs of their union can be given. We too often reverse His order, beginning with services and doctrines and sacraments, and trusting that by use of the outward we shall attain the inward—which

is surely educationally, psychologically and religiously an error.

THE IMPORTANCE OF THE VARIOUS STAGES OF HIS SYSTEM. If the content of His teaching method is significant in its contrast with much that still passes for religious education, and in its resemblance to the findings of modern students, the arrangement and grading of it is not less important. The attention recently paid to the development from infancy to maturity shows beyond doubt a normal progress through definite stages of mental and psychic growth. Here as in biology the doctrine of recapitulation may be so mechanically stated as to distort the facts; we cannot look for any precise repetition of the phases of evolution in any one individual, but broadly speaking the process is so true to type as to justify us in adapting our education to it. What then are we to say of the sequence adopted by Jesus?

(1) In the first place, He begins rather with the creation of an atmosphere than with specific intellectual or practical teaching. He sets Himself to bring God into His hearers' lives, taking their cultural outlook and emphasizing the elements of positive worth in it, teaching them to associate the normal objects of their environment with the beauty and meaning manifested in them, speaking simply and with a complete lack of pietism or affectation about the most 'sacred' subjects, revealing that to Him God is as real and natural as the sunlight. In reading the record of His early ministry it is not the particular sayings only or chiefly that impress us; it is rather the utter conviction, the spontaneity and sincerity of the Teacher. His personality, even more than His words and actions, impresses itself indelibly upon us, and lifts us into a new environment in which, strangers as we are, He makes us feel at home. This is life as we want it to be, life as we have dreamed of it, life undistracted by lies and selfishness, life with the serious joy of childhood, its trust and its creativeness, upon it. The first business of the Christian teacher should be to

produce this atmosphere of natural and unashamed religion. It does not matter much what subject he teaches—nature and its ways, tales from the Old Testament, handicraft and domestic duties, whatever it is : provided the teacher loves his pupils, believes in them and wins their trust, and provided he can bring God into every part of his own life and is inevitably conscious of the spiritual values and meaning of existence, he will infect his class with that consciousness of the reality of religion which is the first stage in any educational work. He must, of course, adapt his actual lessons to the needs of his pupils, always remembering that a fully developed personality rather than the learning of a particular set of subjects is his object. Play will be as important as lessons, the daily routine of the school as ' religious ' as the services or scripture teaching. Anything that tends to confine religion to particular periods or places must be carefully watched ; for the main fault of our education is the tendency to banish God from normal events and to create a sense of opposition between the life of the Church and that of the home or the classroom or the playing field It is the personality of the teacher which will link up the various aspects of existence into a unity, and help the children to poise and harmony of growth.

In nearly all cases he will find even in the youngest wrong ideas to be corrected, complexes to be resolved, inhibitions to be removed. No child escapes certain experiences in its infancy which if undetected will warp its development. The wise teacher, while avoiding all temptation to force his pupils into a mould and helping them to become themselves and not pallid imitations of himself, will be on the watch to detect signs of fears or abnormal impulses, and to correct them without fuss or drawing undue attention to them. Repression by punishment or prohibition is seldom justifiable and always a second best. In certain cases sharp treatment may be wise—there is room for surgery—but the danger of destroying confidence, of driving evil tendencies below the surface and of strengthen-

ing them in accordance with the law of reversed effort is great. Jesus paid almost no attention to the denunciation of sin : He set Himself to cure it by emphasizing its opposite ; He made love so natural and so attractive that His disciples slipped out of bad habits and selfish actions almost without knowing it.

Here is the stage of the nursery school for children from three to eight years of age.

(2) Specific teaching begins with the definite attempt to give coherent understanding of what has been rather felt than apprehended. To show the character of God and of His purpose in His universe, from reflection upon the normal data of experience, is a task which will give scope to the ingenuity and sympathies of the teacher. It is so easy to set out nice catechisms describing our belief about God, our explanation of Christ, our scheme of salvation—so easy and so often disastrous. Unless our faith is related to and discovered from the events of life, it will belong to a world of myth or of duties self-consciously discharged but subconsciously resented. Jesus by the method of parable helped His disciples to reach their own conclusions, to think out their faith for themselves, to form their own convictions of its validity. Those who have once ' found God ' in the sowing of a field or the baking of a loaf will find that the discovery sanctifies for them a whole aspect of daily life : they will have an open avenue into the presence of God.

The actual lessons—biology, history, languages, manual work, art—can all be in their place parables of the Kingdom, carrying a Godward reference, and so far as they testify to beauty, truth or goodness manifesting His energy. It is not that we should, so to speak, ' point the moral ' of our lessons ; but if every lesson, so far as it has æsthetic, intellectual or moral worth, is recognized as part of an education whose aim is life in God, the pupils will themselves relate the particular subject to the one dominant interest. In God there is room for all human values, for all that is lovely

and honest and of good report; and the wider the background against which we can see God, the richer will be our religion and the more fully integrated our life.

To write so is to speak of an ideal. At present our education suffers sadly from the departmentalizing of knowledge. We need more than anything else a synthetic view of our whole task, which shall see science and literature, art and athletics no longer as isolated and often antagonistic interests, but as elements in a single process and serving a single end, the building up of persons physically, artistically, intellectually and morally full grown. Religion could and should be the queen of sciences, the subject with which all else is connected, to which all else contributes. Too often it appears as an extra, thrust into an irreligious or secular curriculum, and serving at best as a 'compensation' for those who find other subjects uncongenial and normal life too hard. And the result is to make education, even religious education, a technical or vocational training, rather than a means for the growth of integrated personalities, whose wide range of interest is harmonized by the only element that can unify all human worth, the practice of the presence of God.

At this stage we shall be dealing with children from eight to twelve years old, when curiosity is strong and expansion of interest rapid. At no stage is the securing of right proportion by a curriculum planned to produce level all-round development more essential.

(3) As with Jesus so with the Christian teacher this early stage of primary education leads on to another. Hero-worship marks the opening phase of adolescence, and before it the child should be led on from the discovery of God in his normal experience to the discovery of God in Jesus. It will, of course, be neither possible nor desirable to keep out the acknowledgment of Jesus, nor the facts of His life and character, from the previous stages. He will enter not only into the worship and religious teaching, but into the history and literature, the art and the science lessons; but

it seems clear from His own method that familiarity with Him as the greatest figure in human affairs must precede confession of Him as Son of God, and that the confession must be made by the pupils rather than imposed upon them. To let them think of Him in conventional terms as a mild, ethereal, haloed, traditionalized figure is too often to make Him unreal: to show Him in the setting of piety or of the Eucharist may make Him 'numinous' but will certainly not make Him lovable. Rather, as they discover the difficulties and temptations of life let them find Him as the friend who has overcome and is strong; the hero who faced evil in His loneliness, who never faltered in His loyalty, who could not be suborned by comfort or popularity or the itch for power; the comrade in whose presence there is no room for cowardice or greed.

Not the least acute of the problems that confront the teacher is the treatment of the first flowering of intense emotion at the period of adolescence. Though no doubt associated with the development of sex life, this hero-worship of the boy or girl is in itself sexless and demands no physical expression: it is perhaps the purest emotion of our whole lives. Too often teachers regard it with suspicion and strive to repress it, thereby driving it underground, where it may take morbid courses or be wasted, leaving the person impoverished. If this first passion could be definitely attached to Jesus, the result would be a fine healthy and normal relationship and an immense enrichment of life. Vital experience of His presence and power may not yet come consciously, but He will take the place that would otherwise be filled either by some figure of romance or by a teacher or older schoolfellow. And from this devotion will come a wiser and more balanced relationship.

In addition to the Synoptic Gospels it should be possible at this stage to give careful teaching as to the main facts of the spiritual experience of St Paul. Detailed treatment of his letters and of the development of his thought will come later, but it will not be too early to explain his know-

ledge of the risen Christ, his doctrine of faith and of its effects in freeing him from sin, and something of his sense of the presence and indwelling of the Spirit of Jesus. The objective will be to assist the adolescent to realize the actual companionship of the Master, and to begin to think of Him not only as an historical character but as a living friend.

This period from the age of twelve to fourteen is obviously of crucial importance: there is no phase of education at which development is so certain and so easy to guide.

(4) Thenceforward comes a time of stress as life opens out before the adolescent, and the mental and physical changes associated with puberty introduce new complications and new powers. Jesus after St Peter's confession set Himself to help His disciples to work out the corollaries of that confession, to amplify and deepen their concept of the character of God, to revise their standards of human worth and their ideals of human conduct, and gradually to accept for themselves His way of redemptive life.

At this stage specialization is right and necessary. The particular aptitude and future work of the pupil will determine the line of his studies. He has to be fitted to take his place in the community, to equip himself for his vocation, and to see his life's work, whatever it be, in relation to the society of which he is a member. Hence the paramount need to give prominence to the concept of diversity of function within the unity of a common faith and common effort. The pupil must be helped to see that his own specific tasks are in themselves a ministry—whether he be a farm-labourer or a teacher he is to live in and for Christ, finding in his own work his chief means of service. He must also be linked up with his fellows by sharing in the Christian heritage of thought and worship, of standards and responsibilities. It must be borne in mind that all work, if it be service to welfare, is work for God; and that there are special and shared activities (to which the word 'religious' in its narrower sense belongs) which symbolize and enhance the communal consciousness of the Christian society. All

members have not the same office, yet all are of the body.

During this period the teacher will obviously have the opportunity to develop lines of study in both of these directions. There will be need not only to see that the special subject is closely related to a general Christian outlook, so that it can be regarded as affording a sphere for service, but also to consider the application of Christian principles to the conditions under which the life's work is done. In a primitive community the problems of corporate life which create such acute difficulties in industrialized areas may not arise. But even so there will be questions on which personal conviction and social usage come into conflict; and the teacher may be able to assist in creating a desire in his pupils not only to live and work Christianly but to promote the adoption of Christian standards and values.

In the other direction, in the teaching of religion the personal conviction of the sufficiency of Christ must be developed into a Christian outlook upon nature and history, a Christian theology, a Christian experience of prayer and churchmanship. The study of the Old Testament, of the development of thought in the Fourth Evangelist and in St Paul, and of Christian doctrine and worship will have to be so arranged as to spring out of and enrich the central faith in Christ.

CHARLES E. RAVEN

A CHRISTIAN LOOKS AT INDIA

By NICOL MACNICOL, D.Litt.

SOME of us have looked at India so long and so wistfully that we cannot now see her clearly. Our longing comes between us and her. And yet there is nothing so necessary as that from time to time we should perceive steadily and without distortion the aspect of this people's spirit, the direction in which they are journeying. We have to labour to divest ourselves of our preconceptions and prejudices, to overcome our narrow patriotisms, if by any means we may reach reality. These films of falsehood are immensely hard to get rid of; they seem to have become incorporated with our being, and especially so in the case of those of us who have come to this land from the West. At the same time by means of diligent study and of sympathy, and helped, if at all we can secure such help, by the grace of humility, we may be enabled to win to some understanding of this mystery, exploring it 'as if we were God's spies.' What is needed is that we should look at India with the eyes of a Christian. But we are all so imperfectly Christian. While we essay the task—as surely all who desire to serve India must—we do so knowing that that clarity of vision which was Christ's is not ours, nor indeed any man's. We grope in the dark wood, seeking the path.

The editor of the *Prabuddha Bharata*, the monthly organ of the Ramkrishna Mission, recently contributed to his magazine an article bearing the title, 'Whither India?' We ask the same question. To him the greatest danger of the time is from those leaders whose aim is 'to banish religion from India'—'Occidentalists,' yet wearing *khaddar* dress, nationalists who are the enemies of India's national ideals. With this writer's fears and forebodings we must

fully sympathize. It will be a disaster not for India only but for the world if this people should abandon the controlling interest of all her past history and should shift her course now from ' spirituality ' to secularism. In seeking to avert that catastrophe the Christian will stand side by side with the adherent of the Ramkrishna sect.

It is a sense of this new alignment that causes some of those who are most sincere in their service alike of Christ and of India to bid the missionary no longer consider himself as engaged in a conflict against Hinduism or against Islam. For them the fact that, as one of them says, we have to do not with systems but with persons ' has more and more become a fundamental truth.' That such a change of attitude is demanded there can be little doubt, but at the same time while shunning one error we must beware lest we fall into another. We must chart our course with care. ' Religion ' and ' spirituality ' are ambiguous words and it is necessary to be sure of what they signify. There is a secularism, which has in it noble elements of loyalty to truth and of self-sacrifice in the pursuit of truth, and yet, as von Hügel reminds us, these are not religion. And so also it is not religion in von Hügel's sense—which is the Christian sense—to travel in however spiritual a guise by the Vedantic road. It is not enough to ingeminate ' spirituality.' We have to see to it that we are journeying by the road of love and penitence to the feet of a holy God. The Vedanta often creates unworldliness and simplicity : it does not create ' strength to be sacrificed and save.' Its spirituality is an infection, an atmosphere, a pervasive temper : it produces at best a pallid, twilight beauty. Its partial truth is deeply hostile to that full-orbed revelation of a God of grace and holiness of which we claim to be the messengers. The god Pan, Sainte-Beuve has said, is Christ's most deadly enemy ; and he is so because he empties life of reality and significance and because he gives us no God to whom we can kneel, calling Him Father. We have accordingly to see to it, as far as in us lies, that while India is

not handed over to the cruel dominion of secularism, she is not left indifferent and inert in an empty world of dream. We have to beware of

> . . . the equivocation of the fiend,
> That lies like truth.

'Religion,' says Baron von Hügel, 'is adoration,' and the God and Father of the Lord Jesus Christ is a God whom India can and shall adore.

It is well to place in the forefront of our investigation these convictions. We desire to see the Indian situation, so far as we are able, in its reality, free from all illusion. At the same time we cannot, of course, see it otherwise than as a situation for which the one full and final cure is the discovery and adoration of God in Christ Jesus. It follows accordingly that to us the things that have significance in India are those things that either help its people to see, and to submit to, Christ, or that prevent their doing so. There are many things inhabiting the hearts of all of us that obscure our vision of the beauty of Christ and hold us apart from Him, but of recent years there have been special circumstances that in the case of India and its people have dimmed men's eyes to Him and hid Him from them. It is to some of these special circumstances that I wish to draw attention. A century ago, Ram Mohun Roy could view Jesus with calm admiration, Keshub Chander Sen could claim Him with passion, Pratap Chunder Moozumdar could accept Him as India's own possession. Even in our own time those like Sir Narayan Chandavarkar who were above or outside the battle could see and reverence His beauty. But—and this is what I wish to emphasize—most of us in recent years have been in the midst of a battle, and the smoke of it and the dust have obscured many things and certainly have obscured for India the face of Jesus Christ. Added to the hindrances to clear vision that come from the nature of us all has been this special hindrance due to the passion that the national conflict has produced.

Let me try to make clear what I mean. I am speaking

now, of course, of the educated, politically minded section of India only and I wish to evaluate its capacity to see and respond to religious truth. We must be aware, for example, of a profound change in the outlook of educated Bengal today from what it was in the days of Keshub Chander Sen. All over the land there has been felt a returning tide of Hinduism, but what I wish to note is what, in the case at least of the educated classes, has been the cause of this return and what, as a result, is its religious value. It may be illustrated and its religious value appraised by means of two incidents that have taken place recently in different parts of India—the one in the City College, Calcutta, and the other in Bangalore—both of them symptomatic of a widespread malady. The City College is a Brahmo college, the product of a period of religious activity and earnestness when reforming zeal was unimpeded by politics or patriotism. In these circumstances idolatry was rejected and within the walls of the college hostel forbidden. But today Hinduism and idolatry have returned, not as a result of any religious conviction but because they have become a flag of patriotism. And so, Saraswati must be worshipped by the students in even the Ram Mohun Roy hostel of the college. Similarly in Bangalore alleged disrespect to the idol of Ganesh has set passion aflame in the colleges and high schools of the city and caused riot and bloodshed.

These are only two incidents indicative of a subtle transformation that has been passing over the whole of India. Those who breathe the atmosphere of political passion—and that means especially the students—have found it impossible to keep separate their politics and their religion. Inevitably, real religion has suffered from the association. It is impossible to believe that in the case of most of these young men there was any real religious attachment to Saraswati or Ganesh. Even in the case of the Bengali Roman Catholic, Upadhyaya Brahmabandhav, who died in 1907, this change that the changing times have produced can be discerned. In his earlier years he

was a champion of Christianity against Hinduism and theosophy: later he incurred the censure of his Church for his engrossment with politics. His faith, no doubt, remained the same throughout, but a new and powerful sentiment had surged up within him deeply affecting his bearing towards the world around him. This shifting of the centre of interest from religion to politics is the key to our understanding, it seems to me, of the religious situation in India at the present time. Religion has no longer the central place in the life of educated India that it once had. It has been degraded to become a means to a secular end. It has been deliberately so used by political leaders, such as Mr B. G. Tilak, and is frankly spoken of by some of them as though it were little more. As a consequence the central thing in Hinduism has become *sangathan* [1] rather than *sannyāsa*, and everything in the religion is made subordinate to what Dr Moonje calls 'toning up Hindu muscles.'

Now in so far as this account that I have given of things in India is true, it represents a serious religious decline. And what I have been saying of Hinduism applies also to Islam. If it were my concern here to consider Christianity I could demonstrate how it too shares in this general degradation. *Sangathan* and *shuddhi* [2] with the Hindu, *tabligh* and *tanzim* [3] with the Moslem, talk of 'the white man's religion' in the case of the Christian—these are all indications of a common distortion of outlook that rivalry and conflict have created. All these things are symptoms of sectarian partisanship, and not of religion. They create an atmosphere unfavourable to the growth of truth and goodness, hostile to the rule of God. Religion becomes a dead issue for those whom these things engross, as, almost inevitably, they engross so many in India to-day. We may say that those things that Christ symbolizes and reveals are hid from their eyes.

[1] The term used to designate the formation of a disciplined Hindu organization. *Sannyāsa* represents the traditional Hindu ideal of abandonment of the world.

[2] Reconversion to Hinduism.

[3] Moslem brotherhood.

There is another and even more fatal influence around us that is equally hostile to religion, whether it be the religion of Christ or that of a sincerely Hindu or Moslem spirituality. This is represented not by a return to a Hinduism professed but no longer believed, but by an acceptance of the creed of secularism. That this within the present generation has lowered the whole moral and religious level in the case of certain circles of the community no one can doubt. We have seen already that the fact is gravely disturbing religious minds within Hinduism. It is sufficient to cite as additional evidence the testimony of Mr Gandhi. Addressing a meeting in Ahmedabad in August 1928, he says :

> I am inundated with letters from young men who write frankly about their evil habits and about the void that their unbelief has made in their lives. No mere medical advice can bring them relief. I can only tell them that there is no way but that of surrender to and trust in God and His Grace.

Wherever all the world over the secularism and unbelief of to-day have created a void in the hearts of the young, there these evil fruits have followed and the only way of hope is that to which Mr Gandhi calls them back.

But even where no such evil spirits have entered and desecrated the empty place, there has been everywhere grievous loss from the loss of faith. We see this even in Poona, a city that has been a centre of some of the most self-sacrificing service that modern India has produced. A generation ago there were in this part of India men of deep religious life and conviction such as M. G. Ranade, Sir R. G. Bhandarkar, Sir Narayan Chandavarkar. They were able in those days both to keep politics in their place and to hold secularism at bay. But to-day the barriers are down against both these enemies, and secularism especially has come in like a flood. For the spirit of this new generation, as of the older one, the eagerness of so many to serve, their sacrifice, no one can have anything but praise and admiration. But we have to add that, admirable as

is their idealism and self-devotion, it is not religion. It does not spring from a religious root, and whether it has strength and permanence remains yet to be seen. 'We do not pray,' these young men of the new generation tell us; 'for us work is prayer.' A leading swarajist in Benares said frankly in a Christian conference that India did not want Christ, but she wanted the Christian spirit of justice and service. He did not realize that the two cannot be separated. This new generation has rejected 'Hindu mediævalism' and 'Asiatic barbarism' (these are phrases quoted by the editor of the *Prabuddha Bharata* in a description by him of this class of modern Indians), but they want to retain the benefits and the virtues of secular civilization. Let me quote a description of the position in which such Indians find themselves by Dr H. C. E. Zacharias who, though not an Indian, has lived in close relation with many of the best among them in Poona. Their Hinduism, he says, has been overcome

> not by Christianity, alas, but by the cheap rationalism of the Rationalist Press Association. On the way to saying that all religions are false, some Indians still prefer saying that all religions are true; the one forms the van, the other the rearguard of modern educated Hindus. But both realize whither their ideas tend, to wit, Moscow and certainly not Benares.

But whether their ideas tend to Moscow or to Benares, they tend in either case away from real religion. Whether their religion is made the instrument of politics or whether it is flung away as outworn, in either case they are definitely the enemies of the real religious spirit and attitude. Whether it be through prejudice or through indifference, in either case they are blind to what Christ symbolizes and reveals. It does not appear to me as a Christian missionary looking at India and endeavouring to view it with unprejudiced eyes, that in these respects India shows advance in real religion.

On the other hand, when some in India, fearing the consequences to their people of an abandonment of faith, have advocated, as was recently the case in Bombay, the teaching

in all schools and colleges of the principles of theistic religion, the proposal has produced violent protests on the part of those who desire to be rid finally of God—'that baneful thing called God,' as one of them writes. 'Of all the people in the world,' he goes on, 'it is we Indians that require more and more materialism. We have had too much of religion; that accounts for our position to-day as a bankrupt nation.' No doubt it is this widespread feeling that has caused Pandit Motilal Nehru and his coadjutors, in framing the new Constitution for India which has been widely accepted as the national demand, to exclude religion from their concern and apply themselves to the task of establishing a secular state. One group among the young political leaders, with Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru as their spokesman, have definitely set before themselves as one of their aims, 'to free India from the grip of religion.'

Over against these powerful influences bearing the land away from its ancient devotion to the things of the spirit, we have to place certain groups that are labouring earnestly to stem this tide. Among these there are none more deserving of respect than the Ramkrishna Mission that promulgates the ideals of Sri Ramkrishna and his disciple, Swami Vivekananda. 'In India,' Swami Vivekananda once said, 'religious life forms the centre, the key-note of the whole music of national life.' True to this conviction, the whole movement represented by the Ramkrishna Mission builds its service of India upon a religious foundation. Like the older movement that centres round the Arya Samaj, this movement represents a real religious quickening within Hinduism, a reaction to a faith in spiritual forces and away from the prevailing materialism of the day. The motto of the Ramkrishna Mission is renunciation and service, and it seeks the spring of its energy at a religious source. And yet one can hardly employ even in this connexion the phrase of Jesus of 'a reign of God.' We can hardly expect, although this movement seems so closely allied with the Christian message of duty and service, that even here Christ's message

of surrender to a holy and loving Father and of a life of fellowship and obedience given up to Him will be accepted. The two religions meet, it would seem, on the surface, but their roots are wide apart. A doctrine rooted in the Vedanta and a doctrine rooted in theism cannot harmonize.

In all that I have been saying I have been dealing, as is often the case when one tries to generalize about India, with the articulate few and ignoring the silent multitudes. What can one say of the progress among them of a true, spiritual, ethical religion ? The Ramkrishna Mission has been labouring at a few centres to kindle this lamp. The Arya Samaj has been engaged on a larger scale and through a much longer period of time in a similar task in the north. How far they have succeeded in these efforts among the common people of the land and how widely the lamps they have lit cast their rays, I cannot tell. I expect, however, that they would agree that the great multitude of the people remain, indeed, genuinely religious, as they have been through the centuries, but that they remain so at much the same level as in the past. Their religion is one that is customary, unprogressive, that does not lift the generations to new moral purpose. The peasantry are crushed by heavy burdens of fear, of poverty, of ignorance, and they discover in their religion no power that lifts them up out of the pit. No great awakening word has come to them stirring them from the heavy slumber of the centuries.

The Christian missionary goes about among the people, high and low, simple and highly educated, holding up before them, as he believes, that which their hearts really desire, the vision of supreme love and goodness ; but, for whatever reason, their eyes are holden so that they but seldom see. More and more Jesus Christ is being recognized, in India as everywhere, as the revelation of supreme beauty, and yet to how many He appears to have no form or comeliness. Why does not the power of Christ to constrain the heart sweep like a tide across the land ? To a Christian the mystery of Christ's tarrying demands everywhere an explanation,

and it certainly demands it in this land which has known in other days the dominion of religion over men. What is it that keeps the flood-gates locked? We have seen something of the influences, hostile to religion and therefore hostile to Christ, that are at work. But the barriers are not only those between themselves and God that the Hindu and Moslem people of the land have built. There are others for which we ourselves, messengers of Christ, are responsible. The fault of failure to receive this message may lie as much on the lips of those who speak it as in the ears of those who have refused to hear. Let us examine ourselves and see. If we are to survey the Indian situation as the foreign missionary views it, then this inquisition must include the foreign missionary himself.

There is no charge more commonly brought against 'the West' at the present time in contrast with 'the spiritual East' than that of its alleged materialism. It is true—and symptomatic of a dangerous transformation that is in process in India and to which attention has already been drawn—that sometimes to-day one hears Indians denouncing this virtue of 'spirituality' as mere sloth and the source of all their woes. That is what stirs Govind Das in his recent book on Hinduism to exclaim that 'it is the doughty fighter in life's battles who safely crosses the ocean of *samsara* [1] and not the cross-legged [2] weakling.' But whether we see India as 'the *rishi* nation' or as made up of 'cross-legged weaklings,' we who are messengers of Christ have to make sure that the strength we bring to India, and by which we believe she can be begotten again to insight and to power, is spiritual and not carnal. We have here a temptation against which all of us—East or West—have to be continually on our guard, and it may well be that in the case of us of the West, with our record of domination and aggressiveness, there is need for special vigilance.

The warning that this is so has been given to us recently

[1] That is, of bondage to the world and rebirth.
[2] The orthodox attitude of meditation.

by a deeply sympathetic observer, Professor Rudolf Otto of Marburg. An impression made upon him, he tells us, during a recent visit to India and confirmed by what he heard at the Jerusalem meeting of the International Missionary Council is that missions are 'very strongly secularized.' This is a serious criticism to which we must give heed. Have we been forgetting, while tending the ills of India, that their healing will come not from our 'spermaceti,' not from measures of social reform and material 'uplift,' but by the breaking forth upon this land of the powers of the eternal world. We have perhaps sometimes forgotten this and, absorbed in compassionate and wholly Christian care for the down-trodden and the oppressed, have neglected to keep open the one channel of hope for men, the channel of the divine and recreative grace of God, which is Christ Jesus. If many of the people of India have been tempted in recent years to cast aside her ancient spiritual tradition, like the other 'poor Indian' of the tale who 'threw away the pearl, richer than all his tribe,' have not we, too, been tempted to a like error? The value of *swaraj* need not be any the less to the patriotic Hindu, nor that of schemes of social service and economic betterment any the less to the Christian, though they both agree in seeking at the same time for a deeper cure for India's woes. We have perhaps been in danger of forgetting that Christianity is not 'the law of an external commandment' but that it is the source from which flows 'the power of an endless life.' When this life flows from its high places across 'the marishes and bitter places' of this land, then and then only shall they be healed. We may well summon all who deeply believe with us in a transcendent order to share in this battle of the Spirit against the forces of night and of despair. They are our fellow-soldiers. But at the same time we know that those who have Christ to lead them alone possess the source of unconquerable strength.

We have sought, and rightly sought, to make clear to India that however foreign we, the messengers of Christ

from other lands, may appear, by reason of the hard western crust that has grown upon us and of which we find it so difficult to get rid, yet our message itself is nothing strange or alien. It belongs to India, we believe, because it belongs to the universal human heart: and it can speak the language of India's ancient religious longings. This has to be made clear beyond mistake to the people of this land. There is no patriotism in rejecting Christ, since Christ, being the Son of Man, is a Son, in very truth, of India.

Our recognition of the necessity of the translation of Christianity into the language of the Indian spirit must not, however, induce us to pay for this too high a price. We must not give away the heart of the Christian Gospel and leave it a frigid and powerless doctrine. We have seen that there is a danger lest we ourselves from mere lack of faith and spiritual insight should reduce Christianity to the level of an ethical system; there is a danger also lest, in our anxiety to commend it to India, we should make such terms with Indian thought as may have the same effect of impotence. The Gospel of Christ is not a Christianity so chained by alleged natural laws that no inundation of the divine life and power is any longer possible; nor is it for the same reason a syncretism that can find room within it for the doctrine of the Vedanta. No river of renewal can flow with new life for men within that static system: it possesses no living springs, for it possesses no living God. This is why, as Dr Heiler has pointed out, attempts by Indian thinkers to combine 'liberal' Christianity of the rationalistic type with the mystical philosophy of the Upanishads were bound to prove barren and unfruitful. They failed because, in an attempt to syncretize an emasculated Christianity with the wisdom of the Vedas, they left no channel 'along which the vital and central truths of Christianity could penetrate the spiritual life of India.'[1]

In such a pantheistic soil—if we may change the metaphor—the plant of the Christian Gospel cannot take root

[1] Heiler's *Sadhu Sundar Singh*, p. 231.

and grow. When the Jerusalem meeting in its 'Messages and Recommendations' calls upon the followers of non-Christian religions to co-operate with the Christian 'against all the evils of secularism,'[1] by 'religion' must be meant a faith in God which is able to release streams of new life for men. A doctrine which says to the murderer, 'And thou, too, art He,' may create a spirit of submission and acceptance that is far removed from the hard and selfish temper that secularism so often seems to breed: and yet there is little to choose between them as messages of hope and of renewal for mankind.

Mr C. F. Andrews has recently quoted the testimony of 'one of the most thoughtful and experienced of the Cambridge Brotherhood at Delhi' to the effect that if he had his life in India to live over again he would, in view of the strength of the forces of materialism in India as everywhere, 'seek to bind together those who truly believe in God.' That, I have no doubt, is the kind of co-operation against the evils of secularism that the Jerusalem meeting invites. But such co-operation should proceed further than a mere recognition of a common enemy. It should interpret theism, Hindu and Moslem, to itself and reveal its deepest meaning to be Christ. As the Rose of Sharon came forth from the stem of Jesse, so from that of Islam likewise, and even from the gnarled and ancient root of Hinduism, this that is the Rose of all the world may yet—and surely shall—bud and blossom and scatter abroad its fragrance.

In all that I have said I have taken it for granted that if the reign of God which Christ proclaimed is to be established in India, all that is necessary is that men's ears be unstopped to hear Christ and their eyes opened to see Him. We have surveyed some of the barriers that, as it seems to me, are hindering this end—barriers on the side of India of prejudice and preoccupation, barriers on the side of the messengers to India of inadequacy fitly to convey the

[1] *The World Mission of Christianity*, p. 14.

message. There remains another distorting influence to be acknowledged, as apt to render the foreign missionary unequal to his task. This is what is often described as his imperialism, whether by that we mean a dominance that is political or one that claims to be religious. It is hardly necessary to make it clear that we must free ourselves at any cost from the former, for the spirit of arrogance and of selfishness which it breeds is fatal to our message. We all acknowledge that. What concord hath Christ with Belial ? But whether we have succeeded in actually casting out of ourselves this evil spirit is another question. It seems harder for some of us from the West to accomplish this than for the Ethiopian to change his skin. And even when by the divine grace this miracle is wrought we may remain, in spite of ourselves, subjected to an imperialist order that still uses us as instruments of its purpose of domination. That at least is the aspect that we bear to those who view us with resentful eyes as belonging to the company of their oppressors or their exploiters.

A single example may be sufficient to give us a glimpse of ourselves as some others see us. One of the most single-minded followers of Mr Gandhi, and one who has given plain proof by his life of his sincerity in the service of the poor, is Mr C. Rajagopalachari. Writing of the hand-spinning (or *khaddar*) to which Mr Gandhi attaches such importance as a means of saving the villagers from economic serfdom, he says in a private letter:

> Whatever may be the high aims and spiritual ideals of missions, they cannot ignore the danger to British trade that ultimately *khaddar* threatens. Are they Christian enough to say and feel, 'Never mind what happens to British trade, let the idle people in India have the work which is suitable to them and which turns out what the people want, viz. cotton cloth' ? I do not think it ever possible to get missions to accept such a fully Christian policy. Individuals, of course, there are and will be whose Christianity is above nationality in thought, word and deed.

Here we have a searching test applied to us by which our Christianity is being judged. If we to those watching

eyes appear to fail, then our Christianity is condemned and rejected.

A subtler selfishness is that which 'religious imperialism' may reveal. This is what the Jerusalem 'Messages and Recommendations' describe as the desire to 'impose beliefs and practices on others in order to manage their souls in their supposed interests.'[1] Whatever men see and submit themselves to must be seen with their own eyes and submitted to by their own wills, if it is to be really their own possession. However clear and authoritative a truth may appear to us, however high and imperial the King whose ambassadors we are, we can—God Himself can—as St Paul saw, do no more than 'beseech.'[2] Christians have no right to act as the Fascisti of the spiritual world. The only compulsion that can be suffered in the realm of the Spirit is the compulsion of truth—never that of us partisan men. To free India and ourselves from partisanship, to create an atmosphere where the message of truth will be spoken without distortion and will be heard without hostility, that is—at the present time especially—an extraordinarily difficult task. Until this is in some measure achieved and until in India there is the hearing ear and the understanding heart, religion, and certainly the religion of Jesus, will be slow to win its way. And until the messengers of the religion of Jesus are able 'to speak the truth in love' and so to 'commend themselves to every man's conscience in the sight of God,' a veil will remain, as at present, over this Gospel.

Who is sufficient for these things—who among us 'frail vessels of earth'? The channels of the divine grace seem choked and clogged. But one thing can clear them, when in answer to our faith—a faith that is surely rising again even now from the dust—a tide of divine power will bear away all barriers and the sluices will be opened upon this thirsty land.

Nicol Macnicol

[1] *The World Mission of Christianity*, p. 10.

[2] 2 Cor. v. 20.

MISSIONARY WORK AND RACE EDUCATION IN AFRICA

By JULIUS RICHTER, D.Theol., D.D.

MISSIONS may be considered from different standpoints: as preparing the way for the kingdom of God; as building up the Christian Church; or as bringing health to individuals by rescuing them from the swamp and darkness of heathendom, and establishing them in the sunshine of God's kingdom.

In considering missionary work from the historical point of view we must be prepared to test it from two angles: how far it raises and ennobles the spiritual life of civilized peoples, and whether it raises lesser developed races to the level of the more highly developed. Both tasks are common to all world religions. Buddhism and Islam may be subjected to a similar historical test. It is a valuable part of the service which religion renders to mankind. Where the service is rendered to more highly developed races the advantage is mutual. The culture which is already in existence tends to a fuller and richer development of the religion which is being introduced, as, for instance, Greek philosophy was the foster-mother of Christian dogma, and Roman judicial and civic consciousness the guardian of mediæval church consciousness. On the other hand, religion often awakens the dormant powers of peoples to a fuller unfolding; look, for instance, at the fine flower of culture which Islam produced in most of the old countries on the shores of the Mediterranean.

In this paper we are considering the other service which religion renders to the less developed races. It is one of the greatest privileges of a world religion to touch a race at the moment when it emerges from the prehistoric

stage on to that of history. It is a determining factor for such a race which religion influences it at this decisive turning-point. We have only to remember how between the tenth century and the thirteenth, when the fate of humanity in the Near and Far East appeared to be in the hands of wild barbarians from the steppes of Asia, Buddhism on the one hand and Islam on the other absorbed these Mongolian and Turkish nomad races, and how their development differed according to their controlling religion.

Christianity had an especially clearly defined path which brought it into three ever-widening arenas: in the first three centuries the penetration and conquest of the civilized races of the old Mediterranean world; in the Middle Ages the education of the Teutonic and Slavonic peoples of Europe; and in recent times its twofold responsibility to the civilized peoples of Asia and the less developed peoples of Africa and Oceania and of parts of America. We will leave on one side the question of our responsibility towards the civilized peoples of Asia and likewise pass over the comprehensive service which the Roman Catholic Church rendered to Latin America during the in-gathering of the people into the Church in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and give our attention to the question: Can our missionary work to-day be effective in the education of the peoples of Africa and Oceania—peoples who have been dragged into the whirlpool of civilization almost against their will? That was one of the fundamental problems in connexion with religious education which so deeply exercised the gathering at Jerusalem. There is no doubt in my mind that the world will judge the value of missionary work among backward races from this standpoint.

On the whole the Church in the Middle Ages fulfilled her responsibility as a race educator with conspicuous success. She found the people entrusted to her care bloodthirsty barbarians; and she converted them into the channels of the most progressive form of civilization. Looking more

closely at the facts, we see that the Church found these peoples isolated from the rest of mankind, almost as if they were shut up in a nursery, their horizon confined to the continent of Europe. The Church was the bearer of the one culture within that horizon which was deeply desired. The demand of the younger races, whose thirst for knowledge had been awakened, was directed to this one object of attaining that culture.

A superficial judgment sums up mediæval mission work under two heads—the union of Church and State in order to bring about the forced conversion of the race, and the consent of the princes to the mass baptism of their subjects. (There is no such parallel in the mission field to-day.) But there were other factors in the mission field in the Middle Ages. In earlier times Celtic, and in later mendicant, friars, notably Franciscans and Dominicans, roamed the world, preaching the Gospel wherever they settled, with practically no official protection. The extensive missionary work of the Eastern Roman Empire, which has resulted to-day in about 150 million orthodox Catholics in East and South-East Europe, was carried on in heathen countries by men unarmed and without the protection of the State. The Church did not even attempt to impose on the young Churches its own ecclesiastical language or its hierarchy.

The Roman Catholic Church, on the other hand, was on the whole noticeably unproductive of direct and positive missionary work. It accomplished the evangelizing of only one of the seven small Anglo-Saxon kingdoms in England, namely Kent, and in the later Middle Ages sent bands of mendicant friars into distant countries, without much result in the way of building up the Church by these whom we might call advance skirmishers. For the rest, Rome directed her energies to organizing under her hierarchy the Churches which had sprung up independently, and in that way rendered brilliant service, especially when she had men as gifted as Boniface at her disposal.

England (with the exception of Kent), Scotland and also the three northern kingdoms were fortunate in having individual men—Celtic, Teutonic and Anglo-Saxon—who did the greater part of the foundation work, without the interference of foreign interests or of a colonization policy.

The mediæval missions must therefore be regarded from this angle and not only from that of enforced civilization of the Saxons by Charles the Great, the blood-drenched colonial Teutonic expansion beyond the Elbe and Saale, and the crusade missions in Mecklenburg, Prussia, the Baltic and Finland, which at bottom were ecclesiastical conquests in disguise.

So much for missions in the Middle Ages. What is our position to-day? Let us, for clearness, limit our consideration to Africa; although similar conditions exist in Oceania, among the uncivilized Indians in America, and among the depressed classes of India and China. The whole continent of Africa has been opened up in little more than two generations, divided up amongst the dominating European races, drawn irresistibly into the vortex of modern civilization, providing a ground for the exploitation of unlimited wealth in which, moreover, the Natives must work as labourers for their white masters.

These white masters are so powerful that they no longer depend upon the services of the Church and its missions. But naturally they are not unwilling to consult with them in order to learn how missions can further their interests. Why should they not accept such unselfish service? Up to and during the last century, the Church still felt herself to be the legitimate channel of human culture and was generally regarded as such by the people of Africa. That was her passport and her greatest attraction. The Natives are now recognizing more and more that the scientific and technical culture of Europe is something quite different from what the mission offers them. They realize with astonishment that some Europeans avoid missionaries, and in their conduct give the lie to the social standards of the

missionaries, and even quite openly show their scepticism of the teaching of Christ. The Natives naturally have little comprehension of the social and religious import of Christianity; what they cannot help seeing is the riches and the power of the whites, and these things they would like to possess. In the democratic atmosphere which is now spreading through the world, including Africa, they learn about the rights of the individual and the self-determination of peoples. It becomes clearer to them how ruthlessly they have been conquered and oppressed. They struggle against the situation, and their opposition takes the form of race antagonism. Can missions, above all can the missionaries on the spot, bridge this gulf between black and white? Can they range themselves on the side of the black? Ought they to put themselves on the side of the white?

The heathen Teutons, it is true, were bloodthirsty barbarians, but they were at heart fundamentally religious: their pious awe of the gods, the purity of their sex relationships, the devotion of the vassal to his overlord, respect for women and similar things were a proof of this. But to-day, unfortunately, things are different in Africa. The practice of polygamy, the cause of so many domestic troubles, has allowed sensuality to flourish. The minds of the Natives are kept in a fog of fear and superstition by the demoniacal power of the witch doctor. For centuries the practice of slavery, with its evil accompaniments of slave raids, slave wars and slave exportation, has led to brutalizing human relationships, and contempt for human life. Only patience and wisdom can change the stony ground of Africa into good ground where the seeds of Christian morality may be sown.

The culture of the Church in the Middle Ages presented an essentially unified morality which was not affected by the schism between East and West, their mission fields being widely separated. Christianity to-day is divided and torn in a marked degree. The antagonism between Protestantism and Roman Catholicism is apparent. Competition between denominations unfortunately often takes the form

of an unhappy rivalry. Some missions and most of the Negro churches do not hesitate to trespass on the area of organized churches. The varied sectarianism of Ethiopianism with its hundred and more branch churches is the result of this in South Africa. In the face of all these difficulties is it possible to attain a united religious policy to be arrived at by such a disunited Christianity ?

The Church in the Middle Ages had no rival religion and outlook to distract it. To-day in North Africa, in the greater part of Equatorial Africa, and partly too in South Africa, missionary work has to face the strong rivalry of Islam, which was carrying on propaganda nearly one thousand years before the missions came on the field. Islam has already justified itself to the Negro as a channel of culture. It attracts him by its understanding of the attitude of the Negro's life and social customs, and it recommends itself to him as the religion of the coloured man as opposed to the white. Are Christian missions in a position to grapple with this pioneer competitor on the field ? Moreover, in Europe and America, crude ideals external to the Christian Church are being organized with increasing definiteness into systems of thought such as the scientific outlook of Marxism and the economic outlook of communism, which are beginning to struggle for the soul of the Negro. These are dangerous enemies within one's own camp.

Briefly, this is the position : We are faced with the problem of the religious education of the African peoples. Can that problem ever be solved ? What solutions offer themselves ? We can only give a few suggestions which seem conclusive to us.

The problem is the education, in the emphatically religious sense, of races who are only just stepping out of their prehistoric existence on to the stage of history, and who need to be equipped for their future. One of the most pronounced talents of the African is his power of imitation. His education must make contact with this highly developed gift. But here the road divides and goes in two almost

opposite directions. What the African likes is to imitate the European in everything. He wants to speak the same language, go to the same schools, pass the same examinations. If he is led along another road he suspects that the white man wants to keep the secret of power from him. Would it not then be simplest to base the Negro's education on the fact that he is a potential Frenchman, Portuguese, Englishman, who merely by accident has a brown or black skin ? Does not the civilization of the twelve million Negroes in the United States prove that this goal is attainable, and is valued by the Negro ?

On the other hand, is the Negro's psychological make-up fundamentally different from that of the white man ? The domestic and cultural conditions in Africa necessitate quite a different standard of civilization from that existing in the present day in France and England. The peoples of Europe have taken a thousand years and more to reach their present high standard of civilization. It is fantastic to expect that the Negro should skip this process of evolution and be able to reach, with one bound, the full heights of modern culture. It is essentially the task of Christianity to lay the necessary spiritual foundations. What we must strive for is a form of Christianity which the Negro can embrace with his whole soul, a form of Christian culture suitable to the Negro, a national Negro Church ; just as we Germans through the work of Martin Luther have arrived at our type of Christianity, and as the Indian and Chinese Christians long for a national Church.

Here is the decisive point on which thought is divided. Our American friends will understand that the Christianizing of Africa need not necessarily follow the same road as the Christianizing of the American Negro. We do not want to dress up the African in a ready-made modern culture ; we must allow him at least a generation in which to grow into it. It was an immeasurable advantage to the people of the Middle Ages that their isolation gave them centuries in which to develop a clearly differentiated form of Christi-

anity—English, Irish, Swedish, German, Russian. Have we both the courage and the patience to allow the African peoples time to grow into Christianity, and to model a form for it according to their own psychological needs ?

A first task of the educationist is to win the confidence of the pupils. Two things are needed for this : that the teacher should understand his pupil, and conversely that the pupil should understand his teacher. It is hardly necessary to point out how much more difficult this task is made by the disparity of culture, caused by climatic conditions, which necessitate different standards of life ; by a growing race antagonism ; and by a parallel operation of political and scientific undertakings which are carried out in quite another spirit. The task is only rendered possible of achievement by a mastery of the pupil's mother tongue, a sympathetic attempt to understand his religious and social heritage, and at the same time by a medical and social service carried out in an unvarying friendly and sympathetic spirit—an object lesson of Christian love.

Another important but especially difficult problem is how to raise the moral standard so that a consciousness of holiness is awakened and fostered in the community. Great care and an ever-watchful patience are needed in order to overcome such inherent evils as the brutalization of sexual life and widespread heathen superstition. Happily the religious is one of the strongest and deepest of the Negro's emotions. The problem of how to raise the Negro from his degraded state to a higher, more spiritual state of life needs to be most carefully thought out by experienced missionaries and teachers. Religious instruction in the schools, especially the teaching of Bible stories and hymns, which Negro children love, is a particularly useful means to this end ; but there are, of course, many other methods. The gulf between the Negro and the white man will only be bridged by this educational work if the larger and more important share of the work is left to the Native. The root of the problem, therefore, is the winning and training

of the Natives as elders, teachers, evangelists and preachers, so that they are really capable of fulfilling their service. It is important to realize that their characters must be developed in a way that will not estrange them from their own people.

Although it is obvious that the development of autonomous Churches is the goal of missionary work, it must be remembered that long years of barbarism, and contact with other white people who despise the Negro, make it highly desirable that for some time to come white missionaries should remain in positions of influence in their church organization. For this reason, œcumenical Churches, such as the Roman Catholic, the Anglican and the Methodist Episcopal, have special advantages in the African mission field.

We have omitted from this sketch the current views of pedagogic schools of thought, such as the Herbart type, child psychology, education according to environment and vocation. Our aim in this article was to emphasize the importance of race education, and to focus attention on it.

Can the task be accomplished ? Is the missionary work of the various church groups capable of carrying it through ? As missionaries we are accustomed to seize upon the task which lies clearly ahead of us, without pausing to wonder what the result will be. At the same time, the experience of one and a quarter centuries of African missionary work, and our faith in the never-failing power of the Holy Spirit lead us to maintain that the missionary position to-day is as favourable as that with which the Christian Church was faced in the Middle Ages.

JULIUS RICHTER

JOHN OF MONTE-CORVINO

FIRST ARCHBISHOP OF PEKIN IN THE FOURTEENTH CENTURY

By J. de GHELLINCK, S.J.

AS is well known to historians, the conquests of the Mongol in the thirteenth century, which covered a great part of Asia and eastern Europe, from the Sea of China to the Dnieper and the Upper Vistula, gave occasion to a commercial intercourse between Europe and China which lasted nearly a century and, during a certain period, attained considerable importance. But it is not generally known that at the same time missionary activity travelled the same road as commercial enterprise, and that the Christian hierarchy was established at Pekin, and in China, some two centuries before European rule was established in India (1498), or in the Straits of Malacca and the Philippine Islands (1521). In the pages that follow it is intended to give a short sketch of the travels and work of the most prominent missionary of the period, John of Monte-Corvino.

China at that time was not known in Europe under its actual name, if known at all. Since the last days of the Roman Empire, which had but a scanty knowledge of the Far East, and the early period of the Byzantine Empire, which did not know much more about it, mediæval Europe had completely lost sight of China. In the middle of the thirteenth century some Franciscan friars, who were sent as ambassadors to the Mongol court of Karakorum—either by the Pope, Innocent IV, or by the French king, S. Louis IX—brought back to Europe a few details about this land in which 'paper was used as money and pictures served as writing.' Even William of Rubruck, the best

known of these travellers, had hardly reached the outskirts of China, and from Endenitso (Karakorum) on the Salenga, on the southern shores of Lake Baikal, he reported to his countrymen what he had heard of the marvellous country known as the realm of Cathay. A few years later the curiosity of Europe was stirred by the fascinating descriptions of Eastern Asia which Marco Polo brought back from Cathay after some twenty years (1275–92) at the court of Kubilai, one of the grandsons of Genghiz-Khan and the founder of the Mongol Empire of China.

As a result of the interest taken in eastern affairs, a mission was sent to the court of Cambalech, or Khan-baliq (Pekin), the capital city of China. The first missionaries, sent by Nicolas III, were not successful: they did not go farther than Persia; and when Kubilai, the most favourable to Christianity among the Mongol rulers, died in 1294, two years after he had sent back Marco Polo and his uncles to the Pope of Rome to obtain a Catholic mission for Pekin, no European missionary had yet found his way to Cathay.

The true founder of the mission of China, or Cathay, in the Middle Ages is the Franciscan John of Monte-Corvino, born about 1247 in Apulia in southern Italy. He was a member of the 'Company of Wanderers for Christ,' and had been sent to the East (Palestine and Persia) about the year 1279 by the General of the Franciscans. After some years' work in the East, Monte-Corvino went back to Rome as an ambassador of King Hethun II of Little Armenia. He was then in the prime of life and had mastered several oriental languages; he was no longer feeling his way.

Armed with letters from the first Franciscan Pope, Nicolas IV, for Hethun II, for Argun and especially for Kubilai, he set out again the same year (Bull *Gaudemus in Domino*, July 13th, 1289), and left St John of Acre a short time before this last stronghold was definitely lost by the Latin rulers. On his way to the East, he did not follow the northern route, as Plano-Carpini and Rubruck had done some forty years before, through the southern part of Russia,

the Kiptchak, in which new Franciscan missions were spreading. He elected to take the southern road through Persia, and left Tabriz in 1291. From the scanty information about his journey preserved by his Franciscan brethren, it is known that he was accompanied by a Dominican, Nicolas of Pistoia, and an Italian merchant, Peter of Lucalongo. All three disappeared towards the south, sailing for India, and from that moment nothing was heard of them, nor did any news arrive from the East for years.

Nicolas IV died in 1292 and three Popes succeeded him ; the Papal court was transferred from Rome to Avignon ; from other Franciscan missions to the Mongols news of development occasionally reached Europe, but as to the doings of John of Monte-Corvino silence continued to reign, and rumours were spread in Europe that he was dead. Then, one day in 1307, there arrived at Poitiers at the Papal court a strange message, like a voice from the other world : John of Monte-Corvino was still alive ; he was building churches ; he was teaching and actually undertaking, alone and successfully, the evangelization of China which had been foreseen by Rubruck ; with insistent demand he was crying out for helpers. This first letter, written in January 1305, was soon followed by a second or a third letter, written in February 1306, not to mention the one from India which the Dominican Menentillo of Spoleto has preserved for us in Italian, but about which we need not trouble ourselves here. John of Monte-Corvino had sent these letters either by the hand of a Mongol ambassador returning to the Kiptchak, or by European merchants, Genoese or Venetian, to the missionaries of Western Asia settled at Tabriz in Persia, one of the most important centres for commercial intercourse since the Mongol conquest. From Tabriz, at his request, they were forwarded to the Minister General of the Franciscans and to the Sovereign Pontiff. Thomas of Tolentino, who was then labouring amongst the Nestorians of Tabriz and Persia, was the bearer of these letters to Avignon.

Communications between Europe and the Far East had, indeed, never ceased since the days of William of Rubruck and Marco Polo. In 1303, as was later known from Monte-Corvino's letters, another Franciscan friar, Arnold of Cologne, or of Germany, found his way to Khan-baliq; two years later a physician from Lombardy whose route is not known joined the two Franciscans at Khan-baliq, and Genoese merchants, as is told by another missionary, had settled in the Chinese harbour of Zaitun (possibly Amoy or Chuanchow) in Fukien. The sea passage which Monte-Corvino had chosen was long; he had probably taken passage on a Chinese junk at the beginning of his journey, sailing down the Persian Gulf, via South India, Quilon, then Malacca, to the port of Zaitun. The northern trail, by the Crimea and the Caspian Sea or through Persia to Central Asia, was much shorter but was frequently closed by war.

It is interesting to hear the heroic missionary tell his own story some eighteen years after his departure from Europe. The earnestness of his double message makes commentary unnecessary:

> I, brother John of Monte-Corvino, of the Order of Minor Friars, departed from Tauris [Tabriz], a city of the Persians, in the year of the Lord 1291, and entered into India; and I was in the country of India and in the Church of St Thomas the Apostle for thirteen months, and I baptized there in different places about a hundred persons. And the companion of my journey was Brother Nicolas of Pistoia, of the Order of the Preaching Brothers, who died there and was buried in the same church. I, proceeding on my further journey, made my way to Cathay, the realm of the Emperor of the Tartars, who is called the Great Khan. To the Emperor I presented the letter of the Lord Pope, and invited him to adopt the faith of our Lord Jesus Christ; but he had grown too old in idolatry. However, he bestows many kindnesses upon the Christians and I have now been with him for eleven years.[1]

This 'Great Khan,' successor of Kubilai, was Timur, or Tcheng-tsoung (1294–1307), who died about the time

[1] The above and the following quotations from the archbishop's letters have been taken from A. C. Moule's translation in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1914 (July), pp. 533–99.

that Monte-Corvino's letters reached Europe. The Franciscan missionary tells of the calumnies of the Nestorians who hindered his work. Their number and power in Mongol lands were considerable; we know, indeed, from Mongol sources that already in the days of Genghiz-Khan their priests and monks were exempt from taxes and, in 1289, Kubilai created a special department for the regulation of the Nestorian cult. The documents recently brought to light at Turfan give still further evidence of the expansion of Nestorianism and of the number of their dioceses in Asia.[1] John of Monte-Corvino succeeded, finally, in defeating their intrigues, and he renders an account of his apostolic labours in Cathay:

These intrigues [of the Nestorians] went on for about five years, so that many a time I was dragged before the judgment seat with the ignominy [of threats] of death. At last, by God's providence, through the confession of certain individuals, the Emperor came to know my innocence and the malice of my rivals and sent them with their wives and children into exile.

I, indeed, was alone in this pilgrimage without confession for eleven years, until Brother Arnold, a German of the province of Cologne, came to me last year. I have built a church in the city of Khan-baliq, where the king has his chief residence. And this I completed about six years ago; and I also made a bell-tower there and put three bells in it. I have also baptized there, up to this time, as I reckon, about six thousand persons; and, if the above-named slanders had not been made, I should have baptized more than thirty thousand; and I am often engaged in baptizing. Also, I have bought one after another forty boys, the sons of pagans, of the age of between seven and eleven years, who so far knew no religion. And I have baptized them and taught them to read Latin and our ritual, and I have written for them thirty psalters with hymnaries and two breviaries, from which eleven boys now know our office and attend services and take their weekly turn of duty as in a monastery, whether I am present or not. And several of them are writing out psalters and other necessary books. And the Lord Emperor is greatly delighted with their chanting. I strike the bells at all the hours, and with the congregation of babes and sucklings I perform divine service. But we sing by ear because we have no service books with notes.

This method of apostolate, which took as its starting-point the education of children bought with the money of

[1] See review on pp. 131–4, of this issue.—ED.

Catholic merchants, seems to have been applied generally, and not without success by the Franciscans in their Tartar missions. According to a German whose name we do not know, a Franciscan doubtless, who dedicates his account to Florentius of Wevelinghoven, Bishop of Munster (1364–79), they made in this way a large number of converts. The letters of Caffa in the 'custody' of Crimea, in 1323, say the same: this system gave them fellow-workers who were perfectly familiar with the Tartar tongues, which Europeans, with the exception of Hungarians, Germans and English, as the letters state, learned with great difficulty. John of Monte-Corvino's methods were not a haphazard growth, but the fruit of a well-ordered plan.

What caused most suffering to the zealous missionary, after the Nestorian opposition to his apostolate, was his own helplessness: he was alone at his task, he had only a few liturgical books and he had heard a great many calumnies against Christendom and his own Order:

> Because the first way [the northern route] has not been safe for a long time on account of the wars, it is consequently twelve years since I have received any news of the Roman court and of our Order and the state of the West. It is now two years ago that a Lombard physician and surgeon came and filled these parts with incredible blasphemies about the court of Rome and our Order and the state of the West and, on this account, I much desire to learn the truth.

These calumnies and the reflection which precedes them make allusion, no doubt, to the dissensions connected with the name of Ubertino of Casale and to the protests raised against the choice of missionaries for the East, which were the principal preoccupations of the chapter-general held at Padua at Pentecost, 1310. Then Monte-Corvino continues pleading with his brethren:

> I pray the brothers whom this letter may reach to do their best that its contents may come to the knowledge of the Lord Pope and the cardinals and of the agent of our Order at the court of Rome. The Minister General of our Order I beg for an antiphonary, a legend of the saints, a gradual and a psalter with the music for a copy, for I have nothing but a little

portable breviary with the short lessons and a little missal. If I have a copy the aforesaid boys will write [out others]. Now, I am in the act of building another church with the view of distributing the boys in more places than one. I am old and grey, more from toil and trouble than from age, for I am fifty-eight years old. I have a competent knowledge of the Tartar language and character which is the usual language of the Tartars; and I have now translated in that language the whole New Testament and Psalter and have had them written in their fairest character; and I understand the language and read and preach openly and in public, as it were in testimony of the law of Christ.

The same impression of his helplessness in his isolation may also be gathered from his second letter, the first half of which we reproduce here: among those to whom the letter is to be given are the Generals of the Franciscan and Dominican Orders. He sums up here all that he has done and begins with a sentence which may also be found more or less identical in expression, in the Constitutions of the Society of Jesus:

The requirements of love demand that those who are separated far and widely, and especially those who travel for the law of Christ, when they cannot see one another with unveiled face shall at least comfort one another by words and letters. I have thought that you may be surprised that living so many years in so distant a province you have never received a letter from me. But I have wondered no less that never, until this year, have I received a letter or greeting from brother or friend, and it seems that no one has remembered me; and, most of all, when I heard that rumours had reached you that I was dead. But now I tell you that last year, at the beginning of January, I sent a letter in few words about my state and position to the father vicar and the brothers of the Province of Gazaria [Crimea] by the hand of a certain friend of ours who was in the retinue of the Lord Toctai Khan, who came to the Lord Khan of Cathay. In which letter I asked the same vicar to send on copies of it to you. And now [it has been told me] by good persons who have now come with the envoys of the aforesaid Lord Toctai to the Lord Khan of Cathay, that my letter reached you and that that same messenger who carried my letter came to Tauris [Tabriz] afterwards from the city of Sarai. And so, I do not think I will mention the facts contained in that letter or repeat what I wrote. And the first thing is about the persecution of the Nestorians. The second about the church and the completion of the houses. I have had six pictures made of the Old and New Testaments for the instruction of the ignorant; and [the explanations] are written in Latin, Tarsic and Persian letters, so that all tongues may be able

to read. The third thing is that some of the boys I bought and baptized have departed to the Lord. The fourth is that from the time I have been in Tartary in Cathay, I have baptized several thousands.

On the other hand, he rejoices at having met friends who have helped him, the merchant, Peter Lucalongo, '*magnus mercator*,' his companion on the road from Tabriz, who had bought him a splendid piece of land, ideally situated; then, a prince or king, Georges, member of the family of the great king 'who was called Prester John,' whom he converted from Nestorianism, who used to serve his mass, allowed him to build a large and beautiful church, and who had drawn many of his people with him to the Faith. What more than anything else gives him hope is the favour of the Great Khan, who defends him against his enemies and takes a particular interest in his preaching and conversions. Thanks to him he has been able to build three churches at Khan-baliq:

In this year of the Lord 1305, moreover, I began another new place before the gate of the Lord Khan, and between the palace and our place there is but the street, distant a stone's throw from the door of the Lord Khan. . . .

And we in our oratory sing the office regularly by ear, because we have not the notes. The Lord Khan can hear our voices in his chamber, and this wonderful fact is published far and wide among the heathen, and will have a great effect as the divine mercy shall propose and fulfil. From our first church and residence to the second church which I have since built, is a distance of two and a half miles outside the city, which is very great. And I have divided the boys and placed half in the first [church] and part I have established in the second; and they perform the service by themselves. But I, as chaplain, celebrate in either church by weeks, for the boys are not priests.

He emphasizes also the honour done to him as envoy of Rome:

Concerning the regions of the orientals and especially concerning the Empire of the Lord Khan, I give you to know that there is none greater in the world, and I have a place in his court and a regular right of entrance and of sitting, as legate of the Lord Pope; and he honours me above all other prelates, whatever may be their titles. And although the Lord Khan himself has heard many things about the Roman court and the state of the Latins, yet he much desires to see envoys coming from those parts.

These few extracts from the letters of Monte-Corvino, one of the most sensational reports in the history of missions, are sufficient to picture the enterprising, resolute, practical missionary, his clear-sightedness, his talent for organization and his untiring zeal.

One can imagine the surprise and emotion aroused at Avignon and elsewhere by these unexpected reports from the depths of China; never were more brilliant opportunities offered to the apostolate of the Catholic Church. There was no delay in getting to work, and it is one of the glories of the Avignon Popes, and principally of John XXII (1316–34), who was extraordinarily generous towards the missions, that they devoted every attention to the needs of the eastern missions and, above all, to that among the Mongols. The first letter of Monte-Corvino, sent by the hand of a Mongol ambassador to the Dominican and Franciscan missions of Western Asia, and by them passed on to their brethren in Europe, was followed up by a first expedition. But the caravan of Dominicans, held up by wars, was unable to get beyond the Crimea, and their apostolic zeal, says a Franciscan contemporary, found its field in the missions of the Kiptchak.

A second party set out a short time later, taking the sea route. This time seven Franciscans, appointed bishops by Clement V in July 1307 and consecrated by the cardinals at Rome, were ordered to consecrate John of Monte-Corvino as archbishop of Pekin. He was to receive the title of 'Patriarch of the entire Orient and Head of all the Faithful dwelling in the Mongol Empire.' These first helpers were not appointed to any determined episcopal see: indeed, a short time later, under John XXII, the bishoprics of Cathay, of the Kiptchak and of Northern Asia Minor, to the west of Ararat, were suffragans of the metropolitan of Khan-baliq.

Six of the bishops set out immediately: the seventh, William of Villeneuve, in spite of the commendation given by Edward II of England to the Khan of the Tartars, had to put off his departure and was appointed to the see of

Sagona in Corsica in 1323 and then to that of Trieste in 1327. We learn from a contemporary chronicler already quoted above that a large number of Franciscans, '*fratres quamplunimi*,' accompanied the six bishops. But the episcopal caravan had not a prosperous voyage. On reaching 'lower India' (Ormuz, or Malabar), three of the bishops were not able to stand the climate and succumbed, together with several of the Franciscans, so that only three bishops, Gerard Albuini, Andrew of Perugia and Peregrino of Castello, with a company of Franciscans whose number we do not know, succeeded in reaching China. Gerard Albuini remained in Zaitun, the great port of Fukien, where Kubilai had placed a garrison of Alans, a kind of prætorian cohort brought from the Caucasus to Cathay in 1250, of whom the majority had become Catholics. Zaitun was the ordinary goal for sailors coming from the Straits and from India, and so it was generally the first Chinese harbour visited by European or Arabian merchants when travelling by sea to Cathay.

A journey of three months brought the other two bishops to the capital city of Khan-baliq, where they arrived probably about 1309–10; evidence of documents being inconclusive, and the reminiscences of Andrew of Perugia in his letter of 1326 being rather confused with respect to dates, it is safer not to determine more precisely the year of arrival. No contemporary document tells us anything of the joy of the first meeting of John with the new companions arrived at last from Europe; but it is easy to imagine. They consecrated John of Monte-Corvino archbishop of Khan-baliq, with the right conferred on him by Papal Bull (*Pridem considerantes*) of consecrating, as a delegate of the Pope, other bishops, even more than six in number, if necessary. It is worth noticing that this act of 1309–10 is the first organization of a Catholic hierarchy in the East, outside the patriarchates of Constantinople, Jerusalem and Antioch.

From that time, unhappily, we do not learn much about

the first archbishop of Pekin. Some of the new arrivals settled at Zaitun, where they did good work and had no less than three churches and houses ten or twelve years later; some others, as it seems, were sent to other places. But of the seven bishops consecrated at Rome under Clement v no one outlived the aged archbishop of Pekin, and in January 1326 Andrew of Perugia could write, with a note of melancholy: 'All have emigrated to our Lord: I alone remain' (*ego solus remansi*).

More light is thrown upon the last years and works of Archbishop John by the eastern records of a Franciscan missionary and traveller whose apostolic life and travels give birth to several historical and geographical problems which we have not space here to discuss. It is sufficient to remark here that Blessed Odoric of Pordenone, one of the greatest travellers in central, southern and eastern Asia, has left us his *Description of the Countries of the East*, of which we still have a hundred mediæval copies and translations, a few more than of Marco Polo's famous book.

Odoric disembarked at Sin-Kalan (Canton) and was at Khan-baliq during the lifetime of John of Monte-Corvino, between about 1323 and 1328. He had taken the southern route like Monte-Corvino, that is, from Trebizond, Tabriz and Persia he had gone to India, Salsette, Malabar and the Christian community of St Thomas; he visited Ceylon, Sumatra and Java and other islands also; he saw the interior of China, some parts of Tibet and, probably without having entered it, he speaks of Lhasa, 'where dwells the Obassy, that is their pope in their language, who is the chief of all the idolaters.' Then, crossing Central Asia, Odoric returned to Europe in 1329 or 1330 and died at Udino in Friuli. But, before his death, he had dictated the account of his expedition to William of Sologna, and Henry of Glatz transcribed and completed it at Avignon.

Their many wanderings through the cities of Cathay, 'so large and splendid that the greatest cities of our land, Vicenza or Treviso, cannot be compared to them,' gave to

Odoric and his faithful companion, James of Ireland, the opportunity of telling of several new Franciscan establishments which existed in China at the time of John of Monte-Corvino. At Sin-Kalan (Canton) he sought information about 'the Christians and Saracens of the country,' but idolatry was general. At Zaitun he found the two convents which Andrew of Perugia had described in his letter of 1326. There he left the bodies of the Franciscans martyred at Salsette, which he had brought with him. It must have been after his departure, but before 1345, that a third church was added, with its beautiful bells. At Quinsay (Hang-chow-fu), the Franciscans had sojourned for a time; perhaps they were still established there when Odoric was passing through; for they had done some apostolic work there. He himself 'received hospitality from a man of influence who had become a Christian through the preaching of three friars.' Farther on, at Jangui, or Jansu (Yenchow-fu), he found also 'a house and a monastery of our friars minor, with other churches of religious orders, but these latter were Nestorians.' At Khan-baliq he remained some time and enjoyed the company of John of Monte-Corvino. His meeting on a highway with the Great Khan—it must have been Yessum-Timur, also called Tait-Tingt-ti—is recounted with a charming simplicity worthy of the Fioretti. The archbishop gave his blessing to Yessum-Timur, the *Veni Sancte Spiritus* being chanted the while, and presented him with some apples on a silver dish, for the formulary required that he be presented with a gift at every meeting. The incident shows once more the prestige gained 'by our Friar Minor Bishop in the Imperial Palace,' and the distinguished position held by the missionaries, 'who have their own fixed place at the court, near the Christians, Saracens, idolaters and also the Tartars converted to our Faith.'

A later hand has added to the relation of Odoric that the aged friar had no sooner returned to Italy than he set out once more, this time to Avignon, to ask of John XXII the power to choose fifty friars from the houses of the Order

and to return with them to the East. But sickness forced him to return from Pisa to Udino, and the new expedition never took place.

Meanwhile, the mission of China, during the archbishopric of John of Monte-Corvino, had known some years of steady progress and prosperity, although the longevity of the archbishop was not to be the lot of the titulars of Zaitun; for already Gerard Albuini had been succeeded by Peregrino of Castello, and he, in his turn, had died in 1323. Nevertheless, the see of Zaitun already possessed a cathedral: in 1313, a wealthy Armenian built there a large and beautiful church for the Latin rite. Then, in 1323, when Andrew of Perugia, the last survivor of the seven bishops of 1307, was transferred in great pomp with an imperial escort from Khan-baliq to Zaitun, the Christian establishments were increased by another church and a monastery, 'about a quarter of a mile outside the town, with everything arranged on a generous scale for the reception of twenty friars, surpassing in beauty and convenience the best I know in Europe, four of the rooms being each of them sufficient for a prelate.' This was the report of bishop Andrew in his letter of 1326. All this was carried out at the expense of the Great Khan, who gave an annual subsidy which, according to the Genoese merchants of the place, amounted to a hundred gold florins, that is, to about one thousand pounds sterling (£1000). Every one was granted liberty in the exercise of his religion, for these people 'all have this opinion, or rather this error, that one can be saved in any religion. We can preach with full security.' However, as appears from the same report, no conversions occurred among the Jews or the 'Saracens'; 'idolaters' came in great numbers for baptism; unfortunately, many of them did not remain in the right path.

The old archbishop did not long survive Odoric's departure. He died in 1328, and in him died the only man of the Middle Ages who exercised the episcopal office at Pekin. The death of this venerable missionary, at the

age of eighty-two years, was honoured by public mourning. All the evidence goes to show that he had won universal esteem by his merits and virtues, from pagan as well as from Christian, from Mongol and Alan alike. His wonderful personality dominates the whole history of the mission of Cathay. The *Livre de l'Estat du Grand Khan*, written in 1328–33 by John of Cora, the Dominican bishop of Sultanieh in Persia, who had probably attended the funeral of the archbishop, bears testimony to his extraordinary merits ; the letter sent to the Pope Benedict XII in 1336 by the Alan princes, officers of the Great Khan, is no less loud in his praises.

After his death, indeed, the mission may have enjoyed a few more years of prosperity ; but, except for the report of the visit at Pekin of John Marignolli (John of Firenze) in 1342, which turned out to be more brilliant than efficient, we have not much information about missionary activity. The failure of the mission, which came some thirty years later with the end of the Mongol dynasty, does not diminish the merits of its founder. John of Monte-Corvino had done a great work ; distance, geographical conditions and historic circumstances were stronger than he, but his remarkable energy, his holiness and his great achievements assign to him a place unique among the Catholic pioneers of the Faith and the Gospel in the huge empire of China.

J. DE GHELLINCK, S.J.

A DECADE OF AMERICAN ROMAN CATHOLIC MISSIONS IN CHINA

By CARRINGTON GOODRICH

A LITTLE over ten years ago, in September 1918, the first distinctly American Roman Catholic missionary unit set sail from the United States and established itself in China. That unit consisted of four priests and was invited by the Société des Missions Etrangères de Paris to take over the mission of Yeungkong, a little city south of Canton. Since that tiny beginning, over 300 have gone. They represent at least eleven societies and orders and fourteen sisterhoods. They come from all over the United States, though preponderantly from States east of the Mississippi. They are at work, despite recent disturbances, in a score of centres, from Yeungkong in the south to Antung in the north, and from Shanghai on the east coast to Tsinchow in Kansu on China's western frontier.

Whereas on their arrival the early priests and sisters were under the tutelage of their European confrères, to-day there are two vicariates and one prefecture apostolic directed by American fathers and supported by American gifts. A few missions from this country are, of course, still supervised by the older bodies from France, Italy and Germany, but the tendency has been to give the Americans their freedom as soon as they were numerically self-sufficient and had a secure enough grip on the language and on local conditions to operate an area without assistance. All through this decade the European bishops and prefects apostolic appear to have acted in a remarkable spirit of co-operation. It is true that the depletion of their own forces and the pressure of partial financial dependence upon the Church in the United States have helped to bring this

about. Yet one cannot help but admire the sincere welcome which the French in particular have given to the newcomers in a field which once they well-nigh dominated.

The latest mission group to go out from this country is a band of five Jesuits: two fathers and three scholastics. They left San Francisco in August 1928 to become members of the great Nanking vicariate of the French Society of Jesus—the vicariate that includes Aurora University and the Siccawei college, seminary and observatory. Possibly they will be absorbed into the general work of the French mission, but, if the Jesuit societies of the United States and Canada (three Jesuit missionaries went out from Canada in September 1925) continue to send out capable personnel and adequately to support their mission projects, I hazard the guess that we shall hear of a new vicariate apostolic under an American Jesuit within the space of another decade. It took only five years (1918–23) for the erection of the Kongmoon mission of the Catholic Foreign Mission Society of America into a prefecture apostolic, and in February 1927 it was advanced to the status of a vicariate with Mgr James Walsh of Maryknoll as its first bishop.

Among the forces aiding the Americans to assume this responsibility for their own church areas has been the action of Pope Pius XI in sending out Mgr Celco Costantini as archbishop and permanent apostolic delegate with headquarters in Peking. This was a master move on the part of Rome, for it once and for all destroyed the supremacy of any single national group working in the Chinese mission field. The growing authority of the Chinese, six of whom were made bishops by the Pope in the Vatican basilica in October 1926, is also helping to dissolve the strength of any European faction. But, as has been hinted above, the economic factor has been perhaps the most influential. During the world war many foreign priests were mobilized as chaplains, while a number of Germans were deported after China severed diplomatic connexions with the Central Powers. Further, new recruits were not

sent and springs of financial aid dried up. The United States, which had just ceased to become a mission land itself (the last vicariate apostolic—that of North Carolina—was abolished in 1925), was appealed to for men and money and replied with no uncertainty. The rapidity with which Roman Catholic America has turned to foreign missions has been amazing. One has but to compare a few of the present-day church magazines with their predecessors of ten years ago to be convinced of it; or better still, to note the growth of such organizations as the Catholic Students' Missions Crusade and the American Catholic Students' Foreign Mission League, which correspond roughly to the Protestant Student Volunteer Movement, but which are far more active in church, parish school and college.

The Americans have, naturally enough, suffered with every one else during the last few years of revolution and civil war. For example, in the *Catholic Mission News* for June 23rd, 1928, appears the following item:

> The fortunes and misfortunes of war have been experienced a great deal in Nanchang, capital of Kiangsi Province, during the last five years. At present the mission property is being occupied for the twelfth time.

But with rare exceptions there has been no retirement of personnel beyond points from which the missionaries could easily be recalled. When, for instance, the school at Kaifeng was forced in 1927 to close, the priests temporarily joined the staff of the Benedictine University in Peking. So, too, many of the Maryknoll priests and sisters have had to seek refuge from time to time in Hongkong, and the Passionists in Hankow. Priests, brothers and sisters have continued to be sent across the Pacific together with ever-increasing support for the work.

Just how large a sum the Roman Catholic Church in this country provides for the China field it is impossible to ascertain. But taking into consideration the fact that China is the chief interest of that Church in the United States as regards the foreign mission program, the follow-

ing figures are of some interest. The official Roman Catholic directory for 1928 states that 'the amount contributed annually through the Society for the Propagation of the Faith is $3,000,000,' and a member of the national office of that society estimates that some two more million dollars are given in subscriptions which go directly to missions abroad. Approximately five million dollars, then, was this country's donation for the year 1927. The only exact record kept is that of the gifts made to the national headquarters of the Society for the Propagation of the Faith, for the general foreign mission fund of the International Committee located in Rome. This record is a good barometer of American Roman Catholic concern for foreign missions. Up till 1884, not a cent. In 1925, Mgr Quinn, director of the Society, took with him to Rome $900,000, approximately one-half of the contribution made by the whole world (41 million lire). In 1927, the share of the United States amounted to $1,126,807.71.

The kind of work which the American missionaries are carrying on does not differ in any large degree from that of their European partners. Churches, chapels, oratories, primary and secondary schools, orphanages, homes for the blind and the aged, leper asylums, first-aid stations and an occasional hospital, convents and seminaries tell the story. The one institution with an ambitious educational program for the future is their university in Peking, established in 1925 by the Benedictines of Beatty, Pennsylvania. This school has not developed yet beyond the pre-college stage, but it looks forward to the time when it can include university departments of arts, theology, philosophy and science—the latter leading in particular to architecture and engineering. It occupies the former palace of the Manchu prince, Ts'ai T'ao, the buildings of which had been kept in excellent repair, and which—to the credit of the Order—have not been marred by the renovator. In the year 1925, Mr Theodore F. MacManus of Detroit established a fund of $100,000 for the purpose of endowing the pre-

paratory department. Other funds have come from the Benedictine Order, from special friends and from the Society for the Propagation of the Faith. The students are asked to contribute only a nominal sum for board. The faculty at present consists of American and European priests and of a few Chinese scholars who make their main contribution to the school of Chinese studies which is conducted both for Chinese students and for new recruits to the mission field. When the writer visited the university last summer it had not yet been registered with the Chinese Ministry of Education, but this has since been done, albeit with the Peking Government which has now ceased to exist. The dean of the school of Chinese studies—vice-rector and trustee of the university as well—is a Chinese.

It is too early to speak much of accomplishment. The Roman Catholic journals give from time to time figures for one or other of the missions under such headings as dispensary patients, sick calls, baptisms of adults, baptisms of infants, students in schools, and so forth. One typical report (for a five-year period) reads :

> Spiritual returns : baptisms, 4460 ; confessions heard, 43,280 ; communions, 94,137 ; confirmations, 482 ; extreme unction, 108 ; marriages blessed, 114.

But, as I have indicated, the Americans have in most cases inherited the pastorates of their European brothers in service, and it is impossible to separate their harvests. In one area in Kuangtung, for example, many of the students who are attending the American schools are fourth-generation Christians, while in a section of Kiangsi, before it was given over to American Lazarists, there were records of 22,000 Christians and 10,000 catechumens. War, too, has laid its devastating hand upon much of the work, and another decade or two must pass before any estimate of the contribution of Roman Catholic United States can be made.

Carrington Goodrich

MEDICAL MISSIONS AND THE INDIGENOUS CHURCHES

By C. FRIMODT-MÖLLER, M.B., Ch.B.

MEDICAL mission work has been carried on practically only within the last fifty years. For instance, in 1882 there were in the whole of India only 26 medical missionaries, while there are now about 330.

Although in the history of the modern missionary movement medical missions have worked during this comparatively short period only, the time has come, nevertheless, to restate the motive that impels us to continue this kind of work in the new situation confronting all missionary enterprise. In searching for the motive we shall find that the true and compelling motive lies not in the great need of medical relief from which the multitudes in Asia and Africa suffer so intensely, not in the efficiency of medical mission work as a pioneer agency, but in the very nature of that ministry of healing which was an essential part of the work of our Lord Jesus Christ.

In view of this and of the Christian message to the non-Christian world, the chief object of medical missions is now to bring into the indigenous Churches the ministry of healing as a part of their work.

It is necessary in order to understand the full meaning of the ministry of healing, and thereby of medical mission work, to consider briefly why the Lord healed. Reading the Gospels one cannot but be impressed with the amount of time the Lord spent in healing. There must have been a special reason for this, otherwise He would not have done it. When John the Baptist was in doubt whether Jesus Christ was really the One whom God had sent, He would never have answered that 'the blind receive their

sight and the lame walk,' if He had not meant that the act of healing did, in an essential way, reveal Him as the One whom the Father had sent.

The Lord did not heal in order to attract people, nor to get an opportunity to speak to them, least of all in order to do miracles. Only a few outward results of His healing were seen by Him. Of ten lepers who were healed only one returned to give glory to God. In spite of all the healing of the Lord, there was a time at the end of His ministry when He felt so lonely and deserted that He even asked the Twelve whether they also would go away from Him. There can be no doubt that the Lord knew beforehand that not every one whom He healed would believe in Him. When in spite of the little result of His healing He continued to heal to the extent He did, the reason was His compassion and mercy. Several times it is recorded how moved with compassion Christ was when He healed the sick. We have, however, not only the impression of the eye-witnesses that it was compassion and mercy which moved Him to heal, but He Himself also tells us so.

If we then ask why the Lord healed, the answer must be, that He was so permeated with the love of the Father that He could not but heal those who asked Him for help, and that He did it in order to reveal the attitude of God towards men, the attitude and the mind of the Father with whom He said He was one.

Since this was the motive of the Lord for healing the sick, the motive that compels us to carry out the ministry of healing through medical mission work must be a sincere attempt to walk in the footsteps of our Master, approaching people with the same intention and in the same manner as He did, thereby revealing the attitude of God towards men. As the act of healing was to the Lord an essential part of His work in proclaiming that 'the kingdom of God is nigh,' the ministry of healing must also be an essential part of the work of the Church.

It is of the utmost importance for the whole policy of

medical missions that we should derive the right conclusions from the records of the Lord's acts of healing. It should be understood that the Lord did not heal every one. At the pool of Bethesda we read that there was a multitude of sick, but we hear that He healed only one of them. The Lord could have healed all the sick and suffering people in Palestine, as we know that He had the power to heal from a distance, but He did not do it. The manner in which the Lord met the sick was for Him so essential, that He healed only those with whom, or with the relatives of whom, He came into personal contact. Medical mission work must never attempt to take the place of medical relief to the people of the land; it is the duty of the Government to provide that. On the other hand, the necessity of medical mission work cannot be defined in relation to whether or not a certain amount of western medical relief is present or not in a mission field, as the Church of Christ should never be without facilities for the ministry of healing.

Medical missions should never be established with the sole object of getting hold of people, as the Lord never used the act of healing in that way. Medical mission work must never be misused in any way as a means to force upon sick people a religious teaching to which they have no desire to listen. The Lord did not speak with every one He healed about belief in the Son of Man; He could not but heal the sick. Nothing will do more harm to the whole cause of medical mission work than an attempt to force spiritual results by the ministry of healing.

It is common to hear people speak of medical missions as a philanthropic agency, a pioneer agency, an evangelistic agency, and they value medical mission work only in proportion to its efficiency or not as such an agency. It is true that medical missions have first opened up certain lands and have made the work of the evangelist easier, that they have won the friendship of hostile people and tribes and opened the doors of zenanas; but medical mission work is not a mere agency, it is the ministry of healing, it is

an essential part of the Christian message ; and the motive for healing the sick is a God-given compassion, such as was in the heart of the Lord. The working in us and through us of the Lord by the Holy Spirit is the true and compelling motive for medical mission work. There can be little doubt that in the present situation in the mission fields we have in the ministry of healing a forcible way of ' passing on ' the Christian message, if Christian doctors and nurses are able to approach the sick in the Spirit of Christ.

It cannot, therefore, be a mere coincidence that the opening of the doors of the non-Christian world to the entrance of the Gospel practically coincides with the great discoveries of modern surgery and medicine, which have placed in the hands of the Church a new power of healing never seen since the earthly days of the Lord. It was just about the time when China and Japan were opened to the Gospel, when Queen Victoria's proclamation secured protection for every one in India to live according to his religious conviction, when Livingstone opened up Africa, that we had the great discoveries of modern medical science, such as the introduction of anæsthesia by chloroform and ether, the whole modern antiseptic, the recognition of bacteria and their relation to disease, and many of our most important drugs. Prior to all this a medical missionary could do little real healing in the mission fields. Not only did our Lord give a new power of healing to His Church at the same time that He opened up the non-Christian world to the entrance of the Gospel, but also, as soon as it was possible to make use of the new power of healing, He called into existence the World's Student Christian Federation, and through this movement hundreds and hundreds of young men and women, to make use of these great opportunities and to go out and proclaim the kingdom of God through the act of healing.

Although the motive for medical mission work is always the same, the task before it has changed during the fifty years since medical missionaries began to work in great

numbers all over the world. The object of this work is not only, as it was during the first decades of its existence, to carry out the ministry of healing as a part of the foreign missionary enterprise, but it is now, chiefly, to work in such a way as to make itself superfluous by handing over the ministry of healing to the indigenous Churches.

The necessity for doing this we learn from the great set-back to the whole cause of the Church in certain western countries, where the act of healing through hospitals and medical institutions has practically been handed over totally to the State. Although the ministry of healing had its place in the early Church and down to mediæval times, it has since then, in the countries referred to, slipped out of the Church's hands. The Church in the West is beginning to regret it and to remedy the mistake. It would be deplorable if this mistake were repeated in the life of the indigenous Churches, and therefore the chief object of medical mission work now is to prevent this.

The present situation in the mission fields is, in this respect, critical. It is during the next generation that the indigenous Churches must prepare themselves to take over the ministry of healing. If this is not done within the next fifty years, and done through the existing medical mission work, the opportunity will most probably be lost for ever, and the ministry of healing will never be regained in the life of the indigenous Churches. The reason is obvious: it will never be possible for these Churches to take over the present mission hospitals or in addition to begin new methods of their own by which to carry out the ministry of healing, if they have not doctors and nurses of their own sufficiently trained, both medically and spiritually, for real independent work, and for work of such a standard that it can compete successfully with the medical relief work carried out in the government hospitals and by non-Christian private practitioners. In government institutions they can learn to be medically fit for their task, but they cannot learn there how to do first-class medical work

in the Spirit of Christ. The experience of recent decades shows clearly that this is impossible; they can learn this only in the present mission hospitals, nowhere else.

In order that mission hospitals may offer to indigenous doctors and nurses the opportunity to learn to heal with all that power of healing now at the disposal of the Church, and at the same time to do it in the Spirit of our Lord, one condition is necessary, namely, that the mission hospitals should be so thoroughly equipped and so sufficiently staffed that in them first-class medical work can be done. It is quite possible now for the older Churches in the West to raise the present mission hospitals to such a medical level without great expenditure, while it will be totally out of question, both for the older and younger Churches, to do it after fifty years' time, if in the meanwhile these institutions have been allowed to degenerate to second or third-class private clinics kept alive only by foreign support, and that during the very time when government and private non-Christian institutions have been continuously developed and improved. It will not be difficult to understand that if this is allowed to happen medical mission work will not only have failed in that it did not offer the sick the best possible medical help, but it will have had a disastrous effect upon the life of the younger Churches, in that it did not give their young doctors and nurses the opportunity to learn the ministry of healing while there was yet time. If therefore the sending countries begin now to weaken their present medical mission work, or even to close their mission hospitals, the result will be that the older Churches in the West will, in fact, prevent the younger Churches from ever making the ministry of healing a part of their work.

It is common to hear, as an argument in favour of missions beginning to decrease their medical work, that the younger Churches will never be able to undertake full financial responsibility for mission hospitals. The argument is wrong. The question of whether the in-

digenous Churches will ever be able to take over the mission hospitals is not so much a question of whether they have the financial ability, as whether they have doctors and nurses fully prepared to do it. If the existing mission hospitals can become wholly or largely self-supporting, the indigenous Churches might then be able to take them over financially; but they will never be able to do so, even if funds are available, without having an efficient staff of doctors and nurses of their own, a staff which could ensure the continuance of self-support.

The whole question of self-support of mission hospitals, therefore, is not only of importance from the point of view of the difficulties of continuous financial support from the older Churches, but of far more importance from the point of view of getting the ministry of healing into the life and work of the younger Churches. As the situation is now, the present mission hospitals will not be able to develop their self-support at all considerably, unless they are sufficiently equipped and staffed to do first-class medical work. There is, therefore, now a demand both for medical missionaries better prepared than ever before, and for a consolidation of the medical mission work already in existence in preference to the starting of new work—although there is, nevertheless, a call for more mission hospitals.

There is at present a deplorable lack of understanding within the younger Churches that the ministry of healing should be a part of their own work. They need much education on this point, and it is rarely given to them. It is not so much financial reasons, as this lack of understanding, which prevents them from beginning to prosecute medical work; most of all the fact that they have not doctors sufficiently prepared to undertake it, and willing to sacrifice themselves for the ministry of healing. In some mission fields it should not be impossible even now for the different churches to co-operate and by combined efforts establish a small hospital entirely under their control.

It might even be financially possible for a single larger church, or for a few in co-operation, to maintain a small rural dispensary. If the younger Churches could demonstrate in these different ways that they have doctors able to maintain independent medical work, such doctors could in due time take over the mission hospitals on behalf of the Churches, especially if they are given opportunities now to share in the administration of the mission hospitals through membership on hospital committees, and also to raise funds for them on hospital Sundays or in other ways.

One of the difficulties of making the ministry of healing a part of the work of the younger Churches is, no doubt, that many medical missionaries have so little understanding of the importance of it, that they are often rather a hindrance than a help in seeing it materialize. Many medical missionaries seem to be entirely satisfied with running their hospitals efficiently from their point of view, without seeing the need of the Churches. There is often a lack of understanding on the part of medical missionaries that they should consider it one of their chief objects to educate the indigenous doctors to become not only good assistants but colleagues, sharing with them in a real partnership in service the major policy of their work and the problems of administration, maintenance and further development. Without such partnership these doctors can never obtain that efficiency and ability, to the lack of which the medical missionary is sometimes rather too eager to draw attention ; at the same time it does not in the least strike him to what extent he himself may be one of the very causes of preventing these qualities from being developed. Many medical missionaries might learn to see more clearly the need of the Churches and to co-operate with their doctors in such a way that these are helped to do independent work and to take up responsible positions within the Churches, or, to begin with, within the missions.

Medical missions are facing a serious crisis, as it depends so much on their present work whether the ministry of

healing will ever become a part of the life and work of the younger Churches. But even if medical missions fully understood their responsibility regarding this important question, it would be of little use if the older Churches in the West, from a pure misunderstanding of what should be the best policy towards the younger Churches in this matter, began at this time to withdraw their support from mission hospitals. This would not serve its purpose, but be fatal to the younger Churches. In the present situation in the mission fields the support should not only not be decreased, but be increased, just for the sake of giving these Churches the real, probably the only, opportunity of making the ministry of healing a part of their life and work—that ministry of healing which to the Lord Himself was so essential a part of His work, which He told His disciples to carry on, and for which He has given His Church in our days a new power of healing, and given it in order that it should be used.

C. FRIMODT-MÖLLER

THE SECULAR PRESS AS AN EVANGELISTIC AGENCY

By W. H. MURRAY WALTON

IT is but a platitude to say that one of the most striking features of recent years in the world of literature has been the growth of the power of the press. There are those, indeed, who would assert that it exercises a decisive influence in the political world, a claim hardly warranted by facts ; nevertheless, it would not be too much to say that it is probably the greatest force for moulding the ideas of men that now exists. This in no way decries the value of books. A good editor owes more to his library than perhaps most of his readers realize, but to many men the daily paper constitutes their sole reading matter, and indeed the man who digests his *Times* and *Telegraph* (or their equivalents in another country) day by day may even, not without reason, claim to call himself well read. Apart from those sections of the paper which exist solely to satisfy the sporting or the commercial instincts, the leaders and contributed articles often possess educative values of a high order. In addition, the get-up of the articles, compared with the stodgy paragraphs which used to satisfy our fathers, means that they are read by a far wider circle than used to be the case. Whether the press will ever have to yield precedence to the radio remains to be seen, but for the time being, at all events, it is certain that it represents a factor in our modern life which cannot be ignored by those who are concerned with the extension of the kingdom of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ.

Now what has been said above applies not only to the older nations of the West but also, and with increasing force, to those awakening nations in the East where modern

education is now in vogue. In Japan it is quite safe to say that half the homes of the country have their daily papers. A benevolent Government will deliver them anywhere within the empire at a cost of half a farthing postage. There are newspapers in Japan whose circulation approaches the two million mark, without free insurance, and whose offices fill buildings which find few compeers in the West. There are altogether about three hundred daily papers, ranging from the big dailies in Tokyo and Osaka to the local papers in the country districts which have a precarious circulation of some five to ten thousand. Though Japan is more advanced in this respect than any other oriental nation, yet she is but the forerunner of China and India and Turkey. Indeed, is it an idle prophecy to say that in not many years' time China may have a paper whose circulation runs into tens of millions with some super-Northcliffe at its head ?

In such lands, however, the newspaper is not only a great educative force ; it is also a most disturbing one. It provides a ready channel for the agitator. It places ideas within the reach of millions who otherwise might have to wait years before they would hear these opinions spoken. Though the press censorship in many Asiatic countries seems almost unduly severe to our western minds, yet a momentary recollection of the mental condition of most of their readers will show that the time is not ripe for the freedom we enjoy.

Now if the press in such lands does possess such powers, and facts do not contradict this, then it follows that the Christian Church therein has within its reach an instrument of the greatest value, if used aright. If the press is now used for subversive purposes why might it not be used for constructive purposes as well ? What is there to prevent its becoming an instrument for the propagation of the Christian message on a widespread scale ? Indeed, it may be argued that the secular press is not only a useful adjunct but also an essential element in evangelizing a nation.

This may perhaps be best illustrated from the case of Japan. The bulk of the population of Japan is rural. There are thirty million people living in the villages of Japan, yet hitherto the Christian Church has confined its attention almost exclusively to the cities and towns. All the former and half the latter are occupied, but of the 10,729 villages the Church has only occupied 108. Even the occasional nation-wide evangelistic campaigns do but little to remedy this state of affairs. Not only are they almost entirely confined to those centres where churches already exist, but also the numbers they reach form a very small fraction of the population. The recent one-year's evangelistic campaign touched barely one per cent of the nation. In a day when a 'mass movement of thought' is in progress it is incumbent on the Church to use mass movement methods. While the making of Christians is ever its first duty, yet it cannot rest content with a rate of growth in church membership which hardly exceeds that of the population. Of course this is primarily a spiritual question. It is for this reason that the Jerusalem meeting placed its chief emphasis on a central daily act of united intercession. It is the realization of this fact which lies behind that movement associated with the Jerusalem Chamber Fellowship. But while methods are no substitute for the work of the Spirit of God they are a necessary adjunct. 'The marvel to-day is that God blesses some of these methods to the extent that He does. The fact that He does so should be an incentive to use better methods, not an excuse for continuing those that are inferior.' [1]

Now in the methods of newspaper evangelism, as it is called, the Christian Church has an instrument, the value of which it has hardly as yet begun to realize. The method as used in Japan may briefly be described as follows: Space is secured in the secular press for the insertion of Christian articles. In some cases such space is given free; in others, articles are contributed to the religious column, where such

[1] *Japan and Christ*, M. S. Murao and W. H. Murray Walton, p. 119.

exists, along with Shinto and Buddhist articles as well, while in other cases advertising rates are paid to secure space. In this last type reduced rates have been invariably given. These articles deal with the Christian message in various aspects. There is no need to camouflage its Christian character. A series of articles on such subjects as ' Christianity and the home,' ' Christianity and the problem of love-making ' (addressed to people where old customs and sanctions are in process of disintegration), ' The philosophy of worry ' and the like have produced a widespread response.

In addition to such topical subjects, articles explaining the fundamentals of the Christian Gospel have proved no less popular. Each article ends with an invitation to those interested to apply to some central office for further information. In the case of papers having a religious column, a small inset advertisement is put in, having the same purpose. In giving the invitation all attempt at display is avoided, which guarantees that those who apply have read the preceding article and are not merely prompted by the motive of obtaining literature free. These applications as they come in are studied carefully, and suitable literature is sent to each individual. With the literature goes a leaflet giving details of a society, formed for those who desire to pursue their enquiry further. Membership fees are charged, and by this means it is possible to eliminate those whose sole purpose in reading has been one of curiosity. The names of those who return the membership forms are carefully filed and a précis of all future correspondence with them is kept in the office. As members they are entitled to certain privileges. They get a monthly magazine containing a wide selection of Christian articles, and also answers to the questions of correspondents, which have an interest for others besides the individual concerned. This magazine is of a general character and is already securing a circulation outside that of the newspaper group. In addition, a small four-page paper for members is also issued, which keeps them in touch with the latest news at headquarters.

As a second privilege, they are entitled to the use of the circulating library. This contains Christian books of all kinds and descriptions, from abstruse theological and philosophical tomes down to such popular novels as Kagawa's *Before the Dawn*, or *Quo Vadis*, which has been translated into Japanese. The biggest and most popular section, however, is the devotional one. Each applicant receives an abridged annotated catalogue of the most popular books in the library, while members receive the full catalogue free; in addition, all new books are announced and described in the monthly magazine. The fact that from one office alone nearly twenty thousand books have been lent out in a little over three years, of which over ninety per cent have gone to non-Christian homes, shows the popularity of such a method. In many cases books bring correspondence, and by this and other means it is possible to help the members still further along the path of their spiritual experience.

An experiment in Bible study was tried three years ago and met with success. It was found that many correspondents, thanks to the indefatigable labours of the Bible Societies' agents, possessed portions of Scripture, but in many cases these had been put aside and left unread. For such readers a 'hundred week Bible study course,' with portions and explanatory notes for every day, was issued. Members can enrol at any time for a fee of five shillings. The notes are sent monthly, to guarantee, as far as possible, consecutive daily study rather than a reading right through at a sitting, a method not peculiar to Japan. When the correspondence suggests that the psychologically right moment has arrived, the member is offered an introduction to the local church, or, where none such exists, is invited to take a correspondence course. In the former case he may have lived near a church for years, but such has been the influence of tradition and environment that he has never plucked up sufficient courage to enter its portals. The literature and correspondence he has received, however, have created a new urge and more often than not the

suggestion is welcomed and the link made. In such cases the newspaper office withdraws. The responsibility for his future spiritual growth rests with the pastor concerned.

In the case, however, of the enquirer living far away from any organized church the problem is less simple. A correspondence course, centring on the personality of our Lord, has been drawn up, which not only aims at giving the student an intelligent grasp of Christianity, but also at leading him into a living experience of faith in Christ. The course covers some twenty weeks and contains portions and questions for daily study and meditation, and also a weekly examination paper. The answers to this are sent in to headquarters, and, if satisfactory, are returned with comments, together with the next week's portion. As the course draws to a close the student is put into touch with the nearest church, and, if considered satisfactory, is baptized. There are members of the Christian Church in Japan to-day, practically the whole of whose baptismal preparation has been done by this means. The course inevitably is in but an experimental stage and will doubtless have to undergo much revision before it becomes really satisfactory, but it opens up a wide field for experiment. In some centres the plan has been tried of having residential schools of a week's duration for newspaper enquirers, and these have met with an encouraging response.

The final stage in the work of following up is the ' service and sermon by post,' by means of which the enquirer or convert, when denied by distance or illness the privilege of corporate worship, is able to have his service regularly in his own home. It is a strict rule, however, that these last papers are sent only through the local pastor and not direct from the central office. This is due to one of the principles which has guided the policy of the newspaper work so far as the Anglican Church in Japan is concerned.

In the early days of this work (and indeed in many of the offices of other bodies in the country at the present time) all explicit reference to the Church was avoided. It was felt

that a shyness, if not a dislike, of the organized Church might prevent enquirers from pursuing the matter further. After the earthquake in 1923, however, in which the Tokyo office was destroyed, this policy was revised, and from then the closest relation of the newspaper work to the organized Church was made clear. This serves to associate in the mind of the enquirer the article in the central paper with the local church in his town, and so prepare the way for him to become a member, even though the day may be yet far distant. Further, it gives the Church a publicity which is of value; but above all, it helps to secure the support of the leaders of the Church itself. As long as it was regarded as a 'mission stunt,' they were uninterested, but once they realized that it was part of their own work, designed to help them in their task of evangelization, their attitude underwent a complete change. To-day the Anglican Church in Japan is whole-heartedly behind the movement, as is shown by the fact that in its recent nation-wide evangelistic campaign the newspaper office was invited to be responsible for the production of the literature in connexion with the mission.

This leads on to another point, namely, the co-operation between Church and press. In various centres during the national mission in 1927 the experiment was tried of using the local press in preparation for and during the actual mission. Articles were put in the papers telling of the mission and its purpose, introducing the missioners, giving special messages from them to the people at large, and having further articles by them and the local clergy during the progress of the mission itself. The experiment met with success. In some cases the lack of suitable papers or of adequate preparation meant that hopes were not fully realized, but in others the result revealed great possibilities for the use of this method in future. This is well shown by a letter received from one pastor in whose city the experiment was tried. He wrote:

> With the blessing of God the mission in Hakodate has come to a close. The newspaper work, as a first experiment, has been a success.

The advertisements were put into the papers here as articles, and as they varied in length and appearance, they did not give one the impression of being advertisements.

I was amazed at this power of using the papers. The newspaper proprietor and editors were very sympathetic, and gave us the best advice as to how to insert the notices. They even wrote up the meetings themselves, while the head of the paper attended the meetings on two occasions and was extremely kind.

I arranged with them that we should pay nothing for the articles, but it will be a good plan, I think, if we give them some token of our appreciation. I think I will try and write some articles myself for them from time to time.

The church was full for the first time in its history. One of the meetings was held under the auspices of the Hakodate Educational Association.

In conclusion three questions demand brief consideration. In the first place, to what extent is this method applicable to countries outside Japan? In the second, what of the future of this kind of work, especially as regards cost? And in the third, is it not a type of work better done on a co-operative basis than on a denominational one?

There is no doubt but that Japan lends itself in a great degree to this method. It has an educated people, a nation-wide press, an efficient means of distribution and a relatively light censorship. Not all countries are so fortunate. It should, however, be borne in mind that newspaper evangelism does not depend on the size of the circulation of a paper for its success. In Japan almost more work is done in the small local papers than in the bigger ones; though they do not produce so many applications, yet their advertisement rates are much cheaper. They circulate among the more conservative masses of the population, and experience has shown that in many cases the editors are more sympathetic than are those in the larger cities, where financial interests take the premier place. Again, in countries where the censorship is more strict and Christian propaganda does not enjoy the same measure of freedom as in Japan, articles on hygiene and child welfare and kindred subjects may prove of real value in introducing, for example, the Christian

hospital to a wider public, and may serve as a prelude to articles of more explicit Christian character later on. The important thing to bear in mind is that the article should provide an opening for follow-up work, and therefore should, if possible, be associated with some institution well known to the people.

In the second place : While the cost at first glance may seem rather prohibitive, yet it should be borne in mind that, compared with other evangelistic methods, it is one of the most economical because of the infinitely wider circle it reaches. A study of the figures and costs of a recent evangelistic campaign in Japan revealed the fact that for a smaller sum it would be possible, through the press, to reach the same number of people every Sunday for a year instead of at one meeting. The office in Tokyo is planning, at the net cost of £1000, to put articles once a week through a whole year in eight central and local papers, representing a circulation of some two millions. It is anticipated that at least twelve thousand applications for further information will be received as a result. A further point should be borne in mind : if the articles are interesting and of good quality there is always the possibility that they will be accepted free, and this is but a prelude, once a demand for them has been created, to paid articles. Shortly before the writer left Japan, the editor of a local paper in one of the strongest Buddhist centres in the country wrote on his own initiative asking for articles to be supplied to him for free insertion. There is strong evidence to show that the Christian articles in another paper were the cause of the starting of a religious column a few months later.

Finally, there remains the question of co-operation. It is obvious that the work, especially if it develops into a Central Press Bureau, is one which should have behind it the backing of the Christian movement as a whole. The articles that appear in the papers and the bulk of the literature used in the follow-up work are of a purely general and non-sectarian character ; but if the ideal is clear its attain-

ment is not so easy. Experience has shown how great is the value of having the support of the organized Church. Such support is not so sure for a nebulous interdenominational body. Evangelization is a first duty of the several churches, which they cannot delegate to any outside organization. The question of church instruction, where more than one church exists in the town, and of the church teaching in the correspondence course, only serves to make the problem more difficult of solution. It would seem that for the present this is one of the many cases where the whole Church must suffer because of 'our unhappy divisions.' Nevertheless, certain difficulties can be overcome. In Japan an association has been formed of those engaged in this form of work, by which comity is observed with regard to the use of papers; and, in addition, all articles and literature are circulated among its members with no copyright restrictions.

Such, in brief compass, is the means by which the secular press is being used as an evangelistic agency in Japan. It represents an attempt on the part of the Church to make use of an instrument already to hand. It seeks to present the Christian message in its widest application on a scale such as the times demand, and it offers to the pioneer an abundant field for experiment. There is no reason why it should not become one of the most effective means for fulfilling our Lord's desire—the evangelization of His world.

W. H. MURRAY WALTON

THE BATTLE AGAINST SLEEPING SICKNESS IN FRENCH CAMEROONS

By W. REGINALD WHEELER

WE have lately returned from the heart of the sleeping sickness area in French Cameroons. The government headquarters for the organization battling against this disease is at Ayos, 100 miles east of Yaunde, the capital of the mandated area. Sixty-three per cent of the people in this area are infected. The people of Africa have suffered many things from various diseases and at the hands of the white man, but, with the possible exception of slavery, no misfortune has come to them which has brought more pain and death than this scourge of sleeping sickness. No one, unless he has a heart of stone, can see these black people, young and old, so stricken and in such suffering, and not be touched with the feeling of their pitiable infirmity.

Sleeping sickness is an increasing menace throughout Equatorial Africa, particularly in the central and western areas. The French Government in the Cameroons mandate has organized the attack upon this disease in a most efficient and thorough way. The methods used are of interest, accordingly, in the colonial and mandated areas beyond Cameroons. Sleeping sickness of the African type is not known in America or Europe, and a brief explanatory statement concerning it may be necessary. For this we are indebted to Dr George W. Thorne, one of the recent additions to the West Africa Mission of the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A., a graduate of the Medical School of the University of California, who has been stationed for some months at Abong-Mbang, and has been in close touch with the work of the government doctors. Dr E. Jamot,

the head of the government work, was most kind in supplying us with information, and put at our disposal the recent detailed study of the Abong-Mbang district, made by Dr Louis Bauguion, covering the period from November 1927 to July 1928, one of the most thorough and accurate studies which has been made of any district affected by this disease. We appreciate the courtesy of Dr Jamot and of Dr Bauguion in allowing us to quote from this survey, and the help of Dr Thorne in supplying the statement concerning sleeping sickness that follows :

Two types of sleeping sickness (human trypanosomiasis) are found in Africa : the Gambesian or West Coast type, and the Rhodesian type, found to the east. In Cameroons the Gambesian type is found.

The early slave traders on the West Coast soon learned enough of the characteristics of the disease to refuse all slaves with enlarged glands and other symptoms, as these slaves always died rapidly. The first clinical description of sleeping sickness was given by the early explorers about 1801, but it remained a medical mystery until 1903, when Dr Castellani proved it to be caused by the trypanosome Gambiensi (from Gambia), microscopic animal parasites that swim in the blood, lymph and fluid in the canal of the spinal cord and brain. The onset of the disease is from ten days to several months after the bite of an infected tsetse fly (*Glossina palpalis*)—that is, a tsetse fly which has become infected with the trypanosome Gambiensi, by feeding on the blood of a sleeping sickness case. Certain types of mosquitoes can also transfer the disease, in laboratory animals, by injecting a little blood of an infected animal just bitten into a healthy animal on which they are feeding. Probably these mosquitoes and possibly some other insects can do the same with man, but this has not yet been definitely proven. The disease, in its early stages, is characterized by fever and generalized pains, not unlike other acute fevers in the Natives, and is not considered by them as sleeping sickness. This is generally followed by a period of remission of the clinical symptoms from a few weeks up to several years (in Natives), after which the second stage begins with the invasion of the organs, glands and central nervous system by the trypanosomes, and the patient becomes obviously ill.

The patient may show emaciation or an abnormal increase of weight, in accordance with the organs affected. There may be extreme sensitiveness, a slight touch or blow giving excruciating pain. This phase of the disease rapidly advances into the sleeping or third stage, in which the patient continually lapses into a light sleep, regardless of position or place. While the sleep is irresistible, patients can be easily awakened until the

terminal period, when they die of exhaustion, or complicating diseases. At the beginning of the third stage they may become much excited, and some become violently insane. Many develop paralysis, and all are most pitiable objects.

Gambesian sleeping sickness generally spreads out slowly about an epidemic centre, but at times the epidemics may spread rapidly and exhibit extreme virulence. It generally follows the country on both sides of the watercourses and the main arteries of travel. According to Dr Jamot, an epidemic in Uganda claimed 200,000 victims out of 300,000 estimated population.

Speaking in June 1926, Dr Jamot summarized the advance of the disease :

It is this form of the malady (endemo-epidemic), which from 1898 to 1912 ravaged Loango, Mayombe and the route of the caravans, which at that period connected the coast with Brazzaville. It is this which in twenty years has killed on the Congo and on its affluents almost the total population of the riverain. It is this, finally, which has decimated the upper Ogowe, the valley of the Niari, the valley of the Congo, the upper and the lower Sanga, the Ibenga-Motaba, the upper Mbomu, the regions of Fort de Possel, of Fort Crampel and Buca, the middle and the lower Shari and, finally, the very heart of Cameroons, the rich and populous basins of the Nlong, the Sanaga, the Dja and the Kadei.

The German army officers first reported sleeping sickness in Cameroons about twenty miles west of Abong-Mbang in 1901. It is supposed to have invaded the Cameroons from the Gabon via the Congo or Spanish Guinea. Before the war it was probably confined to the upper Nlong river valley and the region of Dume. With the great movements of Natives caused by the war the disease was widely spread over central and eastern-central Cameroons. The exact limits of the infected area have only been determined in the last year and a half. About 100,000 living cases of sleeping sickness are known to be at the present time in the Cameroons.

African sleeping sickness is a disease from which there is no known case of spontaneous recovery. Until recent years there was no known remedy, but now there are three

potent medicines available: Atoxyl (French), discovered by Bechamp; Bayer 205 (German); and tryparsamide (American), first used successfully by Dr Louise Pearce of the Rockefeller Institute. Salvarsan and aniline emetic are also useful adjuncts. Atoxyl, if properly given, is most effective in the first stage of Gambian sleeping sickness; Bayer 205 is especially effective in the Rhodesian type, and as a prophylactic, as moderate doses of it seem to give protection against acquiring the disease for considerable periods of time. Tryparsamide is the only medicine that reaches the trypanosomes in the spinal cord and brain in the advanced stages.

According to Dr Jamot, out of approximately 2,000,000 inhabitants in Cameroons, 600,000 of whom are in the sleeping sickness area, about 100,000 are infected. In the Akonolinga subdivision, 21,000 out of a total population of 48,000, or about 44 per cent, are infected. In 1926 there were in this region for one hundred inhabitants three births for ten deaths. In the Abong-Mbang subdivision, according to Dr Bauguion's survey, out of a total population of 20,319, 12,949, or almost 64 per cent, are reported to be infected; of the Mekae tribe, 59·5 per cent; of the Njem, 75·5 per cent; of the Bikele, 77 per cent. Since January 1st, 1923, 7240 are reported to have died. The total deaths from all causes in the year 1927 were 2040, or 9·5 per cent, of which 5·5 per cent were due to sleeping sickness. There were 1008 births, or 4·7 per cent, and the consequent loss was 1032, or 4·8 per cent. At this rate, in twenty years the population would practically disappear. Of 1756 deaths, of which the cause was definitely known, sleeping sickness caused 1172 deaths, or 67 per cent.

The organization which is combating sleeping sickness in this area is entitled ' La Mission Permanente de Prophylaxie contre la Maladie du Sommeil au Camérоun.' Dr E. Jamot is head of the organization. He has spent many years in Africa and has had broad experience in the French Congo and in the Ubangi-Shari. For nine years he has been head

of the work in the Cameroons. Dr Jamot holds the rank of Medicin-Commandant des Troupes Coloniales. He wears the crimson rosette of the Legion of Honour. Through the Minister of Colonies he has the right to request the assignment from the War Department in France of medical officers to assist in the work. There are eleven such doctors from France, with twenty assistants (*agents sanitaires*), who are given four months' training at Ayos before being sent out into the surrounding areas. Each doctor is in charge of an *équipe*. There are eight such *équipes*, and three doctors are resident at headquarters at Ayos. Each *équipe* is provided with from eight to fourteen microscopes, and a number of trained Natives take the blood stains and puncture the glands of those infected. Every village is visited in a certain area, and every chief and sub-chief is responsible for the presence of his people for examinations and inspection. Fifty examinations a day are possible with each microscope. Each one examined has a card record, and the dose prescribed for him is written in white chalk upon his chest. Afterwards, the *agents sanitaires* are sent out to follow the instructions given by the doctors, and also treat diseases other than sleeping sickness, such as malaria, syphilis and yaws.

At Ayos, in addition to Dr Jamot, are stationed Dr de Marqueisac and Dr Lavergne. There are two hundred to five hundred patients in advanced periods of the disease in the hospital at Ayos.

The success of the treatment is indicated by the fact that only ten per cent of the sleeping sickness patients under treatment in this district died, whereas in other areas, where there was no treatment, from forty to seventy per cent died. A comparison of the record of deaths for the four quarterly periods in 1927 and for the first two quarterly periods in 1928 indicates the progress being made in the campaign.

In the first column are given the number of deaths of those with sleeping sickness who may have been ill also

from other causes, and the second column shows those whose deaths were due directly to sleeping sickness.

ABONG-MBANG DISTRICT

Deaths		*Deaths (sleeping sickness)*	
1927		1927	
1st three months . .	329	1st three months . .	294
2nd „ „ . .	147	2nd „ „ . .	116
3rd „ „ . .	79	3rd „ „ . .	53
4th „ „ . .	222	4th „ „ . .	189
Total . .	777	Total . .	652
1928		1928	
1st three months . .	98	1st three months . .	79
2nd „ „ . .	82	2nd „ „ . .	42
Total . .	180	Total . .	121

In two years, the organization of which Dr Jamot is the head examined one million out of the two million people in Cameroons, and is extending its work over the whole infected area. We were told by Dr Jamot that in the first stage practically all the patients can be saved, in the second and third stages about 65 per cent.

In the heavily infected areas a new method is being tried, that of treating every one, infected or not infected, with atoxyl. This cannot effect a cure, but is a prophylactic and will prevent the occurrence of new cases. In the Njem tribe, every one was treated with tryparsamide, and there were few recorded deaths from sleeping sickness during the year following this treatment. This tribe in four years had decreased from 1800 to 600.

As we talked with Dr Jamot and his assistants, as we studied their work and felt their spirit of courage and devotion to their humanitarian task, we thought that here was noble service being gallantly rendered, that these men were an honour to France, and that they were translating in heroic and practical terms the ideals described by the Colonial Minister of France on February 2nd, 1926, in inaugurating the Academy of Colonial Science :

It has never been held by France, nor will it ever be by the Republic, that men are so many instruments for labour and production. In every human being, whatever his colour, there is that sacred element—humanity. To protect and defend this human spark, to lead these men wisely and perseveringly to that civilization where brotherhood and liberty, justice and peace will reign—that is our aim and our ideal.

We left Yaunde before six o'clock on the morning of August 10th. About an hour from Yaunde, we passed one of the government *équipes* where the sleeping sickness patients were lined up for inspection. As we went east, the country became more rolling and there was an occasional range of hills, grass-covered instead of thick-set with trees. About eleven o'clock, we came to the old German fortress of Akonolinga, situated on a commanding site above the winding Nlong river. At noon we reached Ayos.

Ayos is situated on the crests of hills that rise above the great curve of the Nlong. The trees and undergrowth have been cleared away and there are a number of houses which serve as hospital and wards and residences for the French doctors. Dr Jamot and his associates were most generous in their hospitality and did everything possible for our comfort and convenience.

The next morning we inspected the hospital and the patients in the varying stages of sleeping sickness. Two files, of men and women, were waiting outside the hospital doors for treatment, prescriptions chalked upon their chests. They were admitted and were given treatment; the blood was tested and glands punctured of those who had not hitherto been examined. These patients were in all stages of the malady, but aside from enlarged glands, a certain lethargy of movement and an occasional nodding of the head in a fleeting doze, most of them did not show the characteristics of their disease.

But later we saw those who were in residence for treatment at Ayos in the third stage of the malady. Dr Jamot, in an address in 1926, said :

On ne peut rien imaginer d'aussi misérable, d'aussi pitoyable, que les trypanosomés à la période terminale. Ce sont des squelettes vivants,

des déchets d'humanité, de véritables fantômes de la mort qui se traînent en geignant ; après quelques pas ils s'arrêtent épuisés, s'asseyent et s'endorment.

Those in this last stage were seated upon benches outside the hospital. Immediately before us were two men who had become insane. One of them gesticulated at us wildly and kept counting in French, '*un*, *deux*, *trois*, *quatre*, . . .' Next to these men were a group of those who had increased abnormally in weight. Beyond them were a group of men and women, thin and emaciated, who as they tried to sit erect on the benches were continually falling forward in sleep. Again and again one of them, a woman, tried to sit upright, her eyes fixed upon us with mute entreaty and appeal. Continually her head sank lower and finally, with a gesture of resignation and despair, she fell forward in the sleep that so resembles death.

But saddest of all were the children, a group of twelve or fifteen, so thin and weak and pitiful. One of the doctors asked them to stand up and to move forwards toward us. They rose in a wavering line, tottered forward a few steps, and then gradually collapsed to the ground. One boy stood with his hands hanging forward, unable to move farther, with his lack-lustre eyes fixed upon ours. Finally, he dropped to the ground beside the quivering figure of a child who had been brought in upon a stretcher and placed at our feet.

It is among such scenes and among people thus afflicted that the mission sub-station at Abong-Mbang has been located. The Gospel first penetrated this area in 1912. The tribes were cannibalistic, and there is a skull in the possession of the mission that was thrown under one of the missionary residences by one of the cannibal chiefs, with the declaration, 'This is the white man's portion.' But in spite of difficulties, the Word has run and been glorified among these savage peoples. Law and order have been established and the Church has grown so that there are in this area now 400 communicants and a total Christian constituency of nearly 5000. When the wave of sleeping

sickness invaded this area two years ago, the mission had to face the question of withdrawing from its work there. Over one hundred native evangelists and teachers had gone into this field. A missionary doctor and evangelist were stationed there. One of the missionaries contracted the disease. The question arose, 'Should the Christian forces retire from this area until the disease is under control?' We asked the frank opinion of Dr Jamot and Dr de Marqueisac as to their judgment in this matter, and also enquired how our mission could co-operate with them in their vital work. They expressed appreciation of the services of Dr Lehman and Dr Thorne in helping treat sleeping sickness patients among our Christian community. They suggested that the mission schools could do much in spreading the idea of precaution and the need of treatment in the early stages of the disease and the necessity of compliance with the medical regulations. With regard to withdrawal, they were emphatic in their statement that the forces of the Christian community were needed. 'We have some Native assistants who do not understand the real motive of our service, who are working only because they are paid, and it is your Christian people who are serving for the love of their brothers, who have the spirit that we want to animate our own group. We need your help.'

This was a genuine tribute to the power of the Christian motive of service and brotherhood, and it seemed as Dr Jamot spoke that he was echoing other words—the words of M. E. Allégret, who in 1926 wrote :

> Neither decrees, nor laws, nor the most humanitarian legislation can produce men, nor make those men brothers. Only the Gospel can do that, because it contains the vital principle of all deep personal life, and, by leading a man to his Father, thereby reveals to him his brothers.[1]

And Dr Jamot was speaking words that echoed those of Another nineteen centuries ago, words that supply the motive power for the perseverance of the Christian forces in this stricken community : 'He that is an hireling, and

[1] *International Review of Missions*, 1926 (July), p. 343.

not the shepherd, whose own the sheep are not, seeth the wolf coming, and leaveth the sheep, and fleeth: and the wolf catcheth them, and scattereth the sheep. The hireling fleeth, because he is an hireling, and careth not for the sheep.'

In many a church service in this unfortunate area we have heard sung a hymn which has many precious associations and memories; the Bulu words of the first lines and of the chorus run:

Yésus, Mba'ale wongan, wulu'u bia,
Bi ajeñ mvame jôé.

. . . . .
Mone Zambe, Mone Zambe,
Wo étam ô bili bia.

. . . . .
Mone Zambe, Mone Zambe,
Nyeke'e bia an' ô nga bo.

These children of the forest are singing words that to children in lands across the sea are familiar and dear:

Saviour, like a Shepherd lead us,
Much we need Thy tend'rest care.

. . . . .
Blessed Jesus, blessed Jesus,
Thou hast bought us, Thine we are.

. . . . .
Blessed Jesus, blessed Jesus,
Thou hast loved us, love us still.

These sheep of the Cameroons have been sadly smitten and afflicted. Many are walking in the valley of the shadow of death. We believe that the One who was moved with compassion, because the people of His day were like sheep that were scattered and without a guide, looks down with pitying eye upon these stricken flocks in the African forest. We believe that His blessing and benediction rest upon the courageous work of each one, French or American or Bulu, who is trying to bring healing and hope, who, in the midst of darkness and desolation, is presenting the promise of ultimate refuge and recovery beside green pastures and still waters, and who, like the Good Shepherd, is willing if need be to lay down his life for the sheep.

W. REGINALD WHEELER

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

THE NESTORIAN CHURCH

Nestorian Missionary Enterprise: A Church on Fire. By John Stewart, Ph.D. Foreword by S. M. Zwemer. Map. Edinburgh: Clark. 8s. 1928.

THE present writer is not in the habit of reviewing books. In all his literary career he has only reviewed three books, because their contents and merits had appealed to him and struck him forcibly, and Dr Stewart's book is counted by him as belonging to this category of books for the simple reason that it endeavours, and in his opinion fairly successfully, to deal with the problem of the phenomenal rise and fall of one of the most interesting bodies of Christianity. I use purposely the word 'problem,' because the sudden fall of a Church which carried the torch of the Gospel to the remotest districts of the earth has not yet been solved to the satisfaction of a modern searching mind. We are in a position to trace in a fairly satisfactory way the positive side of its remarkable work through the annals of history and in the archæological remains which its adherents left behind them in their missionary wanderings, but its negative side, i.e. the side of the complex problem of its almost complete disappearance from the face of the earth, has so far eluded us, because we have not yet gathered sufficient data to account for it.

Before embarking on his main subject Dr Stewart devotes two chapters (pp. 1–49) to a rapid sketch of the evangelization of Mesopotamia and Western Persia, the fertile soil from which sprang the virile minds of the leaders of the 'Church of the East.' These chapters, which serve as a kind of introduction to the book, leave something to be desired from the scholar's point of view. Even to the author they did not seem to have constituted an integral part of the work itself, which begins on p. 50 with the chapter 'Nestorianism in Arabia,' followed by the chapters on its 'expansion in Central and Eastern Asia, India, Further Asia, China and Japan' (pp. 50–213). The author has collected all the available data for the spread of Christianity in these regions, has read much and drawn upon good

authorities. Apart from some minor points which are more of the domain of the professional orientalist, it is doubtful whether more could have been said on the subject. So far as documentary evidence is concerned, I consider that the chapter on Arabia is somewhat inferior to the other chapters, as it lacks the same good references to the original sources which characterize the other chapters of the book.

It would be useful here to remark that the author believes (p. 106) in the historicity of the mission of Pantænus to India, and considers that the 'India' associated with his name is the real India of our day and not Arabia Felix, as hitherto believed by the best authorities.

I will allow myself to refer to some imperfections scattered here and there in the book, in the hope that they will be corrected in a second edition: Cascar (or better Cashcar) (p. 14) is not in northern but in southern Mesopotamia. Baith Katraye (p. 52) is not in south-west but in south-east Arabia. The Nestorian writer Isho'dad is placed at A.D. 425 (p. 88); Isho'dad, however, died towards the end of the ninth century. The town of Gundisabur, where there was a famous medical school, is wrongly identified with Shahabad (pp. 93–4), in the Panjab; Gundisabur, called also Baith Lapat, was situated south of Persia, north-east of the ancient town of Susa. It is suggested that Mosul might have had Nestorian patriarchs down to A.D. 1878 (p. 135); there is, however, no doubt that Nestorian patriarchs ceased to reside at Mosul more than a hundred years earlier, and even then they were residing in the monastery of Rabban Hormizd, nine hours' journey north of Mosul, and not in Mosul itself. It is intimated that the titular name by which the Jacobite patriarch of Mosul is known is Elias, while that of Mardin is Ignatius (p. 317); there is, however, no Jacobite patriarch at Mosul, and no titular name Elias has ever been adopted by the Jacobite patriarchs. The Maronites are counted among the Syrian communities who have developed a special kind of Syriac alphabet (p. 335); this, however, is not correct; it is only the Melchites that have developed in their ancient MSS Syriac characters that slightly differ from those used by the Nestorians and the Jacobites.

There is also some confusion in the form of technical terms and proper names. For *Sulimanthiah* read *Sulaimaniyah* (p. 35). The last letter of the word *rabbanyatha* (nuns) is '*a*' and not '*i*' (p. 35 *et passim*); for *Arimu* read *Ariwan* (p. 37); for *Hirtha* read always *Hirta* (p. 50 *et passim*); for *Numas* read always *Nuwas* (p. 56):

Katrage is a misprint for *Katraye* (p. 85); *Urfa* is the right spelling and not *Urfu* (p. 107); *Tayil* is a misprint for *Tayib* (p. 137); the name of the monk Sauma is sometimes written 'Cauma' (p. 149 *et passim*). Further, on pp. 205, 227 and 263 the words *sa'ora*, *Khuarizm* and *Juwayni* are misspelt.

Of special interest are the final chapters, which deal with the decadence and the factors in the decadence of Nestorian Christianity in all parts of Asia. According to the author the main factors in this decadence were persecution, deception and compromise. To these factors I will venture to add a fourth, and that is the over-centralization of the Church in its principal homeland: Mesopotamia and Persia. From the fifth century downwards, all authority in the 'Church of the East' was vested in the patriarch and the principal dignitaries around him. Every spiritual and temporal privilege had, strictly speaking, its ultimate source in the patriarchate. A naturally too forceful parallel for this state of affairs may be found in our days in the Roman Catholic Church with its all-permeating papacy. Supposing that hostile and pagan governments arose which destroyed Rome and removed its popes for some ten generations; since that Church is a Church of authority, and since every kind of authority is centred in the Pope, a chaotic state of affairs would ensue, which would shake the community of the faithful to its very foundations, with consequences that would astonish us.

The consequences embodied in this conjectural supposition were actually witnessed in the 'Church of the East.' In the Mongol and post-Mongol times, persecutions of all kinds weakened the central authority of the patriarchs, who often found themselves fleeing from place to place. They once became fugitives in small towns of the Upper Tigris, at another time temporary settlers in inaccessible monasteries of Kurdistan, which they soon were compelled to abandon for a town in North Persia and Central Mesopotamia. In all those years the patriarchs were often bereft of their 'right hand arms,' i.e. their immediate ecclesiastical dignitaries, who had themselves fled for their lives to unknown destinations. In such circumstances no bond existed between the patriarch and the distant metropolitans and bishops of Central Asia, the Far East and India. After the death of these latter bishops, the flocks under their care lost touch completely with the central authority, and after a short time had not even priests and deacons to instruct them in their Christian faith. Human flocks, accustomed to look to their spiritual

shepherds for all forms of religious guidance, suddenly found themselves without any shepherd to guide them, and by force of circumstances slowly drifted back to the pagan religion of their forefathers and mixed with the communities among which they were living. In my opinion, a great number of the actual Muslims of Central Asia are children of Christian forefathers; and such also is the case with a considerable number of Muslims in the Panjab in North India, and of Confucians and Muslims in North and Central China.

Dr Stewart is to be congratulated for having written a really good and scholarly book, the outcome of assiduous and conscientious work.

A. MINGANA

MANCHESTER

SHINTO

A STUDY OF SHINTO: The Religion of the Japanese Nation. By GENCHI KATO, D.Litt. Illustrated. Tokyo: Meiji Japan Society. London: Luzac. 9s. 1926.

THE Meiji Japan Society has for its chief object the 'encouragement of a thorough study of Japanese civilization or spiritual culture in the light of modern research.' Dr Kato claims for his book a greater degree of thoroughness than was achieved by western students who had written on the subject of Shinto before he published his volume. The point in which this greater thoroughness exhibits itself is in his treatment of Shinto not merely as a primitive nature religion, but in its ethico-intellectual aspect. This latter aspect he feels has not had justice done to it by western writers. Then there is a second point of difference. Western writers have looked upon Shinto too much as they would upon the religion of Egypt or of Babylonia. They have classed Shinto, in other words, with religions of the past. Dr Kato claims that Shinto, on the contrary, is 'Very vitally active in the ethico-religious consciousness and national life of the patriotic Japanese of to-day.'

Does Dr Kato make good these contentions, while at the same time giving to the reader a just account of Shinto 'in the light of modern research'? Whatever measure of success he may have achieved, his contribution to the study of the subject is to be welcomed. After half a century of research directed to things Japanese, our knowledge of Shinto remains imperfect. There is a vast undergrowth of religious custom and worship, as if sprung up from the

soil, stretching throughout the provinces of Japan, which one must consider over against the more highly developed systems of Confucianism and Buddhism, though intermingling has taken place between the lower and the higher forms in the course of centuries. What goes by the name of Shinto is not a consistent body of religious custom and belief, but rather a congeries of material as yet unexplored, neither interpreted nor traced back to original sources ' in the light of modern research.' We do not mean to say that Shinto has no physiognomy of its own, as a religion, or that when Dr Kato speaks of it as the religion of the Japanese people there is to be found no reality corresponding to such a conception of Shinto. But there has appeared recently a new edition of the book entitled *The Dictionary of Japanese Gods*, a perusal of which will afford evidence of what we are saying. The scholar who traces out the place and significance of these various and sundry deities may be able to throw light upon that great mass of material which constitutes the religious phenomena ordinarily included under the name of Shinto.

Every one must admit the truth of Dr Kato's contention when he asks us to regard Shinto as a living religion. It is a living religion, and its influence is real though difficult to perceive or to analyse. Yet what we call Shinto has been sufficiently definite, in the matter of religious ideas, to supply the translators of the New Testament, for example, with a greater number of terms than was drawn either from Confucian or Buddhist sources. By saying this we seem to confirm Dr Kato's contention that Shinto represents an ethico-religious consciousness and not simply a primitive nature consciousness. We should find the religious and ethical elements in Shinto, however, in ideas different from those on which Dr Kato places his chief emphasis. As he defines it, for example,

> the vital essence of Shinto manifests itself in an expression of that unique spirit of the national service of the Japanese people, which is not only mere morality but is their religion, culminating in Mikadoism, or their own peculiar form of loyalty or patriotism towards the Emperor, who is at once political head and religious leader in a government constitutional yet theocratico-patriarchal.

If one carried this definition about and tested it by what one observed in daily worship at the wayside shrines and on occasions of religious festivals, he would feel that the definition would not embrace the vast and complex, yet simple, forms of worship going

on in which the human heart concerns itself, seeking relief from troubles and coveting blessings which have no direct relation to patriotic service. I know that it will be said this is 'popular' Shinto. Be it so, are we justified in placing all the popular forms of Shinto on one side as distinct from Shinto as the national religion of Japan?

However, we are pointing to this broader phase of Shinto-worship not to discredit the patriotic interpretation given by Dr Kato and other Japanese scholars as the essential feature of the early religion of Japan as it still exists. There is something corresponding to the Davidic House in Shinto. In truth, without this reference it is difficult to see how Shinto throughout the centuries could have maintained itself in the esteem of the thoughtful people of the nation. The rites and ceremonies have been dignified by their association with high matters of State. The Government in recent times has undertaken to detach popular Shinto from the State and to regard the ancient ceremonies, as practised in connexion with State affairs, as being civic and patriotic in character, with no religious quality whatsoever.

Dr Kato's discussion raises another question. He speaks of the evolution of Shinto. He interprets Shinto historically according to stages of development. But we are not so sure that a case can be made out for the evolution of Shinto, if by that be meant an unfolding from within. Dr Kato says:

> In the course of its development, the polytheistic phase of Shinto gradually passes into a pantheism. As we have just seen, although the animistic polytheism of original Shinto evolves into naturalistic pantheism, Shinto, in its progress, is by no means lacking in an aspect of henotheism or monotheism (p. 143).

Instead of growth, one will find rather a syncretistic admixture, now with Buddhism and now with Confucianism, and during the recent period with Christianity. This admixture has taken place without giving effect to a true and inward evolution of the Shinto religion. There may have been impulses in the direction of an idealization, but we fail to discover in the Shinto of to-day an idealized system the result of a rational interpretation of the ancient myths and legends, such, for example, as we observe among the Greeks.

Dr Kato's contribution is well worth reading not only for the light it throws upon Shinto beliefs and practices; it will prove to be

of interest as well to those who are more concerned to understand practical problems of religion in Japan at the present time. Though representing a low form of religion, that is, a religion devoid of ethical code or clear conceptions of the future life, yet Shinto has laid a foundation, we believe, for Christianity, more adequate in many respects for the superstructure the future is to see built than the preparation made either by Confucianism or by Buddhism.

TOKYO S. H. WAINRIGHT

JAPAN IN THE MODERN WORLD

MODERN JAPAN AND ITS PROBLEMS. By G. C. ALLEN. New York: Dutton. $3. London: Allen & Unwin. 10s. 1928.

JAPAN AND CHRIST. By M. S. MURAO and W. H. MURRAY WALTON. London: Church Missionary Society. 2s. 6d. 1928.

THESE two books admirably complement one another. The first is by an Englishman who taught for five years in a Japanese commercial college, and delved particularly into Japan's economic and political structure. The second is by a Japanese college lecturer and a missionary of the C.M.S., who has for some years been the editor of the *Japan Christian Quarterly*. The economist appraises Japanese character and culture with insight and fair-mindedness. His estimate of the Christian enterprise, however, is marred by an obviously meagre acquaintance with the facts. The Japanese and the missionary so closely identify themselves with the struggles and aspirations of the people that their sharp criticisms of the Church become the faithful wounds of a friend.

A few of Mr Allen's acute observations on Japanese character deserve mention. He notes that their 'oblique methods of expression' have an ethical basis, the fear of wounding others' feelings, whereas occidental bluntness seems to them barbarous. Their 'love of compromise is wholly admirable. An agreement is always to be preferred, from a social point of view, to a complete victory.' 'The people as a whole are remarkably scrupulous in all monetary transactions.' 'No Japanese will ever respect a race which is deficient in self-control'—as some missionaries have been.

While Mr Allen criticizes the repressive uniformity of Japanese schools, he says they are no worse in this respect than English public schools, and in equality and freedom from snobbishness they are

far superior. He rashly asserts that the mutual help given by the Japanese family to its members is so effective that 'Japan needs no system of poor relief or of unemployment insurance.' He later qualifies this statement by admitting that the rise of a proletariat has weakened both the economic and the social functions of the family, but he overlooks the evidences that family aid is increasingly inadequate; for example, the forming of relief agencies, both official and private, the old age pension system and the severe hardships suffered by thousands of the unemployed and strikers in recent years. He rightly points out, however, that the relief extended by families to their members in straits serves to reduce the sharp rise and fall of demand for goods, that is, it maintains 'demand stability.' Furthermore, the ability, even yet, of many factory workers to return to the old home and work on the farm acts as a further shock absorber.

An illuminating discussion of the population problem leads to the conclusions that the rate of increase is not likely to fall for a good while, and that the increase must be supported by industrialization and by export, especially of silk to the United States and of cotton goods to Asia. Japan must also become increasingly cosmopolitan, and 'this must hasten the decay of much that is unique and graceful in her civilization.'

The closing pages deplore the unfortunate effects in Japan of certain American influences and of the political hypocrisy of the Anglo-Saxons, who have been said by a Japanese publicist to 'talk like Jesus Christ and act like any opportunist politician.'

The second volume is intended for mission study groups, but it would be a pity if that should prevent seasoned students of missions from perusing it. For it abounds in challenging ideas. The kernel of the book is found in the latter half, where the prospects and methods of the Church are discussed without reserve.

To Mr Uchimura is attributed the startling dictum that 'the Churches are one of the greatest hindrances to the advance of Christianity in Japan,' since the freedom of the faith is hampered by ecclesiastical organizations. Then the authors say: 'Whether one agrees with him or not, the figures [of slow growth] are in themselves sufficient to provide food for the most furious thinking.' They give as reasons for the slow growth that the Church is overwhelmingly middle class, hence lacking in daring, creative personalities, labour considering the Church a select society, indifferent to

pressing social problems; that over-emphasis on self-support has left little energy for evangelistic outreach; that there are sectarian divisions without 'the slightest sign on the horizon to justify' the hope of union, and church congestion in prefectural capitals with neglect of the towns and villages; that places and services of worship lack æsthetic appeal; that the Church has not seized chances for leadership on moral issues such as the military excesses in Korea, the protection of labour and corruption in public life; that the Gospel is embodied in too few changed, dynamic personalities—men like Mr Kagawa and Colonel Yamamuro can fill any hall in the country.

As correctives of these weaknesses, the authors urge greater attention to the farmers, the industrial workers and the fisher-folk, and several suggestions as to methods are made. Possibly the communistic idea of planting a 'cell' and 'boring from within' needs to be adopted by Christians. 'The Friends of Jesus,' a group now numbering over 1300, which has grown out of Mr Kagawa's activities, are working somewhat after this fashion. It may be added that they undergo a three years' probation before being enrolled. The possibilities of newspaper and correspondence evangelism and of hostels for students should be further developed. The Christian schools should resolutely resist the temptation to become big, lest they be shallow and colourless.

But while the authors are realistic in depicting the impotence of the Christian forces to grapple decisively with the immense task before them, the vivid cartoons in the last chapter of the power of Christ in three Japanese lives fill the reader with hope for the future.

The authors stoutly maintain that missionaries will continue to be needed, but that they should have special gifts and be able to do what the Japanese cannot do themselves. On this principle I think their advocacy of more rural missionaries needs to be qualified. I question whether any but exceptionally equipped missionaries should essay rural work, particularly in view of the need of 'demonstration centres' combining farmers' co-operatives, adult education and religious teaching, after the plan now being applied by Kagawa, Sugiyama and their associates. Since there are such able Japanese available, should not the missionary and his homeland supporters give money to this new type of rural work and serve as co-workers whenever invited? The authors sympathize with this view, for they approve granting money in bulk to Japanese bodies and leaving

its administration to them. They believe it is best to make grants for special undertakings such as newspaper evangelism, rural gospel schools and special preaching missions.

If this excellent volume were to be revised it might well give more space to accounts of specific pieces of Christian work, especially those under Japanese leadership. Mr Kagawa is briefly mentioned several times, but an account of his many-sided activities would go far to show the reader the latent resources in the Japanese genius, and the points where the men and money and faith of the occidental Church could be most advantageously applied.

GALEN M. FISHER

NEW YORK

CHRISTIANS IN INDIAN LAW

LAW APPLICABLE TO CHRISTIANS. By PAUL APPASAMY, LL.B. Madras: Christian Literature Society. Rs. 2. 1928.

THE difficulties of the law in a country where not only religious but civil rights are based upon the religion of the persons concerned, as they are in India, cannot be easily realized in a country where everybody enjoys the same common law rights and where there is a uniform law governing such questions as tenure of property, inheritance and so on. The Government in India has to administer many different kinds of law, of which the chief are Hindu, Muhammadan and Christian, and there are a great many subdivisions even in these. Thus it will be seen that the passing of a convert from Hinduism or Muhammadanism to Christianity ceases to be a purely personal matter but changes the convert's status *vis-à-vis* the law, and to a certain extent his civil rights also.

For many years now missionaries and the Christian community have been wrestling with these difficulties. Such questions as these arise: Does a Hindu member of a joint family necessarily lose all his rights to the joint family property if he becomes a Christian? Does the conversion of the wife of a Muhammadan automatically dissolve the marriage? Is the marriage of a Christian to a Hindu by a Hindu priest valid? and so on. Then there is another set of questions which arise especially in connexion with the women's missions, connected with the guardianship of minor girls. To establish a home or refuge for girls who are ill-treated because they desire

to be Christians, or to save them, for instance, from an undesirable life, is a thing continually advocated in missionary circles; but the actual carrying out of this laudable intention is a business which bristles with legal difficulties. Missionaries have done the best they can in different parts of India to meet these and many more difficulties, but they have been depending upon contrary rulings of different provincial High Courts, and upon the knowledge of the lawyer if they get into contact with one, and so for twenty years now an easy guide to the solution of these legal problems has been demanded.

A book has been planned for a long time and different people have attempted its production without being able to effect its completion; but at last the National Christian Council asked Mr Paul Appasamy, Barrister-at-Law and City Civil Judge in Madras. As a writer he is well known from his history of the Tinnevelly Church, and as a former professor at the Madras Law College he was eminently fitted to do the work. He has laid down for the guidance of his readers the general principles underlying the law, and has discussed all the subjects mentioned above, and many others, with full references to cases already decided in different parts of India, and has given advice to those who are confronted with difficulties. The book is provided with a full index which enables easy reference. It is not, of course, intended to take the place of a lawyer, but it will save people from making serious mistakes, and indicates the questions to which in any difficulty special attention should be directed.

The National Christian Council and Mr Appasamy have laid the whole Christian community in India under a deep obligation by the publication of this most useful book; and it would be well if the missionaries preparing to come to India were introduced to the book before they started and were given some guidance to its understanding. It would be impossible to exaggerate the amount of time wasted and the number of needless difficulties which have occurred because many missionaries have been entirely innocent of any knowledge of the law of the country in which they work. We have had an excuse in the past that there was no means of ascertaining the principles which ought to guide us; but now that this book has been published the difficulty has been removed.

HARRY MADRAS

MADRAS

THE JERUSALEM MEETING REPORT

REPORT OF THE JERUSALEM MEETING OF THE INTERNATIONAL MISSIONARY COUNCIL, March 24–April 8, 1928. Eight Volumes. Vol. I. THE CHRISTIAN LIFE AND MESSAGE IN RELATION TO NON-CHRISTIAN SYSTEMS. 5s. $1.50. Vol. II. RELIGIOUS EDUCATION. 3s. 6d. $1.00. Vol. III. THE RELATIONS BETWEEN THE YOUNGER AND OLDER CHURCHES. 4s. 6d. $1.25. Vol. IV. THE CHRISTIAN MISSION IN THE LIGHT OF RACE CONFLICT. 3s. 6d. $1.00. Vol. V. CHRISTIANITY AND THE GROWTH OF INDUSTRIALISM IN ASIA, AFRICA AND SOUTH AMERICA.[1] 3s. 6d. $1.00. Vol. VI. THE CHRISTIAN MISSION IN RELATION TO RURAL PROBLEMS. 4s. 6d. $1.25. Vol. VII. INTERNATIONAL MISSIONARY CO-OPERATION. 3s. 6d. $1.00. Vol. VIII. ADDRESSES AND OTHER RECORDS.[1] 3s. 6d. $1.00. The set of eight volumes. 25s. $7.00. London: Oxford University Press. New York: 419 Fourth Avenue.

ALTHOUGH I had some share in the initiation of the plans for the meeting of the International Missionary Council at Jerusalem I was prevented by absence in Africa from taking part (except in the very early stages) in the execution of them, and from being present at the meeting itself. Apart from three of the preliminary papers I have read the reports for the first time after their publication.

The first effect of reading them has been to awaken a feeling of profound thankfulness for the advance made since the Edinburgh conference of which they are the striking evidence. The meeting at Jerusalem is a milestone showing the distance that has been travelled. With considerable hesitation and after earnest deliberation and much prayer the conference at Edinburgh resolved to set up a Continuation Committee and to provide it with a budget. The consequences of that decision, as the meeting at Jerusalem shows, have been more far-reaching than could then have been foreseen.

The fact that missions ceased to be a multiplicity of isolated agencies and created an organ for common consultation and common action opened the door into a new world. Questions which could not easily find a place on the agenda of an individual board, naturally and rightly concerned in the first instance with its own organized activities, and which no single board possessed the resources to consider or deal with effectively, have been seen with increasing

[1] Titles of vols. v and VIII in the American edition are, *The Christian Mission in relation to Industrial Problems*, and *Addresses on General Subjects*.

clearness to be the deep and urgent concern of the Church as a whole. The contact of races, the spread of western industrialism in Asia and Africa, the rural conditions under which two-thirds of the population of the world are living, which were hardly touched upon at the Edinburgh conference, and have not a single entry in the index to the nine volumes of its report, were recognized at Jerusalem to have a profound bearing on the progress of the Christian cause. The establishment of the machinery for international co-operation, moreover, has made it possible to enlist in the service of the missionary cause the help of some of the ablest minds in various departments of human thought and activity, with the result that in intellectual quality the reports of the meeting at Jerusalem are an advance on those of the Edinburgh conference. The volume on Missions and Industrialism, for example, is the best treatment at present available of the spread of western industrialism in Asia and Africa, and the ethical and social problems to which it gives rise. The same may be said of the volume on Missions and Rural Problems. While these, and indeed all the volumes, have some of the deficiencies incidental to all reports of conferences, they offer a rich reward to those who, disregarding any defects of form, resolve to master the substance of what they contain.

In these reports we have a new conception of the missionary task coming to birth. The ideas are not wholly new; they have all had a place in the minds of far-seeing missionaries. But never before have they been set forth with such force and comprehensiveness, in such proportion and mutual relation to one another, and with the authority of so representative an assembly.

In the first place, the task is seen to be larger even than was thought. The dominant idea in the missionary movement in the past has been geographical expansion. There are still untouched fields to be entered. But it was recognized at Jerusalem that there are not only physical continents to be occupied, but vast new provinces of human interest and activity to be conquered for Christ. He is not only the Saviour of all men but the Lord of all life. The meaning of the missionary task has been indefinitely enlarged.

Secondly, the meeting marked a stage in the transition from the day of foreign missions as an activity of the western Churches to that of co-operation between the older and younger Churches in carrying out the Christian task in a world in which the major human problems are common to East and West alike. The volume on the Younger

and Older Churches contains a collection of documents which show the progress made in recent years in the transference of responsibility from missionary organizations to the indigenous Churches. The strength of the representation of the younger Churches at Jerusalem reminds us that the Church, enriched by the spiritual gifts and distinctive genius of all races, is equipped as never before for the discharge of its world mission. At the same time the reports show that while the contribution of the older Churches must be different in character in the future from what it has been in the past, this implies no diminution but rather a great enhancement of effort. Indeed, without a great spiritual revival in the Church, the birth of new ideas, the releasing of fresh energies and the outpouring of a new devotion, the carrying out of the tasks to which these volumes call must remain an idle dream.

Thirdly, it is inevitable that the Church in proportion as it is alive to the nature and demands of its world mission should be driven back to enquire more deeply into the meaning of its message. The Council had the courage to set itself to seek out and appreciate what is best and highest in non-Christian systems of life and thought. We do not see more deeply into the meaning of the Christian faith when we contrast it with the weaknesses of other religions. We begin to discover its heights and depths when we compare it with the noblest strivings and insights of mankind apart from the illumination brought by Christ. The volume on the Christian Message deals not only with the religions of non-Christian countries, but also with the secular view of life which among the educated classes everywhere is the most serious rival of Christianity. This volume, both in contents and in freshness of approach, is full of spiritual and intellectual stimulus, and no thoughtful Christian can afford to leave it unread.

Fourthly, we find in these volumes a new attempt on the part of the missionary movement to determine its relation to the universal modern demand for education, and to the response to that demand in national educational systems. The significance of this relation is twofold. On the one hand, there may be for the Church in the carrying out of its mission undreamed-of resources in the new and growing knowledge of the nature and working of the human mind, and in the steadily accumulating experience of what is involved in the educational process. On the other hand, there is an overwhelming call to the Church to bear witness to the truth that education without religion is necessarily incomplete, and to provide as a leaven

within the national systems a type of education in which the Christian faith and way of life are the inspiration of every activity, and supply the ultimate and unifying interpretation of the whole educational process.

No one can read and assimilate this comprehensive, courageous and rich interpretation of the task of the Church in the world to-day without becoming thereby a bigger missionary, a better Christian and a larger man.

CHIPSTEAD, SURREY J. H. OLDHAM

THE WORLD CALL TO THE CHURCH

THE CALL TO WEST AND EAST: The Sixth and Final Report of the World Call Series. Preface by the Rt Rev. ST CLAIR DONALDSON. Maps. London: Church House, Westminster. 2s. 6d. 1928.

THE series 'The World Call to the Church' is issued by the Missionary Council of the Church of England, in connexion with the congress held in London at St Paul's-tide 1926. The preceding volumes, it will be recalled, are devoted to Africa, India, the Moslem World, the Far East and Our Own People Overseas. This, the concluding volume, gathers up what remains of the great missionary task of the Church of England, dealing primarily with the Jewish world, the West Indies and the southern Pacific Islands.

The Jews in this survey are still spoken of as 'the dispersion,' and, by a suggestive arrangement, associated with them are certain modern shiftings of base, such as the oriental students' dispersion and the steadily increasing migration of industrial populations in Asia and Africa. It is made evident that the British themselves are an example of one of the greatest and most significant dispersions in history. The fact of the far-flung and firmly established British Empire is considered in its relation to the scattering of other peoples and the rapid modernization of the oriental world.

With such a geographical and historical background one can see that the responsibility resting upon British Christianity is as large as it is unique. The World Call series appears to have been prepared with this sobering thought in mind. The St Paul's-tide congress, we understand, was the outgrowth of a prayerful facing of the world's right to expect great things of England's national Church, together with humble acceptance of the fact that the Church had not satisfactorily met the legitimate expectations of the non-Christian world.

Born of such a spirit, the literature of the London congress was bound to be of a highly inspirational character.

Certainly the present volume is inspirational in the best sense of the word, since it abounds in a factual presentation illumined always by spiritual interpretations and pointed practical suggestion. The case for these outlying and intermingling fields, too often overlooked in missionary programs and literature, is presented to the Church in a deeply impressive way.

In reading these somewhat too closely printed pages, we are struck with the amount and wide variety of valuable information conveyed. Forty-four pages are devoted of the Jews, and doubters in respect of this phase of missionary activity will find plenty to challenge their position, especially in the extraordinary number of converts from Judaism being made in central Europe. Actual statistics as to migrations will be welcomed by those interested in international education and by mission board officials. The extent of British work in the West Indies and in South America will be a surprise to Americans.

The most romantic section of the book relates to the South Seas, with its list of great missionary leaders, Anglican, Congregational and Presbyterian. Here as elsewhere generous recognition is given to other than Anglican missions, and the totality of the Island task, especially in the matter of off-setting the disintegrating influences of exploitative commerce and the seamy side of western civilization, is clearly discerned. There is much less of an emphasis upon purely Anglican ideals and Anglican ways than one would expect. This augurs well for the cause of co-operation and ultimate unity in mission work the world over.

The book has more literary unity than one would expect from the nature of the contents, and the fact is enhanced by an excellent closing chapter on ' The Missionary Task of the Church of England Restated,' in which the World Call series is brought up to date and re-interpreted in the light of the findings of the Jerusalem Council.

Leaders of missionary education, candidate secretaries and all who have to do with home base work should familiarize themselves with these six volumes. In our opinion they constitute the most thoroughgoing and well-ordered attempt we have seen to rouse a whole Church to a sense of missionary responsibility. The editors of these volumes have put us all under a heavy obligation.

BOSTON CORNELIUS H. PATTON

ROMAN CATHOLIC MISSIONS AND ISLAM

L'ISLAM ET LES MISSIONS CATHOLIQUES. Paris: Bloud et Gay. 1927.

THIS is a series of lectures delivered in the Institut Catholique under the auspices of the Œuvre de la Propagation de la Foi. Those who appreciate the great work done by Roman Catholic missions, too much ignored among Protestants, heartily wish them success in bringing the Gospel to bear on the great Moslem populations under French rule and welcome such light as they can throw on the work and its problems. This book disappoints us on both counts. The lectures deal with the Moslem policy of France, with missions to Moslems in Persia, British India, Senegal, Nigeria, Algeria and finally with Protestant and Roman Catholic methods.

The treatment of such large subjects in more or less popular lectures is bound to be sketchy but it need not be inaccurate. The introduction opens with a note that 'the word Islam comes from the word Elam, the meaning of which is "consecrated to God."' Moslems in Senegal are said to 'faire salam,' meaning probably *salat* or prayers. It is said that Henry Martyn's translation of the New Testament into Urdu as the Moslem language of India was 'so defective as to be useless.' As a fact, it was the means of the conversion of Shaikh Salih, who afterwards became the first clergyman in Anglican orders in India; it remained the standard version for half a century, and after repeated revision the text is still substantially his. Of the Dutch East Indies we read on p. 276: 'l'effort d'evangélisation des Musulmans était nul'; but on p. 285: 'aux Indes Néerlandaises l'apostolat protestant signale des résultats sérieux.' Errors such as these diminish the value of the facts and figures that are given. Of Senegal we read on p. 152: 'Adult conversions are very rare; one can count them on one's fingers.' But on p. 156 the number of adult baptisms for 1925 is given as 400, and of Christians as 25,000. The lectures leave one in confusion as to the methods and results of Roman Catholic missions to African Moslems, but there is evidence to show that the devoted labours of Cardinal Lavigerie and the White Fathers have not been fruitless, and the life and work of Père de Foucauld in the Sahara is a record of which any Church might be proud.

The lectures contain also a sketch of Protestant work among Moslems, specially in India and Egypt. The names of Martyn, Pfander, French, Zwemer and Gairdner are known and often mis-

spelt. The stages of the work are sketched as: first, since Henry Martyn that of Bible translation and circulation and keen controversy; second, the phase of sympathetic approach and tactful accommodation; third, the extended use of education and general culture to meet the awakening of the modern mind; at the same time it is recognized that the Anglican missions are endeavouring to develop daughter churches, but the lecturer is of opinion that the differences as to faith and order and the lack of a definite message are undermining the work. However, he warns his readers not to rejoice in this but to strengthen the things that remain among themselves. One cannot but sympathize with the difficulties caused by the attitude of the French Government which, he holds, is essaying a vain task in favouring the Moslem faith in the hope of making the African Moslem a loyal French citizen. It is strange that the lectures nowhere mention among the difficulties of Roman Catholic evangelization the strong repulsion of the Moslem against the use of images in worship.

H. U. WEITBRECHT STANTON

LONDON

ASPECTS OF ISLAM IN NORTH AFRICA

LA VIE FÉMININE AU MZAB: Etude de Sociologie Musulmane. By A. M. GOICHON. Paris: Geuthner. Fr. 80. 1927.

L'ISLAMISATION DE L'AFRIQUE DU NORD: Les Siècles obscurs du Maghreb. By E. F. GAUTIER. Paris: Payot. Fr. 30. 1927.

THESE two books are good examples of the scientific spirit of France; of the clear and lucid thinking of French writers; and of a certain detached, academic attitude *vis-à-vis* the colonies which one does not notice in the attitude of Britons towards the British Empire. A vigorous prose style helps Professor Gautier over some of his more boring facts, and Mlle Goichon is alive to the poetry of her subject.

Moreover, the books throw light on one another. If Mlle Goichon gives us a 'close-up' of the life of the women in five small cities of the Mzab, in Southern Algeria, the setting of their life is indicated by the broad, sweeping lines of Professor Gautier's history of the whole of North-West Africa—a history, indeed, concentrated on just that period which placed the Mozabites in their present situation.

The Mozabites are a puritan sect of Islam who have kept their faith pure largely because the women are considered as religious beings, are taught the law, and have rules of life laid down for them. The Mozabite man goes travelling as a merchant to the coast lands, but his womenfolk remain in the five cities of the Mzab. It is here, in Ghardaya, that this Frenchwoman has collected a mass of details regarding their life. Her book is well illustrated, especially with the designs for silver ornaments and needlework. She gives an account of the customs at birth, marriage, funerals; she tells of magic and religion, of food and wool-weaving. Her sketch of the famous Mamma Slimān, the washer of dead bodies, is really vivid. Such people as midwives, tire-women and washers of dead bodies acquire a semi-religious rank in most primitive countries, and Mamma Slimān has become a sort of oracle or prophetess, as well as judge. She gives lectures on the Koran, in a language that the women understand. (They seem to talk Berber and an Arabic dialect in about equal quantities.) But she is sad, this old woman; she sees 'they do not fear God.' '"C'est une pitié," dit-elle douloureusement, "*musiba.*"'

Mlle Goichon gives recipes for food, for charms, for medicines; she transcribes (in Arabic with French translation) lullabies, songs of welcome or of parting, incantations for melting lead, invocations to the *djinns*, to the sun, to the stars.

Professor Gautier, in proposing to give a history of the seventh to the eleventh centuries A.D., clears the ground by an introduction of 248 pages, in a book of 432 pages. He goes back to the Phenician Empire, to Roman Africa and Carthage, to Byzantine days and Spanish Moors. The elephants of Numidia are compared to the camels of to-day. The advent of the camel with his attendant 'grands nomades chameliers,' round about the first century A.D., must have been as great an event as the advent of the motor-car in our days.

The Professor raises interesting questions about the survival of the Punic language and the old Punic Baal-Astarte religion. He quotes evidence from Septimus Severus and St Augustine, from old drawings on the rocks in the Maghreb and in Luxor. He underlines the age-long difference between the two races, the nomads and the settlers, whose very architecture is so distinct. The Numidians and the Moors of Roman days became the Botr and the Béranès of the Middle Ages, the Bedouin and the Kabyles of to-day. These tribes,

the Numidians or Botr, were the sort of people who as Christians became Donatists, a cause of much worry to St Augustine; as Moslems they became Kharigists.

Professor Gautier gives an interesting picture of Ibn Khaldun, his chief source for the history of the *Haut Moyen Age*. Ibn Khaldun was a gentleman-adventurer who served many emirs, and wrote his history during a time of imprisonment. He died about 1400, having lived in stirring times, making contributions of his own to the stir!

For any one who has ample leisure, these books are worth reading; but if you are busy, unless you live in North-West Africa, or are abnormally interested in Islam, you will not find them of urgent value.

I. M. SCOTT MONCRIEFF

ELIE, FIFE

KOREA MISSIONS YEAR BOOK

KOREA MISSIONS YEAR BOOK, 1928. Issued under the direction of the Federal Council of Missions in Korea. Edited by F. E. C. WILLIAMS and GERALD BONWICK. Seoul: Christian Literature Society. $1. Y. 1.75. 1928.

FACTS regarding the progress of Christian missions in Korea have in the past been published in connexion with an annual volume issued in Japan under the title of *The Christian Movement in Japan, Korea and Formosa*. Not until now has the Federal Council of Missions in Korea felt justified in attempting a separate volume. Its appearance is, therefore, a notable event.

The material in this volume is arranged in the main according to missions, which automatically makes it largely a geographical arrangement, for the territory has by mutual agreement been allocated to the various missions in such a manner as to result in little overlapping. Each article is signed by some member of the mission with which it deals.

Certain minor faults in the book may be dismissed with a brief reference. The map which serves to help the reader to locate mission stations is small and omits at least two stations, namely, Chulwon and Kyumasan. Since Sorai Beach, though not a mission station, is mentioned several times as being a summer resting-place for missionaries, one wishes that its location had also been indicated. The spelling of geographical names in the map varies somewhat from

that in the text. For example, the map gives north and south 'Choong Chong,' whereas the text spells the second word 'Chung'; in several of the provinces the map contains the word 'Kyung,' whereas the text spells it sometimes 'Kyeng' and sometimes 'Kyeung'; the map reads 'Soonchin,' while the text reads 'Soonchun.'

One is disappointed to find that, beyond incidental references, nothing whatever is said about the organization whose enterprise has led to the publication of the book. Readers outside Korea will surely ask, What is the 'Federal Council'? How did it come into existence? How is it organized? What are its functions? It is also a disappointment to find no reference to the Korean National Christian Council, which came into being in 1924. Except for a brief 'general survey,' which is largely statistical, the book does not contain a single comprehensive article on a major issue. One looks in vain, for instance, for a review of the successes and failures of the so-called Korean policy in mission administration; or for a fresh report on the relations between Government and missions, or for a statement of the trends of Korean thought during recent months, or for a summary of the chief problems which confront the Korean Church to-day. One cannot but ask, Why in the entire book is there no article signed by a Korean?

The Year Book for 1928 will make a useful guide to those who wish to know the details of work in individual missions. It also contains a complete directory of missionaries (which could have been made more useful if an alphabetical index of their names had also been supplied). The book is packed full of isolated facts, which are set forth in interesting fashion; as a catalogue of missionary work in Korea it is well made; but only a student skilled in research will be able from it to deduce the real status of the Christian enterprise in Korea, or to discern the main trends of thought of the Korean Christians.

D. WILLARD LYON

SHANGHAI

NOTES ON CONTRIBUTORS

The Rev. Charles E. Raven, D.D., Canon of Liverpool, continues in this issue his study of the Teaching Methods of Jesus, of which the first part appeared in our October number.

The Rev. Nicol Macnicol, D.Litt., since 1927 Secretary of the National Christian Council of India, Burma and Ceylon, looks at India not only as a Christian missionary of many years' standing, but with eyes made keen and clear through scholarship, deep understanding and affection.

Professor Julius Richter, D.Theol., D.D., of Berlin University, at the Jerusalem meeting of the International Missionary Council held last Easter referred to the question of race education by missionaries. His article is the outcome of his words at that time.

The Rev. J. de Ghellinck, S.J., Professor of Patrology in Louvain and Rome, and an authority on ancient Church History, contributes a picture of early missionary work in China of unusual interest.

The Rev. Carrington Goodrich was born in China of missionary parents, lived there as a boy and later as a man, and is now a lecturer on the History of the Development of Chinese Civilization at Columbia University. The subject of his paper links it to that which precedes it.

The article by Mr C. Frimodt-Möller, M.B., Ch.B., Superintendent of the Union Mission Tuberculosis Sanatorium at Madanapalle, South India, and a missionary of the Danish Missionary Society, also arose from an address he gave at the Jerusalem meeting.

The Rev. W. H. MURRAY WALTON, a missionary in Tokyo of the Church Missionary Society, and Editor of the *Japan Christian Quarterly*, has been giving his time in Japan for some years to the work of newspaper evangelism which he dcesribes.

The Rev. W. REGINALD WHEELER, Executive Secretary for Africa of the Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A., paid a visit to West Africa (Cameroons) in the summer of 1928, and was much impressed by the ravages of sleeping sickness and the measures being taken to combat it.

The writers of book reviews are: Dr A. Mingana, Curator of MSS. at the Rylands Library, Manchester, and author of many works on Eastern Christianity; the Rev. S. H. Wainright, D.D., for forty years a missionary in Japan of the Methodist Episcopal Church (South); the Rev. Galen M. Fisher, Executive Secretary of the Institute of Social and Religious Research, formerly a missionary in Japan; the Rt Rev. E. H. M. Waller, Bishop of Madras; Mr J. H. Oldham; the Rev. Cornelius H. Patton, D.D., Secretary of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions; the Rev. H. U. Weitbrecht Stanton, D.D., Ph.D., for many years a missionary in the Panjab; Miss I. M. Scott Moncrieff, a missionary in Egypt of the Church Missionary Society; and the Rev. D. Willard Lyon, D.D., Secretary in the Far East of the Foreign Committee of the National Councils of the Y.M.C.A.'s of the United States and Canada.

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In the preparation of the bibliography the Editors have the advantage of the co-operation of M. le Pasteur Allégret (Paris), Mr Chr. Dons (Oslo), Professor J. N. Farquhar, D.Litt. (Manchester), Rev. E. Folke (Drottningholm), Miss Hollis W. Hering (New York), Professor Arthur Jeffery (American University, Cairo), Professor H. M. van Nes, D.D. (Leiden), Rev. Frank Rawlinson, D.D. (Shanghai), Professor Kenneth Saunders (Berkeley, Cal.), Rev. Fr. Schepelern (Denmark), Professor Dr M. Schlunk (Tübingen), Missionsdirektor M. Tarkkanen (Helsingsfors), Rev. S. H. Wainright, D.D. (Tokyo), Canon A. Lukyn Williams, D.D. (Cambridge).

While the bibliography is concerned primarily with missionary literature, published matter on other subjects closely related to the progress of Christianity is included when it is of exceptional value.

Entries of magazine articles are distinguished by †.

Abbreviations of magazine titles are explained on p. 160.

Annotations in the bibliography do not preclude a subsequent review.

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Madagascar

See *65* (Survey).

America and the West Indies

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VI. Theory and Principles of Missions

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Christian Education

Japan

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ABBREVIATION OF MAGAZINE TITLES

CO = *Church Overseas*
CR = *Chinese Recorder*
EMM = *Evangelisches Missions-Magazin*
IRM = *International Review of Missions*
JCQ = *Japan Christian Quarterly*
MRW = *Missionary Review of the World*
MW = *Moslem World*
MZW = *Mededeelingen Tijdschrift voor Zendingswetenschap*
NAMZ = *Neue Allgemeine Missionszeitschrift*
NCCR = *National Christian Council Review*
NMT = *Nordisk Missions-Tidsskrift*
SMT = *Svensk Missionstidskrift*
ZM = *Zeitschrift für Missionswissenschaft*
ZMR = *Zeitschrift für Missionskunde und Religionswissenschaft*

When other magazines are referred to, the full title is given.

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China -- History

THE
INTERNATIONAL
REVIEW OF MISSIONS

MODERN REVOLUTION AND RELIGION IN CHINA

By FRANK RAWLINSON, D.D.

BY 'modern' I refer specifically to that period of Chinese history which falls between 1911 and 1927; for the purpose of making things clear, however, I shall sometimes refer to prior events. This half-generation of time is full of significant changes in ancient China's social, political and religious life and in her international relationships. The religious changes which have marked this period have not received the attention they deserve; political and economic movements have swamped them. Nevertheless, a change in religious attitudes is one aspect of this time of upheaval.

Beginning with the Boxer movement, there have sprung up three political movements, each of which has affected religious attitudes and life in China, particularly those of Christianity. No sooner had the treaties of 1903 announced the diplomatic status of Christianity in China, than it began to be affected by other forces which have culminated in most urgent demands for readjustment both within itself and in its relationship to the life of China.

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Nothing concerning Christianity remained settled : nothing is settled about its present situation. It is to-day in a state of flux.

The first movement, the Boxer rising of 1900, was once considered a fanatical movement dependent mainly upon superstitious agencies. But it is now regarded by many as an incipient patriotic movement which achieved at least one thing, the choking of the desire of western powers to partition China. It also became the nucleus for a new articulation of China's national consciousness which has recently developed rapidly. The huge indemnities imposed upon China as a result of the Boxer cataclysm were quite worth while as a cheap substitute for the contemplated partitionment. Christianity incurred severe persecution in 1900 because it was connected with the political groups which desired to partition China. The political implications of Christianity rather than its ideas or idealism were then the target ; now all aspects of Christianity are under fire.

After the Boxer rising came the revolution of 1911, in which the Chinese people achieved priority in their domestic politics. This forced the abdication of the Manchus. The incipient and somewhat localized patriotism of 1900 became national. In neither case were the results achieved due only to the machinations of rulers or of interested politicians. Both these movements, particularly the latter, depended on popular support, though this was and still is inadequately articulated.

Then came the Nationalist revolution of 1926–27. That this is a vital force in the life of China no one attempts to deny. It has three main characteristics. First, it is unifying the minds of the Chinese around the necessity of safeguarding their national integrity and regaining a lost international status by the elimination of discriminatory international legislation. Secondly, it reveals a growing determination on the part of the Chinese to be masters of their own national destiny. This is a response, on the one hand, to the Confucian ideal of self-mastery as an essential

aspect of human personality and, on the other hand, to the western principle of self-determination, of which so much has been said and forgotten of late years in the West. The psychological streams are thus flowing together and creating a torrential national aspiration. Both arise in the mountains of democracy and thus the democratic urge is welling up in China's consciousness. Thirdly, this latest revolution is forcing the West to re-examine the international political status of China and its own place therein. These three interests have affected religion also, particularly Christianity, which is unfortunately regarded as being tied up with discriminatory international legislation. Religious as well as political life is being scrutinized. Democratic aspirations are stirring the hearts of Chinese Christians; they want to be autonomous; Christianity is under the microscope of criticism. All this is a by-product of the revolutionary mind. The Kuomintang text-book—the *Three People's Principles*—neither advocates nor prohibits religion. It touches it as a tangent only. Nevertheless, this tendency to overhaul and re-examine religion is one of the outstanding interests of revolutionary China. The comparatively small but aggressive group of modern intelligentsia is challenging all religions to demonstrate their spiritual and ethical claims.

Mencius said that sincere submission cannot be secured through a use or display of force: only to spiritual or moral influences will men submit in heart, or willingly. Such influences are the roots of sincere loyalty to government or to any other human project. Sincere Christianity is considered—rightly or wrongly—to be mixed up with the use of force, its dynamic value is being tested by the principles of Mencius. In consequence, Christianity in China will have to find that relation to the life of the Chinese people which will prove it independent of diplomatic or military force. It is challenged to demonstrate its spiritual energy. This challenge to Christianity is one aspect of the modern Chinese attitude to religion.

These modern challenges find support along several lines. First, there is the activity of political and literary leaders—the modern intelligentsia. These, while only a minority, wield an immense influence. Again, by the side of their activities and to a large extent supporting them is a growing public opinion, which is sometimes dubbed ' mass emotion.' The significance of political movements tends to fill the minds of those interested in China. The changes in organization, leadership and thought that are emerging within Christianity are, for instance, sometimes charged to a misdirected and fanatical political aspiration. Some people are, moreover, inclined to think that if the politicians of China would keep quiet no one would trouble about Christianity in particular or religion in general. Is that true ? To give a partial answer to that question is one of the purposes of this article. As an approach to such an answer we may in addition ask : Are the only changes and aspirations seriously affecting Christianity in China political and economic ? Certainly not ; there are religious movements which, while caused by the general revolutionary spirit now sweeping over China, stand apart in the main from political strife.

It is significant that the religious movements to which I refer all arose between the years 1911 and 1922. This period I designate as that of new starting-points in China's religious experience. In it have occurred various religious events and movements which account for much that is now happening to Christianity in particular and to religion in general. Viewed as a whole, this period records a striking change in the religious consciousness of the Chinese, involving both their attitude and their temper. In this decade of starting-points we find the beginnings of a religious revolution that runs alongside the political and intellectual revolutions. The religious change in the mind of China is one of the outstanding features of this modern period. It has not received sufficient consideration by writers and publicists.

Let us look, then, at the striking religious events and movements that occurred between the years 1911 and 1922.

The Boxer movement involved a direct attack on the political connexions and implications of Christianity. The revolution of 1911 led to the cessation of the state worship of Heaven, an ancient Chinese religious institution. This striking change has been allowed to pass as though it were quite ordinary, yet the state religious institution had existed in some form from between four to five thousand years. Its roots dug deep into China's history. As to its exact age we need not be over-critical; it is much older than the Christian Christmas, which occurs about the same time of the year. I venture to say that had the American revolutionaries attempted to discard Christmas when they set up their own representative and independent government, there would have been much questioning and discussion of their action. The Chinese, however, discarded their far more ancient institution with comparative ease and, so far as I know, with little discussion or popular regret.

How can this be explained? Partly by the disappearance of the officiating head, the Emperor, whose prerogative it had always been. Yet that does not adequately explain the suddenness of its cessation. It had long before lost its hold upon the heart of China. This is, at least in part, due to the secularizing influence of political life which is one of the fruits of the western impact upon China. Mr Ku Hung Ming, a well-known Confucian scholar, says that since Confucius' time and as a result of his influence politics have become a religion in China. He says further: 'If you live as a dutiful son and a good citizen, you have religion.' But something has now happened in the mind of China that has snapped this ancient bond between religion and politics. Again, as a prerogative of the Emperor this state institution, though beautiful, did not fit rugged republican ideas. Some Chinese, indeed, advanced this point as an argument against it. Nevertheless, the suddenness of its cessation is one of

the striking religious events of China's modern revolutionary period, and the causes must be looked for below the surface of Chinese life. The Jews have for long been without political articulation or home; yet the Passover, their national religious festival, has persisted. That the Chinese could shuffle off an ancient institution thus easily shows that their mind is not as set as many people have thought.

In two ways, at least, this Chinese state religious ceremony differed from the equally old Jewish Passover. In the first place, the Jewish king had never been its officiating head; and in the second, it was celebrated in the homes of the people as well as in their capital city. While the national celebration has ceased, the home observance has continued. The state worship of Heaven, on the contrary, was an institution always to some extent divorced from popular life. To those who might still feel its value, a republican president would, as a presiding officer, lack dignity, while those who expressed in political life China's democratic aspirations would naturally not appreciate its implication of political prerogative. Yuan Shi-k'ai, following the monarchical lure, tried in 1914 to revive it, with himself as its central figure, but his attempt was only the shadow of a setting sun. He failed to express either the ancient soul of China or the heart of her new political philosophy; he only stirred up resentment. And that apparently was the end. This ancient, elaborate and impressive institution passed; but we should not underestimate the significance of its passing. As it slipped into the realm of antiquity, a new mind began to emerge in China, the future of which is still hidden, but which cannot work or worship as emperors did.

The day of imperial religious prerogative in China having sunk below the horizon of vital Chinese interests, what has taken its place? Here we come upon another striking religious movement of this decade of starting-points. Only one year after the cessation of this state religious ceremony,

there emerged a struggle for religious liberty. This was first mentioned in the provisional constitution of 1912. Now the Imperial prerogative of state worship was a Confucian prerogative also, and in 1907 the Empress Dowager, realizing that the hold of Confucianism on its hereditary privileges was slipping, tried to tighten it by raising the worship of Confucius to the same rank as that of Shang Ti. Between 1912 and 1916 Confucianists strove hard to retain their social and ceremonial privileges. They first attacked the ideal of religious liberty embodied in the provisional constitution. In 1913 a Confucian Society was organized in Peking, one of the first and most significant acts of which was the presentation of a petition to the Government that Confucianism be recognized as the state religion. Finally sanction was sought for it as the basis of moral education. The Christian Church, however, rose to the challenge of the petition. Peking Protestant Christians sought and received widespread support for their organized opposition. They also succeeded in organizing an 'Anti-state-religion Society,' in which members of the Christian and non-Confucian religions co-operated in a struggle for religious toleration, and together checkmated Confucianism. That created a new articulating point in the Chinese awareness of religion and religious liberty. The eyes of China turned from a state privilege to a state-wide privilege.

The Confucianists lost. The constitution of 1923 said, 'Citizens of the Republic of China shall have the liberty to honour Confucius and to believe in any religion.' This left Confucianism a primacy of national reference but actually forced it into an equality of significance with other religious systems. Several years later, the Nationalist Government adopted the principle of freedom of religious belief without showing any deference to Confucianism. The struggle for religious liberty is, however, not yet over. It has become a struggle not so much over the prerogatives of any particular religious group as over the question of whether or not a man may or should have any religion at

all. The left wing of the modern intelligentsia is now trying to take religion out of education. This runs counter to the aims of Buddhists, one section of Confucianists and Christians. Religion has for many Chinese lost its old significance as a social sanction ; it has not yet won a new significance. The end is not yet : the old will not return, but what the new will be is not yet clear.

The Chinese mind is at present in process of defining religious liberty for the first time in its history. In a sense the Chinese have always had religious liberty, though various systems of thought have at times struggled over their relation to political power. But China has not, I think, ever had a struggle over the right to be religious in one's own way and to believe and practise religion according to one's own conscience, and at this point the Chinese seem now to have arrived. This, also, is one of the striking features of this modern period ; it is the sign of a new awareness of religion. A mind that is struggling over the meaning and place of religion offers a much more fertile soil than one meandering in a quiescent or automatic mood among old religious practices or symbols. The movement is therefore one of deep significance. The ideal of religious liberty has slipped into the place left vacant by the state religion. The Chinese people are heading in a new religious direction, even though the religion of nationalism is the most vital and prominent force in their life.

About 1917 there emerged the intellectual renaissance which stimulated other activities concerning religion. The struggle of Confucianists to retain their ancient prestige and prerogatives took place prior to this intellectual renaissance. In 1911 Mr Chen Huan Wang published his thesis on the *Economic Principles of Confucius and his School.* He was the organizer of the Confucian Society and one of the group of able Confucianists who fought for the ancient privileged position of Confucianism. He and his associates had faith in its ethical and even in its religious values, which they deemed essential to China's moral security. Confucianism,

however, felt the shock of the renaissance. It had to submit to critical dissection. The critical work done by the National University at Peking along sinological lines was, for a while, one of its best contributions to the general welfare. Nevertheless, while Confucianism lost its political prestige it did not lose its ethical influence. Modern revolutionaries are not, it is true, over-friendly to the semi-annual ceremonies to Confucius and in some places these have been prohibited ; the Nationalist Government recently issued an order forbidding these ceremonies within its territory. This is evidently due to a fear that they tend to the continuance of the political *status quo*. Yet Confucianism as a system of human conduct has not been killed. In Shansi, some time since, there was a revival of Confucianism under Governor Yen. It also became a matter of widespread and popular interest. The renaissance, however, made it clear that Confucianism has now only the same rights as other systems of thought, and considerably reduced its significance as a factor in religious life.

The Buddhist response to this intellectual renaissance has been direct. Leading Buddhists have tried to meet the challenge of scientific criticism by claiming that Buddhism is fundamentally scientific. They have started widespread efforts at reform both in methods of propaganda and with regard to the priesthood. There has also been considerable activity in the renovation of temples and in undertaking educational work, for beyond instruction in monasteries, Buddhists seem never before to have accepted any responsibility for general education. All this is part of an attempt to socialize their gospel and universalize their message. In November 1925, Buddhists of Eastern Asia held a conference in Tokyo, when an extensive program of social welfare work was entrusted to the ' Eastern Asia Buddhist Social Welfare Organization.' This conference declared that Christianity is included in Buddhism, an inversion of a popular Christian attitude towards Buddhism. Just when this reform-revival movement started is uncertain.

T'ai Hsu, a leading modern Buddhist, started public lectures in 1918. That in itself was a striking departure from traditional Buddhism. For he thereby turned from the age-long practice of secluded meditation to enter upon a life of public service. Outwardly, the prestige of Buddhism, like that of every other religion in China, has during recent years wilted under the scorching heat of revolutionary criticism, but inwardly Buddhism has gained in vitality. Reports of its demise, and of that of Confucianism, have been considerably exaggerated.

Neither of these indigenous systems of Chinese thought has confessed to any need of being supplemented by any other system. As a result of revolutionary influence both have had a revival of self-consciousness, both consider themselves self-sufficient, both feel they have a message for modern China. They have become more aggressive competitors with Christianity. All three face a common challenge—the scientific and philosophical criticism which has come out of the West. But both the Chinese systems—Buddhism more definitely than Confucianism—are attempting to reassert themselves in terms of their own heritage. Another feature, therefore, of this modern decade of religious revolution is the reassertion of China's ancient ethical and religious consciousness.

In 1922 the so-called anti-Christian movement leaped into the limelight. It was the last to spring up in this period of starting-points. It might better, I think, have been called a revolt against religion or 'the revolution in its relation to religion.' Its anti-Christian aspect, however, has been most prominent in the public mind. It was started by a small group of students in Shanghai and spread like wildfire. In 1900 the attacks had been directed mainly against individual lives; in 1922, however, the mind of China started to attack the content of Christianity; and in 1926–27 criticism was primarily directed at the institutional, organized life of Christianity. The attack has now somewhat subsided, but has not ended.

There were several stages in its development. It was not created in a night at the whim of a few students. They only fanned into flame a long smouldering fire. The attack on religion was part of the general revolutionary movement. Even before the revolution of 1911 there was considerable indifference to the rights and fate of religious institutions. Buddhist institutions were frequently taken over for educational purposes, although to a large extent they were later returned. Then the military occupation of public buildings became a habit, and many Confucian temples were taken over. There were, and have continued to be, occasional attacks by students on temples. And lastly came the widespread war on all religion, Christianity being the chief target. As one result, the rights of religious institutions almost disappeared. All this served to fan the fire of religious liberty. The revolt against religion, which appeared at the end of the period 1911 to 1922, was not, however, directed quite so much against indigenous religions as against the 'foreign' religion. The motive was not exclusively anti-religious or atheistic: indeed, the motives were mixed, nationalism and rationalism being in the lead. In this movement the break with China's ancient politico-religious philosophy was made complete. Perhaps when nationalist resentment subsides and religion stands out clearly, depending on spiritual resources alone, the excitement about it may evaporate. This revolt against religion is nevertheless one of the significant religious movements in modern China.

To the reassertion of China's indigenous systems of thought (for Buddhism, which has been in China for at least eighteen hundred years, may fairly be called indigenous) and the revolt against religion, we must add another religious movement, that of the eclectic societies, whose rise is a distinct feature of this period of revolutionary starting-points. In 1924 ten such societies were known, all but one of which originated in the short period of eight years from 1914 to 1922; and even the one exception (the

Four Principles' Society) became re-articulate during the same period. Probably many others existed which are not known. For a while they were studied assiduously by missionaries. I know of only one article written by a Chinese dealing with them in a general way, though several of them have produced much printed propaganda. The rise of these societies has not had as much publicity as the Buddhist revival and the revolt against religion. They constitute a significant religious movement nevertheless.

They were widespread, they included in their concepts the main religions in China and they grew rapidly. Their membership comprised the older literati and large numbers of the common people; some had women members; but students were not prominent in them. They all indicated a revival of interest in Confucianism and Buddhism. To the critical interest in Confucianism which grew out of the intellectual renaissance there was thus added a popular interest that was quite uncritical. During the last year or two, these societies have become less prominent and active; political agitation has swamped them. Three were suppressed by revolutionary interests because of their political leanings, probably towards the monarchical régime. In the case of these eclectic societies the effect of revolutionary movements was in the main to turn the mind of China back to its old faiths. Whatever their ultimate fate, they indicate a revolutionary revival of religious aspiration. They constituted a search for religious values.

To repeat, then, China has had in this modern period certain reassertive movements on the part of her indigenous systems of thought, a revolt against religion on the part of some of the modern intelligentsia and a return to religion in the eclectic societies. These streams of thought are both modern and ancient: in a sense they are flowing both forward and backward. What are some of their general meanings?

First, these streams of thought indicate a rising tide of feeling about religion. Religion has both irritated and

quickened Chinese emotions. Such movements acquit the Chinese people of the charge of indifference to religion; rather, their religious automatism has given place to a revived attention to religion.

Secondly, these movements are all widespread; incidents connected with these diverse attitudes towards religion have come to hand from all over China. According to my information they are more urban than rural. Taken together they show a significant change in religious attitude. Personally, I do not know of any time in the history of China when the Chinese mind was so stirred up about religion as it was in the events and movements which began with the cessation of China's ancient state ceremonial and ended with religious men of all faiths facing the necessity of re-examining their claims and readjusting their relationships. For the struggle for religious liberty in China is essentially one for readjustment of religious relationships. The objection to compulsory religious instruction in Christian schools is only one aspect of the wider struggle. The Chinese people, having openly thrown over the idea that religion and politics are related in the one ancient state ceremonial, are now trying to find out what is the place of religion in life. To some extent the Sun Yat-sen Memorial has taken its place psychologically, but that has not an equal religious significance.

Thirdly, these various movements form two groups which, viewed psychologically, are quite distinct. They are to some extent supplementary but by no means always mutually conciliatory. I have said much about the modern intelligentsia; my sympathies are in general with them. To some educational missionaries they are the chief cloud on the horizon; to others the chief star. Putting it another way they are the new wine that is bursting many old bottles with a maximum of noise. They have received the maximum of attention and thought. But they are not alone: by their side, though in their shadow, are those whom I have called, for the sake of contrast, the older

intelligentsia. These also are struggling for something better though not always for something new. They are looking backward for light. T'ai Hsu, for instance, is one of China's modern 'evangelists.' Yet he is not a modernist like Professor Hsu Hsih, though his influence is probably quite as widespread.

Numerically, the movements to reassert Chinese indigenous values are stronger than those leading the revolt against religion. Yet national leadership is with the modern intelligentsia, as it ought to be. But does that mean that these other movements are nothing but the last flicker of an expiring life? Will they also, like the state ceremonial, pass into the archives of memory? I doubt it. Confucius is still receiving routine reverence in many places, in spite of attempts to prevent it, because the local Confucian rites were part of the common life in a way that the state worship of T'ien never was. Much of the effort and aim of the older intelligentsia centre on conserving the best in China's past, though this fact is not always evident on the surface.

The movement among the older intelligentsia shows that the revolution of 1911 has gone deep into the heart of the masses. The roots of their ancient religious life are, to some extent, being re-examined and re-nourished. They will hardly be torn up and left to wither, even though the extremists among the modern intelligentsia desire it.

In a limited sense, therefore, these diverse streams of thought are China's 'modernist' and 'fundamentalist' movements. The struggle between the two will probably not end with either swallowing the other. The fundamentalists will fail in leadership, yet many of the values they seek to protect will persist. Both are aspects of China's present experience, and the best in each will survive. China's life is being changed; the new life, however, must be built on the old. The older intelligentsia wish to conserve some of China's ancient values; the modern intelligentsia wish to make new ones. But life is never renewed by killing it. This is as true of the religious as of the political or intellectual

revolution in China; each will build something different based on things in China's past. The older intelligentsia will, it is true, have to meet the test of the new educational and scientific ideals. The modern intelligentsia will, in their turn, have to yield to China's evidently deep-seated popular interest in religion. This two-sided attitude towards religion is one of China's modern movements; both modern and older minds are participating in it. Religion in China will suffer more than it yet has from the stings of scientific criticism and rationalistic aversion, but it will come out with a clearer message and an enlarged opportunity, nevertheless.

A psychological law will come into operation: the best in the minds of the older and of the modern intelligentsia will fuse. That introduces another aspect of this modern period, though in discussing it I shall not confine myself entirely to the decade of starting-points, or to religion. A fusing of ideals and methods which have sprung from more than one root is in evidence, and is one of the most striking aspects of this modern period. In this religion shares. China has a new self-consciousness, political, economical, intellectual and religious. And yet, at the same time, a widespread process of fusion is going on.

Politically, this tendency to fusion is easily seen. The *San Min Chu I*, the text-book of the revolution, is a blend of Chinese and western political, economic and ethical ideals. In nationalist — especially military — organization and propaganda non-Chinese influence is particularly prominent. In local government there is a tendency towards a combination of the old eldership committee and a more modern or junior committee type. The training and experience of the leaders of the nationalist movement are a blend of East and West: for a while, indeed, some of the leaders were non-Chinese. The revolution is thus a partial fusing of Chinese and western experience. This may not fully explain its dynamic influence, but it is an important factor, nevertheless; it promises something new.

Economically viewed, the more recent revolution tried to put first the welfare of the people. That is a renewal of the emphasis made by Confucius and Mencius. Labour organizations are, it is true, largely non-Chinese in their make-up. The modern tendency to separate the employees and the employers, as seen in these organizations, is a movement away from the old guild practice and tends towards a non-Chinese conflict of classes. It is significant that of 180 Labour Unions in Canton in 1927, 77 per cent were connected with the Labour Union Representative Federation, which leans towards sovietism and the destruction of capitalism. The fusion at this point, however, is perhaps not quite so dynamic as in the democratic idealism of China.

From the intellectual point of view this tendency to fusion is more marked. The new education is a blend of Chinese and non-Chinese ideas and ideals. The same is true of the mind of the modern intelligentsia. A recent book of anti-Christian documents used in Yenching School of Language Studies, Peking, is filled, in the main, with anti-religious ideas imported from the West. In any event, many of the anti-Christian volleys are the result of an investment in western anti-religious ammunition. The fusion here may not be satisfactory ; nevertheless, it exists. The Chinese revolt against religion is based on both western and Chinese rationalism. China's nationalism also has a double source.

Does this tendency to fusion affect religion ? It does. Religious syncretism is not new to China. Buddhism and Taoism have, for instance, so far melted into one another that it is often difficult to tell them apart. But this old tendency to religious fusion has received a fillip in modern times. Buddhism and Confucianism tend towards a *rapprochement*. Sincere Confucianists sometimes go to monasteries for meditation and study. Mr Liang Chi Chao, a reformer of the evolutionary type, proposed a school in which the doctrines of the two might be studied together.

Again, all but two of the eclectic societies are built up entirely on the principle of religious fusion. In several of them Christianity is also included. There have also been attempts to state Christianity in terms of Buddhism. Such an attempt was recently published with the title, *A New Interpretation of Christ*, written by a former writer in a Christian organization. A few modern Buddhist leaders are either ex-Christians or men who have had close contact with Christianity; the abbot of a monastery in Manchuria was such a one. In Fukien, also, a few years ago I heard of another active ex-Christian Buddhist propagandist. From the point of view of Christian workers in China, there has been only one attempt to seek to discover and use those values in Buddhism which correspond to Christian values. I refer to the Christian Mission to Buddhists in Nanking. There is also a tendency to state Christianity in terms of Confucian categories. A recent book in Chinese on the *Idea of God in Chinese History* does this in part. This effort to express Christian ideas in terms of Chinese categories is not prominent; nevertheless, it is one aspect of modern Chinese thinking.

The tendency towards the fusion of religious ideas is in itself significant, for it means that the Chinese are beginning to respond to Christianity in terms of their own experience. A fusion of Chinese and western religious experience has begun in China. No religion ever becomes vital in the life of a people until that happens; it is a sign of religious alertness. And religious alertness is, I take it, another of the aspects of this modern period in China. Even the revolt against religion indicates a widespread attention paid to religion.

Out of this decade of changing religious interests and emphases in China, then, the following things are apparent concerning religion: (1) Its national status has changed. (2) The mind of China has reawakened to its significance. (3) On the one hand, China is striving for a new political status and organization and, on the other, the people are

reaching out, to some extent, for a new religious experience. (4) The claims of the religious life have not lost their hold on the hearts of the Chinese people. (5) While religion faces great and new problems in China, it also faces its greatest opportunity.

Thus, running parallel with the political and intellectual revolutions in China there are movements in the religious life; and while public attention at the moment is focussed not so much upon these movements as upon the others, they yet indicate a re-focussing of Chinese attention upon the problem of religion, a significant stir in feelings about religion and a renewal of aspiration for religious experience.

FRANK RAWLINSON

CENTRAL ASIA AS A MISSION FIELD

By A. MILDRED CABLE

IT is humiliating to be compelled to record that Christianity was more generally spread throughout Central Asia in the fourth century than it is to-day, and still more tragic to realize that were a Moslem missionary to write a report of the victories of his faith he might claim Central Asia as the scene of one of its most notable conquests.

It is to the effort of that section of the Church called Nestorian that the honour is due of first attempting to reach this area with the knowledge of Christ, and there are many traces to be found indicating the route followed by its missionaries from Constantinople to Central China, where a celebrated monument stands bearing the date February 4th, 781 A.D., together with the names of sundry Christian prelates of that period. There is no doubt that the movement was more widespread than is generally supposed, and it would seem that at that time Central Asia bid fair to adopt Christianity. Some centuries later, when Marco Polo made his famous journey to Peking, he recorded the existence of Nestorian communities at Samarkand, Yarkand, Suchow and Kanchow, and in fact all over the Kingdom of Tangut, as well as in the Uighur country, where he testifies to the existence of ' great and noble Tatars who held firmly to the faith of Christ.'

The fact that in time Christian doctrine became overlaid with tradition and Christian forms of worship became indistinguishable from heathen practices is doubtless due to the fact that the holy Scriptures were not available to place in the hands of the eastern disciples, so that many centuries later, when the Church once more sent out her emissaries to the peoples of that land they were unable to

find living traces of the Christian faith, and all that remained was some such material relic as a bell, a cross or an ancient fresco of some Bible scene on a crumbling wall.

Radical changes were wrought by the successive invasions of the many warrior races who swept over the Asian plains striking terror and spreading desolation as they advanced, and it was well for those cities who received their conquerors without resistance, otherwise smoking ruins and bleaching bones alone were left to tell the tale.

The climax was reached when the Mongolian hordes formed themselves into a destructive army and marching westwards became masters of the whole land stretching between the Yellow River and the Danube. The overwhelming strength of the incursions served to obliterate the artificialities of racial exclusiveness, and when, in response to a peremptory command from distant Mongolia, the great army withdrew, it swept back in its stream a variety of persons representative of all classes of European life. Panic-stricken Europe contemplated with terror the possibility of a recurrence of the invasion, and the Pope summoned a Council, the result of which was the sending forth of the first band of Franciscan missionaries to Central Asia in the hope that they might, in carrying the Gospel of Jesus Christ to the warlike Mongol tribes, win them to Christianity and through Christianity to civilization.

The intrepid missionaries were received with unexpected favour at the court of the Khan, and little more than a century later the Christian converts had reached such numbers as to require the appointment of Asian prelates from Rome. For the second time it seemed as though Christianity might become the accepted religion of Central Asia, but again the main element essential to the self-propagation of this faith was lacking, namely, access to the holy Scriptures in the vernacular.

After the middle of the fourteenth century the great Mongol Empire tottered and fell before the incessant attacks of the Chinese, and with the re-establishment of Celestial

supremacy that ancient policy of isolation which has always been associated with Chinese rule was reintroduced and shortly brought about the expulsion of the unwelcome western elements, so that all traces of Franciscan effort gradually vanished.

Co-incident with the decline of Mongol supremacy, Islam, which helped by the diffusion of the Persian language and civilization had gradually spread eastwards, rapidly gained ground ; while the Christian missionaries withdrew Moslem power stiffened and finally established its domination over the peoples of Central Asia, among whom it remains unchallenged to this day.

The traveller in the twentieth century who would cross Turkestan finds himself tied to the same conditions of travel as those which obtained in the days of Marco Polo. In a land of deserts interspersed with oases, of high and unbroken mountain ranges and of grassy tractless steppes, he must follow the ancient caravan routes, to turn aside from which spells disaster. These trade routes are of incalculable importance to the people of the East as an internal means of communication between India, Russia, China, Mongolia and Tibet. By their means information passes from one trade centre to another with amazing rapidity, and what is whispered in the bazar of Kashgar is soon the talk of the Moslem quarter of Suchow, ninety-four marches away. Lamas from southern Tibet, on pilgrimage to the Altai Mountains on the Siberian border, carry news of British expeditions to Lhasa ; and Mongolian chiefs, travelling southwards, report conferences where Mongolian delegates met, at Moscow, under the auspices of the Communist International. Though many reports thus circulated are exaggerated and sometimes even untrue, yet the fact remains that the peoples of Central Asia, many of whom belong to tribes whose names are almost unknown to the westerner, are supplied with an amount of detailed information regarding the politics of the West, particularly of Great Britain, which would surprise many of our statesmen.

In the large towns which have grown up at the intersections of these trade routes the crowd which jostles in the bazar is formed of many and varied elements; there are: Chinese, drawn from all the eighteen provinces of China, whence a stream of colonists continually find their way to Turkestan, China's new dominion and most important colony; the Turanian Turk, the Moslem and Turki-speaking native of the land, agriculturist and trader, whose caravans transporting goods from one part of Asia to another are met with on all the trade routes; the Tungan, or Chinese Moslem, probably of Arab descent and having the refined type of countenance and curly brown beard associated with the people of that race; the flat-faced Mongol, in his heavy sheep-skin coat and clumsy, home-made boots, a characteristic figure, generally selling horses which he has bred or stolen; the Qazaq, member of another nomad tribe whose pointed cap easily distinguishes him, differentiated from the Buddhist Mongol through being a Moslem, and rapidly assimilating western education and thought which comes to him by way of Russia, Qazaqistan being one of the latest additions to the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics; the Nogai, one of the strangest elements of this motley crowd, to be recognized by his fair skin, tracing his descent to the Central European women who were carried back on the ebb of the great Mongol retreat at the death of Okkotai, a Moslem by religion and a member of one of the most progressive of the Asian tribes. The most pathetic figure is that of the Russian or Siberian exile from his native land, having no country that he may call his own and glad to make even a scanty living by any means that comes to his hand. Occasionally a Russian face is seen even among a group of Chinese beggars, or a Russian woman found as secondary wife in the house of a Chinese merchant.

To rule a province whose population is of so cosmopolitan a nature is no sinecure, and a strong hand is required if rebellion, brigandage and lawlessness is to be held in check. Ever since the establishment of the Republic in 1911, the

Chinese Governor, Yang Tseng-hsin, has so controlled these various elements that while China proper has been perpetually in the throes of civil war Turkestan has been notably free of disturbance, and travellers on the loneliest roads have been safe from molestation by robbers. His methods of government have been autocratic in the extreme and his enemies dealt with by methods which savour of the Middle Ages. An elaborate system of censorship and espionage is exercised in every city and the publication of newspapers is forbidden. There is a wireless installation at Urumtsi, but it has been kept entirely under his personal control.

It is impossible for a ruler so autocratic and ruthless in his methods as Governor Yang not to make for himself many and bitter enemies, and on July 7th, 1928, he was assassinated by the body-guard of the Minister of Foreign Affairs, while distributing prizes at the Russian School of Languages in Urumtsi. The Minister himself and his body-guard were summarily executed, but the death of Yang Tseng-hsin will certainly result in changes which may be so far reaching as to alter the course of Central Asian history. A glance at the map of Asia will suffice to show how deeply Russia's interests are involved in the future of Chinese Turkestan. She controls the only two feasible routes into the province, namely, to Urumtsi from Omsk on the Trans-Siberian railway via Semipalatinsk, a journey by rail and road of forty-five days from London; and to Urumtsi by the Trans-Caspian railway via Osh and Kashgar, a journey by road and rail of nearly eighty-six days from London.

Owing to the impossibility of securing Russian visas to passports, neither of these routes is at present available, but there are three ways by which the capital of Chinese Turkestan can still be reached: The overland route from Shanghai, which necessitates ninety days of cart travel from the railhead in Central China, via Sian-fu, Lanchow, Suchow and Hami; the trans-Himalayan pass from Srinagar in Kashmir via Leh and the Karakoram (18,000 feet altitude)

to Yarkand and Urumtsi, one hundred and eight days of cart and horseback travel; and the camel caravan route from Peking via Kweihwacheng, Uliassutai and Kucheng to Urumtsi, which necessitates ninety stages on camel back. The distance between Urumtsi and Kashgar is fifty-six marches, and that between Urumtsi and Suchow in North-West Kansu is forty marches across the Gobi desert.

The missionary occupation of Chinese Turkestan can be stated in one sentence: One small group of Swedish missionaries located in and around Kashgar, and two men, members of the China Inland Mission, in Urumtsi.

Outer Mongolia and Tibet, which border Turkestan on the east and south, are without any missionary occupation, and Christian propaganda is not permitted in Russian Turkestan, Siberia, or in the independent States on the Russian frontier which are linked with the U.S.S.R.

That portion of China which is often spoken of as the Great North-West and which refers to the territory lying north-west of Liangchow in Kansu, belongs ethnologically and geographically to Central Asia and not to China proper. It includes the important cities of Kanchow, Suchow, Yumen, Anhsichow and Tunghwang. Less than a decade ago this large and strategic area was still without any Protestant missionary. A young Chinese Christian doctor who had been trained in one of the China Inland Mission hospitals was the first to take up residence in the town of Kanchow, and, while supporting himself and his family by means of his medical profession, to begin missionary work. In the course of a few years he gathered around him a remarkable band of men and women, all young converts to the Christian faith. The evangelistic zeal of their leader was contagious, and it was not long before they formed themselves into a pioneer band with the objective of carrying the Gospel to every city within the north-west frontier.

Three British women, members of the China Inland Mission, were invited to join them. Their definite contribution to the movement was that of teaching and training

the members of the Christian community, as well as that of accompanying the preaching band on missionary journeys. Suchow, which lies seven days to the north-west of Kanchow, proved to be a base of unique strategic value owing to its situation and to the fact that it is the last town in China where the traveller halts before passing through the north-west gate of the Great Wall and entering the land known to the Chinese as Kouwai (' without the mouth ').

In a land so unusual as that of which this article treats, it is not to be supposed that the stereotyped methods of the missionary societies' boards or the accepted routine of a mission station are the means by which the work required to be done will be best accomplished. It is obvious that the trade routes, which are the arteries through which the life of Central Asia circulates, constitute the normal means of carrying the Gospel of Jesus Christ to its remotest boundaries. Alexander the Great and other notable warriors coveted the control of these ancient means of communication, and certain modern powers have in recent years adopted the policy of using them to disseminate the ideas which they desire to communicate, through agents whose work is quiet, unobtrusive and unnoticed, yet startlingly effective.

As an example of the manner in which these facilities may be adapted to the purpose of preaching the Gospel, it will suffice to look at the itineraries of the veteran missionary, Mr George Hunter, who for the last quarter of a century has explored the trade routes which converge in the town of Urumtsi, where he resides. His missionary journeys have taken him as far as Kashgar (fifty-six stages), Ili (twenty stages), Chuguchak (twenty stages), Karashar (ten stages), Hami (eighteen stages), Barkul (eighteen stages) and Kobdo in the Altai Mountains (twenty-eight stages).

These distances speak for themselves as indicating the hardness which a missionary in Turkestan is called upon to endure—constant isolation, climatic extremes and the fatigues of long stages.

It is obviously essential that volunteers for such a field should have peculiar qualifications. The isolation is too great to be faced by young women with small children, especially in view of the fact that medical aid is not available. In the writer's opinion it is no place for the immature, as the pioneer missionary has constant need for all his resources of language and of action. Moreover, the strain upon spiritual force during lonely conflict is severe, and ebbing zeal may well be the tragic experience of the man who enters the battle in unproven armour and who, by the very nature of the case, lacks the experience which 'worketh hope.'

At the present hour it is not mission stations and the stationary missionary which they imply that are called for, but men and women so free from any home claim that their movements are quite unimpeded, literal pilgrim preachers, tent dwellers among tent dwellers, and nomads among a nomad people. Poor food is one of the real hardships among the Tibetan border tribes, where sun-dried meat and curdled yak's milk form the staple diet. On many desert stages only brackish water is obtainable, and a sack of dry bread may supply the only food on many a mountain road. Fatigues and deprivations, loneliness and danger, are the daily portion of Christ's messengers in Central Asia.

Among such a cosmopolitan people, adaptability and ease of intercourse is required if a man is to be equally at home with the conventional Chinese and the spontaneous Tibetan, with the arrogant Moslem and the childlike Mongol. Central Asia is a country of many and varied languages and dialects, in the acquisition of which no aid is available from the printed page or from any teacher save the chance acquaintance who joins the circle round the camp fire and takes his share of tea and bread. Pulpit preaching will form the least part of such missionary work, but many hours will be spent in conversation and in listening to long stories which inevitably leave an opening for the wise word and lead up to a question on the great issues of life and death,

thus creating the opportunity for the declaration of all that the missionary has come to proclaim.

It is greatly to be hoped that the evangelism of China's new dominion will be undertaken by her own people, nevertheless the value of the foreign missionary's contribution to such a campaign is obvious. It is in the work of direct evangelism that the mutual interdependence of East and West is most acutely realized and the happiest fellowship results from the freest recognition of this fact. Where both are subject to the control of one Head and under the domination of one Spirit there must be the perfect harmony of operation of which each man bears the exemplification in his own physical frame.

The native Church which will emerge in Central Asia should from the first bear the distinctive marks of an indigenous growth, whether Turki, Qazaq, Mongolian or Tibetan. Only so can the Church of Christ on earth prepare to take its share in the many strains of the great symphony wherein every created thing in heaven and on earth has its own peculiar part to sustain : ' Unto Him that sitteth on the throne, and unto the Lamb, be the blessing and the honour, and the glory, and the dominion, unto the ages of the ages. . . . Amen.'

A. MILDRED CABLE

EXPERIMENTS IN INDIAN EXPRESSION OF CHRISTIAN SERVICE

By P. OOMMAN PHILIP

IN the statement on the Christian message adopted at Jerusalem there is a paragraph which has an important bearing on the methods of missionary work which younger Churches, brought into existence as the result of the labours of the Churches of the West, should adopt. It is as follows :

> Nor have we the desire to bind up our Gospel with fixed ecclesiastical forms which derive their meaning from the experience of the western Church. Rather the aim should be to place at the disposal of the younger churches of all lands our collective and historic experience. We believe that much of that heritage has come out of reality and will be worth sharing. But we ardently desire that the younger churches should express the Gospel through their own genius and through forms suitable to their racial heritage.[1]

The same idea was emphasized in the finding on the relation between younger and older Churches wherein it was stated that a Church was to be considered living and indigenous when, along with other characteristics,

> its interpretation of Christ and its expression in worship and service, in customs and in art and architecture incorporate the worthy characteristics of the people, while conserving at the same time the heritage of the Church in all lands and in all ages.[2]

This expression of the Gospel ' through their own genius and through forms suitable to their racial heritage ' has, however, been either non-existent or, at best, a disappointingly slow process in the case of the Church in India. Considering the conditions under which the Christian Church

[1] *The World Mission of Christianity*, p. 10. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 33.

came to be established in India, and the prevailing temper of the missionaries who have been guiding its destinies, we could not have expected anything else. Just as in the early expansion of Christianity, until about the middle of the third century, the majority of Christian congregations in the Roman Empire were composed of the lower classes, so also in India the bulk of the community gathered into the Church as the result of the work of missionary societies during the past one and a half centuries has come from the depressed classes. These depressed classes, though having a thin veneer of Hindu civilization, had been for ages kept outside the main currents of Indian life and thought, and consequently the contribution they could make to the expression of Christianity in terms of the best heritage of India was negligible.

Added to this was the outlook created and fostered by the theology of the former generation of missionaries, who refused to see anything worthy in the previous religious history of their Indian converts and stood for a rigorous type of orthodoxy, 'of faith only, bare faith.' Then again, it has to be remembered that the Christian Church in India, leaving aside the Syrian and Roman communions, is only a little over a century old, and it has yet to produce great leaders steeped in Indian thought and traditions and at the same time devoted disciples of Jesus Christ. It is only such men who can interpret the great verities of Christian experience in terms of living Indian thought, and render to the Church service similar to those which Clement, Origen and Athanasius were able to render in their generation.

Most of the factors indicated above are still in operation in the Indian Church, making difficult any effective expression of Christian life and service through forms suitable to Indian traditions, though we have to acknowledge with thankfulness that in recent years a more favourable atmosphere has come into existence for carrying on experiments along this line. This in itself is a great gain. While a

generation or two ago any departure from the acknowledged methods of making the Gospel known, any method which savoured of anything found of value in the religious history of India, met with suspicion and opposition both from missionaries and Indian Christians, we have to-day a more open mind in regard to such matters. It should, however, be confessed that there is more bigotry and intolerance in matters such as this among Indian Christians than among missionaries. The reason for this is obvious. The missionaries of an earlier generation did thoroughly their work of creating in their converts a superior religious contempt for all that they had left behind. But later on, when missionaries, under the influence of the advance of modern thought in regard to the religious development of humanity, had outgrown these views, their converts, true to the first teaching they received, refused to follow them in accepting what they considered strange doctrine. This has rendered extremely difficult the work of those who strive to incorporate in the expression of Christian service some of the worthy characteristics of Indian religious life.

In this article it is proposed to give a brief survey of some of the experiments that are being attempted with a view to discover the types of evangelism suitable to India. These experiments, it should be confessed, are tentative and halting. Nevertheless, they indicate the lines along which development may come in the future and stimulate thought on the whole subject of the naturalization of Christianity in India.

In fostering devotional life and propagating religious truth, music has played from time immemorial a most important part in India. But, Indian music being strangely different from western music and closely connected with the worship of Hindu gods, its use in the Christian Church was discouraged by the early missionaries. No western missionary thought that Indian music was a subject worthy of his study, and, worse still, to use the music of the land for Christian worship was considered a yielding to the subtle

influences of heathenism. Therefore it became necessary for missionaries to translate into the vernaculars some of the hymns in common use in the West — often in the process creating a diction and prosody of their own—and to teach their converts to sing them to English or German or Welsh tunes, according to the country of origin of the mission concerned. The training thus given for two or three generations has made some Indian Christian congregations proficient in the use of western music, but only at the cost of creating in them an altogether unhealthy aversion for Indian music. It is not uncommon to come across Christian congregations in India, even in rural areas, who will sing devoutly atrocious vernacular translations of western hymns, but will consider it unorthodox to use any Indian tune at the time of divine worship.

The coming into the Christian Church of a few men with remarkable poetical gifts and the vernacular Christian hymnology and sacred literature they have created are fortunately helping a great deal in educating Indian Christians out of this unnatural attitude. Some of these talented converts have also made use of the traditional literary methods of India, and have put into song and poetry the great story of Jesus Christ and other stories from the Bible. The creative work done in this direction by Vedanayaga Sastri and Krishna Pillay in Tamil, and by Narayana Vaman Tilak in Marathi, is already giving a distinctive indigenous turn to Christian worship and evangelism in those language areas. Similar efforts in Urdu, Hindi, Bengali and other languages have been or are being made by Indian Christians who realize the great need of using the art and music of India for the purposes of Christian devotion and service, though it should be recognized that the Christian churches of these great language areas have yet to attract or produce Christ-possessed men like Tilak or Vedanayaga Sastri, who by their genius will produce songs and hymns of beauty and power which will inspire and uplift not only Christians but non-Christians as well.

In recent years evangelists have been making use of a method familiar to Hindus and even to Muslims in all parts of India, by which religious teaching is imparted through the recital of sacred poetry to the accompaniment of Indian musical instruments and drums, and interspersed with short explanatory speeches. In a land where illiteracy is so great, it has been through the ministry of such itinerating minstrels that the stories of the *Ramayana* and the *Mahabharata*, of gods and goddesses and the main teachings of Hinduism, have been popularized among the masses. In the hands of able lyrical preachers of this type these stories afford texts for delivering sermons of high religious and moral value, and people come in large numbers and sit late into the night listening to such discourses. We have now in Tamil, Telugu, Kanarese, Marathi, Hindi and other languages lyrical compositions of varying quantity and quality dealing with Christian subjects which can be used by trained evangelists for conducting the *kirtans*, as these musical discourses are called in North India, or *kalakshepams*, as they are known in South India.

Though some study of Indian music has been made by westerners from the earliest days of India's connexion with the West, we find few missionaries among such students. The Rev. H. A. Popley, formerly of the London Missionary Society and now of the Y.M.C.A., is one of the first among missionaries who made a thorough study of both the theory and practice of Indian music, and he has done a great deal to popularize the *kalakshepam* as a method of evangelism in the South Indian churches. Since 1918 a summer school of Indian music and lyrical evangelism has been held annually in Madras, teaching evangelists the technique of Indian music and giving them practical instruction in conducting *kalakshepams*. Originally started by a group of those interested, the organization of the summer school was later on taken over by a committee of the Madras Representative Council of Missions—an indication that missions and churches in the Madras Presidency have realized the im-

portance of this method of evangelism. Following the example of Madras, the Andhra Christian Council (of the Telugu country) is now conducting under its auspices a similar summer school of Indian music for Christian workers. In Northern India the movement is not making as much progress as in the south, but under proper organization and direction greater achievements are possible.

Though the Christian Church in India has from its early years been jealously guarded against the possibility of being influenced in any way by Hindu life and thought, things have not worked out exactly according to the plans of its western builders. In a land which abounds in sadhus and where sadhuism, making all allowance for its undesirable developments towards fraud and laziness, embodies in a striking manner some of the fundamental and widespread conceptions of the best in Indian religious life, it would be strange if the Christian Church went on its course uninfluenced by it. Canon F. J. Western, who himself lived for a time as a Christian sadhu, writing to the *International Review of Missions*, said that at that time there were only five Christian sadhus in North India, and about the same number in South India. He said further, 'Sadhuism is only at its very beginning as an institution in the Indian Church. It has been up to the present, and is, purely sporadic; and there are no clear signs of any large development in the immediate future.' [1]

Things remain much the same even to-day, though it may be true to say that the ten Christian sadhus of 1921 have now increased to five or six times that number. It has also been demonstrated that Christian sadhuism, just as Hindu, gives shelter and even encouragement to beggars and frauds, and encourages among Christians the heresy which regards mundane things as necessarily antagonistic to spiritual, and sets up a double standard of holiness. But as the movement grows in the Indian Church freely and spontaneously, personalities or forces are bound to emerge

[1] IRM, 1921 (Oct.), p. 536.

which will correct these evils and conserve for the Church the better elements of sadhuism. Sundar Singh by his life and work indicates the immense possibilities along this line. Though he believes that his work does not lie in the direction of leading a movement, his life and example is of the greatest value to the Indian Church.

There may not be in the Indian Church at the present moment other Christian sadhus of the outstanding spiritual experience and personality of Sadhu Sundar Singh ; but there are a few who, by their lives of Christian renunciation and single-minded devotion to Christ, and by their freedom from denominational connexion and financial dependence on any particular organization, are able, like the prophets of old, to go about among the people, reinforcing their faith in the unseen and the eternal and pointing them to Christ. Christian sadhuism is still in its experimental stage in India. Like all experiments, it has within it possibilities of success or of failure ; and the one test of its success is whether it helps the people of India, whose vision of Christ is blurred by the mist in which we now envelop Him, to see Him in all His beauty and glory.

The idea of the *ashram*, which within recent years has undergone a great transformation in Hinduism, is also having its impact on methods of Christian work in India. It was largely under the influence of Christianity that the modern reform movements in Hinduism discarded the ideal of passive contemplation or self-centred austerities for which the *ashram* originally stood in India, and adopted in its stead the ideal of a group of like-minded people living together in spiritual fellowship and engaging in study or practical service, or both. The Arya Samaj and the Ramakrishna Mission demonstrate through their *ashrams*, established in different parts of the country in the course of the last twenty or thirty years, how a life of self-renunciation (which in India is always associated with the yellow robe) can be combined with purposeful activities for the promotion of social and national welfare. It is remark-

able that the two great men of India who are universally acknowledged to have a message of great value to give to the world—Rabendranath Tagore and Mahatma Gandhi —should have been led to allow *ashrams* of this new type to grow around them. Shantiniketan and Sabarmati would not be what they are to-day, one an international centre for the search of knowledge and the other a no less international home for the pursuit of truth, if they had been built on foundations other than those supplied by the best in India's past. Other and newer elements have no doubt entered into their make-up, but, as in a living organism, these have become in them a vital and constituent part. Of this modern transformation of the *ashram* ideal the permeation of Christian ideas through western culture has been a potent cause. Influenced by Christianity and influencing Christianity in turn, the *ashram* method of service has within the last ten years come to occupy a distinctive place in the Indian Church.

We are not unaware of the existence in India since the sixteenth century of the monasteries of the Roman Catholic Church, and of the influence they have been exerting in this land. But these differ from the *ashrams* in several respects, not the least of which is that the monasteries and orders of the Roman Church are controlled and to a large extent financed from a highly centralized authority, and as such have little or no scope for the exercise of that initiative which is so necessary for discovering the most suitable lines of approach to the people around. So also life in these Roman Catholic institutions is not in accordance with Indian standards but is after the western pattern, and hence has little in common with the culture and outlook of the land. This is also generally true of the brotherhoods and sisterhoods working in connexion with the High Church section of the Anglican Communion. The Protestant variety of western Christianity that has established itself in India has for a different set of reasons been equally out of harmony with the innate spirit of Indian religious life and culture.

Efficient to a point, and possessed by an unquenchable thirst for action and more action, this type of Christianity often runs the risk of ignoring the mystical aspect of man's religious life and of not sufficiently realizing the importance of subordinating the material to the spiritual. The Christian *ashram* indicates along what directions the needed corrective for Indian Christianity will come, and point to a line of development in Christian service which is likely to have an increasing appeal in India.

The outstanding example of a Christian *ashram* is the one at Tirupattur in South India, in connexion with the National Missionary Society of India. Started seven years ago by two qualified medical men, one an Indian and the other a Scot, it is now a home where care for the sick and the suffering and other forms of service are combined with a mode of life which is Indian in character and which gives a central place to prayer. To this *Kristu-Kula-Ashram* ('home of the family of Christ') come for short or long periods men from all stations of life, village Christians, college students, Christian medical men, business men, pastors and teachers who desire to share its life of spiritual fellowship and be of some help in the different forms of service which its members render to the people of the surrounding villages. All those in the *ashram* share what they have, in common, like members of a family, and render service according to their various capacities and gifts.

Among the aboriginal Garos in Haluaghat, in the Mymensingh district of Bengal, there has been living and labouring for some years a group of Christian workers called the St Andrew's Brotherhood. Though originally brought into existence under the inspiration derived from the Oxford Mission to Calcutta, and worked on Anglo-Catholic lines, it deviates from the Oxford Mission brotherhood in that its members adopt the simplest mode of Indian life which approximates to the standards prevalent among the primitive people among whom they work. The members of this brotherhood are celibate and live a common life in

the group of huts they have erected for themselves. They are an autonomous body supported entirely by the alms given by Indian Christians, who are kept informed of the needs of the work by the National Missionary Society of India with which the brotherhood is affiliated.

The *Christa-Seva-Sangh* of Poona in which the Rev. J. C. Winslow and his Indian and European associates live and work together as a brotherhood is another Christian *ashram* of recent origin. The European and Indian members of this *sangh* have adopted a common mode of life which is of extreme simplicity, and all partake of vegetarian Indian food. Prayer and retreat have an important place in the life of the *sangh*, and the corporate worship, though in accordance with the usages of the Church of England, has helpful Indian characteristics which tend to make it more inspiring.

There are, to the knowledge of the present writer, at least four other *ashrams* in India which are conducted as part of the activities of the foreign missions working in the districts in which they are located. Two of these are in the sole charge of Indians, who have a free hand in carrying on the work as they think best, the missions standing behind and giving the financial and moral support which such ventures need in the initial stages. In both these cases there first appeared men with a clear sense of vocation for such work, and then the missions concerned gave them facilities for carrying on their experiments. There can be no doubt that it is in this way that missions and churches should guide and help to develop a movement which is but in its beginning.

This brief survey of experiments that are now being attempted in the Indian Church for discovering methods of Christian work suitable to the religious genius and heritage of India makes it clear that the task is one which demands the co-operation of the representatives of the older Churches who are engaged in the work of the Christian movement in this land. As a matter of fact, a study of the progress of

these experiments shows how much such co-operation already exists. While we should be anxious to make the highest use of the art, music and architecture, and also of the age-long religious experience, of India for expressing Christ in a language that will be understood by her people, we have to remember that we are at the same time to maintain the essential genius of Christianity, which through all the changes and chances of its Roman, Greek, mediæval and post-reformation history we find preserved as 'the common heritage of the Church in all lands and in all ages.' For the Indian Church to be able to discover in its ever-unfolding fullness this common Christian heritage, into which India also has to enter, she will need to be in sympathetic touch with the older Churches of the West. But, in the prevailing economic, political and racial relationships that exist between the West and the East, both the younger and older Churches need special grace from God if this touch is not to degenerate into dictation, on the one hand, or, on the other, into facile imitation or adoption of what is good without considering whether it will ultimately prove the enemy of the best.

P. OOMMAN PHILIP

DEVOLUTION:

A STUDY OF MISSIONARY PRINCIPLES

By ALDEN H. CLARK, D.D.

IT is probably safe to assume that every one who is concerned with the foreign missionary enterprise is thinking in terms of the devolution of responsibility and control from the older Churches to the younger Churches. Not only are we thinking about this but we are also carrying it out in many varying forms, so that a body of experience of success and failure is being accumulated, as a result of which we may now attempt, with some hope of success, to lay down a few basal principles on which the process of devolution may go forward. This article is written in an attempt to help in the formulation of some of these principles.

Probably there is no single term that has been so widely accepted as describing the right principle of devolution as the recently coined word 'Church-centric.' This is set over against 'mission-centric.' The first is considered to be sound. The second is sometimes regarded as unsound. It is at this point that experience seems to me to indicate that we must do more clear and careful thinking if we are to avoid a one-sided and dangerous movement.

When we accept Church-centric devolution as our natural and rightful goal we are sometimes thinking of the Church Catholic—that great all-inclusive Body of Christ, in which every enterprise that finds its inspiration in Him has its place. But when we come to apply this principle in actual policies of devolution it is the weak local church organization with which we have to deal. Because of a fine phrase we are in danger of loading the younger Churches with such burdens as may well stifle their spiritual life. We are

encouraging them to undertake tasks which are somewhat foreign to their life, ability and desire, and which bid fair to form an almost insuperable obstacle to their normal indigenous development.

What all mission and all church enterprise is seeking to do is to bring the whole life of men under the controlling influence of Jesus Christ. We are working for that great goal of our Master, the kingdom of God. Let us frankly face the fact that throughout Christian history much of the most spontaneous and fruitful effort in the name of Christ has not been initiated by any church organization. Hospitals, schools, colleges and great educational movements, social service enterprises, Bible societies, all these have been founded in the name of Christ and have expressed His spirit. They have been fed by the organized Church and have in turn fed it, but many of them have begun and continued under their own independent management.

Probably most of us would agree that it is well that they have done so. To have put all these great enterprises under distinctively church organizations would often have diverted much of the time and strength of these organizations from their primary spiritual task to the consideration of a wide variety of problems of policy and administration, for which the church organizations were not well equipped. These varied enterprises need not only the spiritual energy which the Church can offer, but also specialized guidance by those who are deeply interested in each particular field. Experience shows that church organizations do not always furnish such guidance. If all these enterprises had been put under such organizations they would have received guidance that was often conservative, cumbersome and ineffective, and the distinctive work of the Church would have suffered. The loss to the Christian cause would have been great.

It seems to me that the term Church-centric, as it is now often applied to missionary devolution, has a suggestion of the less spiritual and the more narrowly organizational

conception of the Church. For this reason it appears to me, in its present use, dangerous. If, even in the West, with its great, well-established Churches, it is not wise that church organizations should seek to administer every Christian institution, how much more unwise would it be for the young Churches of the East, which are just feeling their way towards spontaneous life and effective expression ? It would be doubly unwise, because a large proportion of the institutions which missions have brought into the East are western in conception and require western personnel and western money for their maintenance. It is difficult to understand how those who have a desire to see a truly indigenous Church growing up in those lands can contemplate with anything but shuddering the thought of loading all our hospitals, schools, social service agencies and other Christian institutions on to the young church organizations. To do so would probably be to ensure that for an indefinite period foreign ideas, foreign money and, to considerable extent, foreign men and women would exercise a preponderating influence over the younger Churches. This would tend to warp and stunt the natural growth of these new oriental Churches which, if they can develop along their own lines, will surely have an unique service to render to the world.

Now let us look at the question from the point of view of the institutions which missionary enterprise has built up in the East. Every Christian missionary enterprise must devolve or die. Of this there can be no question. Whatever the institution, unless it meets a local need and is increasingly controlled by local ideas and people it cannot long persist. The argument of the preceding paragraphs is not, therefore, that western missionary boards should continue to control the many institutions which they have founded. It is rather that the process of devolution must go on in two directions at the same time. We should cease to think of the mission as a foreign institution. We should recognize that it is an institution which began by being

foreign, but which is quite generally becoming increasingly indigenous. 'The mission' is not static. It is, as it were, a train starting from the West and travelling to the East. As it stops here and there at stations on the way, gradually the passengers change. They become increasingly eastern. At some point an eastern engineer takes the place of the western engineer. A little later the western head guard steps off the train and an eastern head guard takes control. At the eastern terminus a few western passengers remain, but the train is controlled by the nationals of the land. If devolution in missionary work continues at its present rate, it will not be long before many of our missions and missionary institutions will be predominantly indigenous in control.

Some one may observe that in the simile the train remains the same typical western invention to the end. This, too, seems to me symbolic. That the East has become westernized to a considerable degree is a fact. Oriental people increasingly want western education, western medicine, western social service enterprises. The Christian communities, even more than their neighbours, have been touched by this spirit. The devolution of our western institutions to the control of boards that are increasingly indigenous, and to an increasing number of national administrators, will give scope for this side of the present development of the educated members of the younger Churches. The same individual may find the principal satisfaction of the side of his nature which has been awakened by western culture in his work in these institutions, while in his Church, if it has been guarded from too great westernization, he may find the religious satisfaction and power which will inspire all his life.

Perhaps for the sake of making our main point clear we have here presented the two sides of this devolution process in a way that makes them seem more separate and distinct than they actually are. The indigenous development of the Church does not, of course, imply its entire separation from western influence. The newer Churches must cherish

the priceless heritage of the historic past. They will surely continue to appropriate Christian influences which are mediated to them by the western Churches. On the other hand, institutions in passing to the control of nationals will inevitably lose something of their western aspect and take on a more oriental character. Missionaries will continue to identify themselves with the newer Churches, while it will be leading representatives of the newer Churches who will take an increasing part in the life of the institutions. There is bound to be the utmost freedom of interplay of ideas and of service between the Churches and institutions.

Nevertheless both sides will profit by a clear recognition of the distinct part that each should play in the work of the kingdom of God, and both sides should press forward simultaneously on the road of devolution. The younger Churches should, at the earliest possible moment, assume complete control of everything that immediately and vitally concerns their own spiritual life, but they should be on their guard against taking over anything which is unnecessary to their best development or foreign to their genius. The Christian community, through a variety of agencies, should progressively control the remaining work begun by missions and missionary institutions, but should always be ready to let the organized Church enlarge its sphere of control where it can do so with advantage. It is not a fact that Church-centric devolution is on the right track and so-called mission-centric devolution is on a wrong track. It is, rather, true that they are on parallel and closely inter-related tracks. If we seek to bring them together upon the Church side there is likely to be a wreck, just as there would be if we tried to bring them together upon the other side. To have a purely foreign mission in charge of institutions which are vital to the progress of the kingdom in the land, while a purely indigenous organization directs the Church, would be an anomaly. To place all these foreign institutions upon the younger church organization would be a tragedy. Church and mission must move forward side by side in

harmonious devolution. Let us in theory and in practice give clear recognition to this principle.

Of course it is not possible to claim that there will be no clashing interests between the organized Churches and the joint boards and councils that are taking over control of missionary institutions. Conflict of interest may come, especially when each wants the services of the same well-trained man. The councils and institutions may often be in a position to offer larger salaries and more stable conditions of employment than are the organized Churches. We should recognize this danger and bend every effort to meeting it by securing for pastors a stability of employment and a status which will increase the attractiveness of their service. We should seek to guard the institutions against offering such attractive opportunities as inevitably to draw most of the best workers from the full-time service of the Church. We should use strong personal influence on all men who are qualified to do so to give their lives to the pastoral service. At the same time we must recognize that in our western church life pastors are often taken from their churches to become principals of colleges and leaders of other Christian institutions. An acquaintance of mine was recently called from a great historic church to become president of an independent Christian college. Naturally the church regretted his loss from the pastorate, yet, on the whole, Christians felt that he had gone to a more strategic service in the kingdom of God, and he went with the blessing and goodwill of his church. When Christian missionary institutions cease to be western in control we shall be more ready to recognize service in them as comparable in importance to the work of the pastor in the great Church of Christ.

Once we have given full recognition to this principle of devolution it seems to me greatly to clarify our problems. In the light of our recognition of it we can more readily determine how to deal with every practical aspect of devolution. We shall not be tempted to load upon church

organizations what is foreign to their genius simply because we have an uneasy feeling that we must magnify the Church. Neither shall we be afraid of schemes for the Indianization of control of our institutions simply because they perpetuate 'the mission.'

As I study the message of the Jerusalem meeting of the International Missionary Council on *The Relation Between the Younger and the Older Churches*,[1] it seems to me to lack clearness at this point. There is a certain inconsistency between its varied statements. In the main it stands for the Church-centric conception, saying, 'This "church-centric" conception of foreign missions makes it necessary to revise the functions of the "mission" where it is an administrative agency, so that the indigenous church will become the center from which the whole missionary enterprise of the area will be directed' (pp. 166–7). On the other hand, later in the message, a certain recognition is given to the principle advocated in this article, when a distinction is made between 'institutions which are necessary to the life and ministry of the churches' and which should be increasingly controlled by the Church and similar 'institutions serving the Christian community more generally' (p. 169). The latter 'should relate themselves, as early as possible, to the indigenous Christian community with a view to its assuming ultimately the responsibility for these institutions.' The first and most prominent statement which we have here quoted seems to imply a complete direction by the indigenous Church of 'the whole missionary enterprise'; the second statement, on the other hand, recognizes that some institutions should relate themselves not to the Church but to the Christian community. Thus, while the main emphasis of the statement is on Church-centric devolution, yet it recognizes the principle of devolution along two lines. Perhaps it gives the term 'the indigenous Church' a meaning broad enough to include Christian enterprises not specifically directed by the church organization. In that

[1] Jerusalem Meeting of the I.M.C., vol. III. (American edition).

case both the passages quoted from it are in harmony with the principles advocated in this article.

As a matter of fact, missions, at least the missions in India with which I am most familiar, are in practice going forward fairly rapidly on both lines of devolution. If I may be pardoned for citing a single outstanding illustration, it will be that of the Arcot Mission of the Dutch Reformed Church of America. The Church Council which controls the churches that have grown out of the work of this mission has full charge not only of the churches but of the evangelistic work and village schools of the area, with a large appropriation from the mission. On the other hand, the mission has turned over the rest of the former ' missionary work ' to an Assembly in which the chairman and a majority of the members are Indian. This Assembly works through Departmental Boards and Institutional Councils which are dominantly Indian, while Indians increasingly occupy the posts of greatest responsibility in the institutions. Here the trains of progress both in Church and mission would seem to be equally advanced on their way to their eastern destination. One may query this or that aspect of the plan, but in general principle it would appear to be sound, and the considered testimony of those most closely concerned in its working, both missionaries and Indians, is that it is a real success.[1]

Such two-sided devolution as this seems to me the way to secure a strong, harmonious and spiritual development of

[1] The Jerusalem Meeting Report in vol. III. rightly gives prominence to the Arcot Assembly scheme. Unfortunately the report mistakenly calls the scheme, ' The Scheme of Devolution of the Arcot Assembly (American ed., pp. 225–31 ; British ed., pp. 269–75), whereas this is, instead, the plan of organization of the Madras Church Council which is in charge of the churches in the Arcot Mission area.

Probably because of the confusion created by this mistaken designation, there is a corresponding error where the Arcot Assembly scheme is actually described (American ed., pp. 82–6 ; British ed., pp. 103–6). The scheme is there described as a new organization ' through the Indian Church.' The Arcot Assembly scheme is not ' through the Indian Church ' but is clearly a devolution scheme of the mission, whereby most of the former functions of the foreign mission are now performed by a body containing all the missionaries, together with a somewhat greater number of Indian representatives of the institutions and churches.

the Christian enterprise in the missionary world. While it tends to guard the younger Churches from too great westernization or dependence on western money, it gives them the benefits of the best achievements of the West. Let us exalt the younger Churches; let missionaries and nationals freely unite in spending upon them their love and their life; but let us not, because of a somewhat one-sided ideal, be tempted to overload the younger church organizations with western institutions; nor let us fail to give their rightful place to those Christian enterprises which have been founded and nurtured through the guidance of God's spirit, and which, under a wise and progressive policy of devolution, may continue to play their great part in the service of the Church and the building up of God's kingdom on earth.

ALDEN H. CLARK

THE NATIONALIST SPIRIT IN THE PHILIPPINES

IN RELATION TO PROTESTANT CHRISTIANITY

By E. K. HIGDON

CHRISTIANITY came into the Philippine Islands four centuries ago when priest and explorer together entered the archipelago. Now all Filipinos, with the exception of a half-million non-Christians (Moslems and pagans), belong to one of three Christian groups: Roman Catholic, 9,300,000; Independent (Catholic), 1,500,000; Protestant, 200,000.

This discussion deals with some issues which arise out of the nationalist movement and challenge the Protestant Church. Some of them are involved in the presentation of the Christian message, others are found in the administration of the Church and its auxiliary institutions.

In presenting the message, the world mission of Christianity must be so interpreted as to indicate that it in no way interferes with healthful national aspirations. Patriotism and religion plight their troth and unite their fortunes to make possible a Christian internationalism. Jesus Himself sprang from a people who loved their little homeland with a self-giving devotion that has seldom been equalled. The Hebrew in his best moments saw his beloved country as the hope and salvation of the world. For almost a thousand years he fought and prayed for the right of self-government, and through it all was encouraged and sustained by a constant sense of mission. Then Jesus of Nazareth caught up in His own great heart the hopes and longings and aspirations of His race. From His lips there first fell in accents of authority the principles of love and brotherhood

which were destined to give weak men and peoples their opportunity. Sane, unselfish national hopes find quick response in the heart of the Master.

The Protestant Church in the Philippines has sought to make it clear that Jesus always insisted upon man's God-given right to think for himself and to act in harmony with a conscience free and untrammelled by any human power. The history of the Church Universal is replete with instances of men and women who gave up their lives rather than their freedom. A faith with such a conviction and heritage can have only sympathy and encouragement for Filipino nationalists. But this truth has not been widely and thoroughly understood. Many Filipino leaders, remembering how the old Church joined forces with the Spanish Government, have been suspicious of and opposed to the new Church, fearing it might turn out to be an agent of exploitation. This is an issue the Church cannot avoid.

The open-minded search for truth, fostered through the last three decades by the educational system, accounts in large measure for the present status of the nationalist movement and also constitutes another challenge. The Church realizes that in the presentation of its message it must demonstrate its hearty sympathy with all earnest endeavour to find truth. This is of vital importance. The Protestant Church has lacked both the equipment and the personnel necessary to reach the tens of thousands of young people whose minds have been stimulated by the educational process. So there are many Filipinos who think they have weighed the claims of Christianity in the balances of science and have found them wanting. They believe the Bible and Christianity to be discredited. The number of young people who are having difficulty at this point is already large and is rapidly increasing. The young evangelical Church feels that this state of affairs constitutes a distinct challenge which must be heeded.

But the best leaders of the Church also realize that

while religion must profit by the method and the spirit of science, and while the Church must make every attempt to organize its experience and state its beliefs as systematically and reasonably as possible, in order to appeal to those who are scientifically minded, it should never for a moment be forgotten that there are mysteries of human life and of human and divine relationships which must be laid hold of by faith. Christianity walks hand in hand with science as far as science can go, but when science stops, baffled and unable to proceed, Christianity pushes on into other fields of truth. One of the grave dangers of Filipino nationalism is that it may miss this fact and come to depend upon material rather than spiritual resources. Secularism, expressed in indifference to religion, in a mad scramble for money, place and power, and in the almost frantic pursuit of education merely for education's sake, already has thousands of devotees among both old and young.

The Protestant Church in the Philippines faces the additional problem of presenting Jesus in such a way as to show the vital connexion between Christianity and ethical conduct. The burning zeal with which the Hebrew prophets attacked the evils of their day, and even some of the biting sarcasm which they aimed at a religion of forms and ceremonies which was uninterested in social justice and personal morality, are beginning to characterize Filipino preaching. Furthermore, the laity are aroused. Three years ago, at the first convention of the Youth Movement, a ' decalogue ' was formulated and adopted by five hundred delegates. It is prophetic in tone :

> We believe in the Christian interpretation of nationalism. Therefore we hold that God has called the Filipino people to a high mission of service to humanity.
>
> We believe in the Christian interpretation of internationalism. All men of all nations and races are equal in the sight of God who is the common Father of mankind.
>
> We will enter into an aggressive struggle against all vice, ignorance and social wrong, including political corruption, usury, the exploitation of the poor, intolerance, superstition, cock-fighting, gambling, cabarets,

the social evil, the double standard of morality and the use of intoxicating beverages.

As these lines are being written, a scandal, revealing dishonesty among candidates for admission to the bar, employees of the supreme court, and one or more private secretaries of the justices of that high tribunal, has shaken the Philippines from end to end. The executive of the Youth Movement, fully awake to the situation, has chosen for the theme of their second convention (held at Thanksgiving 1928), 'Youth and Jesus' Standards of Honour.' Already the effects of such emphases are evident in moral reforms. The Church is courageously facing the issue that nationalism must be planted and rooted in morality or it cannot stand at all.

A second set of problems arises out of the administration of the Church and its auxiliary organizations. Here the Filipino and the missionary engage in an undertaking in partnership which is far more difficult than co-operation in presenting the message. Wise missionary statesmanship dictates for the future of the Church a policy of fullest sharing between foreigner and native. Each must learn from the other. No missionary should perform a task or assume a responsibility at the expense of native initiative and development. It is not easy to practise such an ideal. Differences in religious, educational and social background, and differences of temperament and outlook, are accentuated by differences of colour and race. It is a delicate situation. But Filipino and American Christian, working together, supplement and complement each other in a serious endeavour to understand the mind of Jesus and to perfect a type of institution that will best enable the heart and will of Christ to function in individual and collective life.

The democratic character of the evangelical churches at work in the Philippines has always appealed to the people. From the beginning missionaries of vision have urged Filipinos to prepare themselves for such leadership as would make possible a native Church in no way bound

to any foreign organization save by the ties of appreciation and love. To this end Filipinos have been given responsibility in places of high importance, and the next few years will witness large advance in the Filipinization of the Church.

Three phases of administration hold the interest of evangelical workers at present : the financing of an indigenous Church, the training of leaders in adequate numbers and the development of the type of organization best suited to Filipino needs.

The Jerusalem meeting of the International Missionary Council named spiritual vitality as the most important characteristic of an indigenous Church. Economic independence is secondary. But love prompts giving and the state of the church purse furnishes a fair index to the condition of the church life. In the Philippines the churches are approximately fifty per cent self-supporting. The money raised is used to pay salaries of workers ; to erect and repair church buildings ; and to carry on home missions, benevolences and so forth. Hospitals, schools, dormitories and other institutions operate on budgets made up of funds received from mission boards in the United States and from fees collected on the field. Hospitals and dormitories are largely self-supporting. Schools of all types receive some subsidy from abroad.

The most acute financial problem of the Church in the Islands is to arouse all Christians to the kind of sacrificial giving which now characterizes a few members of nearly every congregation and practically all the members of a few congregations. Until that is done Christianity will be severely handicapped by an under-trained leadership and by poor and inadequate buildings and equipment. This task calls for a program of education, thoroughly and patiently carried on, until every Christian shall realize the duty, and experience the joy, of giving. It involves the development of absolute honesty, so that money raised for Christian work may be held in sacred trust ; for neither

grants-in-aid from abroad nor gifts from local donors flow freely into treasuries that leak.

How can the Church secure a well-trained leadership unless it is able to pay good salaries ? Entire sections of the Protestant Church have developed self-support under the inspiration of a few consecrated Filipino pastors, in whom the spirit of Jesus and the spirit of nationalism so mingled that they wanted a truly Filipino Church. But other fields have attained economic independence only under the constant presence and pressure of the missionary. In the Philippines, as elsewhere, many men, otherwise capable as preachers and ministers, have no ' money sense,' and when they leave the seminary to take up their work merely complicate the financial problem by demanding higher salaries than their less educated fellow-workers have received. Such ministers increase the budget but lack the ability to raise it. Therefore, the missionary societies must either continue to employ foreigners, in order to secure salaries from the churches, or get money from the mission boards at home to finance the best trained leaders. Neither of these methods is ideal, but the former is less objectionable than the latter, because through it the Church is gradually brought to a state of economic self-respect, while financial support from abroad tends to pauperize the people and decrease their self-reliance. The problem involved is clear-cut : How may churches unable to employ adequately trained leaders secure men and women capable of carrying out a well-rounded religious program, including the development of self-support ?

At this point those entrusted with the educational task appeal to national pride. Is the Church to depend for ever upon foreign funds ? Cannot the country produce leaders with enough financial acumen to raise a church budget ? In recent years special emphasis has been placed on the necessity and technique of financial campaigns in the Church. Stewardship courses now form a part of every curriculum.

Two denominational colleges offer courses designed to fit young men and women for service in the Church. Union Theological Seminary, in which five church groups co-operate, gives a four-year college course leading to the degree of B.A., and two additional years of theological training leading to the degree of B.D. In this institution leaders are trained for the entire archipelago. The Council of Religious Education, with a staff of four Filipinos and one American, is wrestling with the problems involved in taking religious education to the masses. One of the most challenging tasks is to secure indigenous materials for use in Sunday schools, daily vacation Bible schools and week-day religious instruction classes. An expert from America has been secured to conduct a survey to determine what are the needs and to estimate the cost of providing for them.

There is a widespread idea prevalent among laymen that religious work should be done by the priests and the preachers who have special equipment for it. The Church will be weak and ineffective until this mistaken conception is corrected and the men and women in the pews are taught that Christianity is a life power that must be taken into every activity of the community every day in the week. Some of the missions have found a corrective for this and other erroneous conceptions of the Church in a course of week-day studies conducted for intermediate and high-school students. Literally thousands of young people in the public schools have engaged in these studies.

Much attention is being given just now to the development of the type of Church which will best fit Filipino needs. We may expect the process to continue for a good many years, but the result will be a Filipino Christian Church. In all probability it will be a united Church. And it will be a missionary Church. It will send earnest Christians to the non-Christian tribes in the Philippines and it will assist in Christianizing other parts of the world.

But the Church of the future in the Philippines will make its greatest contribution to the Christianity of the world not

through organization but through its interpretation of the spirit of Jesus. The oriental seems to have an intuitive grasp of spiritual verities. The Filipino has the advantage of other orientals because he has known Christianity for four centuries. The Christianity with which he has been familiar allowed him no initiative in adapting a foreign Church to his own needs, but now he has that initiative. For more than a quarter of a century he has been encouraged to think through his religious problems. He has set himself seriously to the task of discovering what the will of the Lord is. With his natural genius for religion and with his Christian background he is in a position to make a contribution of value to an understanding of the teachings of Him who after two thousand years still puzzles so large a part of mankind.

E. K. HIGDON

DISPERSIONS: ORIENTAL AND AFRICAN

By RUTH ROUSE

'UNLESS action is taken to tackle the migration problem, international fresh wars may break out at no distant date.' So said M. Albert Thomas at the World Population Conference in Geneva, September 1927. Every international conference concerned with the welfare of the world agrees with him. The subject of migration has appeared on the programme of conferences of the Inter-Parliamentary Union, the League of Nations Union, of Labour, Trades Union and Co-operative Conferences and of Conventions concerned with health, opium, banking and the traffic in women and children.

Even the man in the street begins to realize that dispersions are one of the great forces moulding the modern world, when he sees that since the war the Jews have poured across the Atlantic Ocean in such numbers that the United States has now more Jews than any other country in the world, even than Poland; or that five million Chinese have trekked into Manchuria in four years; or that France added between 1920 and 1925 two and a half million foreigners to her population; or that the Russian revolution spilt a million refugees into Europe. Currents of migration are sweeping to and fro round the modern world, and like ocean currents are modifying the climate of the earth: now they raise the temperature, now they produce a chill in international relationships; now a current from the Tropics meeting a current from the North produces fogs of international misunderstanding as dangerous to international traffic as are the fogs off Newfoundland.

There are signs, too, that the Church is awaking to the

significance of dispersions for the kingdom of God. Within the last three years, the Church of England has issued six World Call Reports dealing with various phases of her missionary responsibilities. The first four Reports reviewed the various non-Christian fields. The fifth and sixth show a developing consciousness that dispersions require at least as great consideration in missionary policy as do the nations from which the dispersions come. The fifth Report, *The Call from Our Own People Overseas*, studied the dispersion of the British race throughout the world. The sixth, *The Call to West and East*, issued last November, first concentrates attention on the oldest of all dispersions, that of the Jewish people throughout the world. Passing on from these two great world-wide dispersions, the Report takes up a subject which, strange as it may seem, has never before been reviewed as a whole, either from a missionary or from a secular point of view, the present-day migrations of oriental peoples.[1]

The question of migrations was of course considered at the Jerusalem Meeting of the International Missionary Council, both under the heading of *The Christian Mission in the Light of Race Conflict* and *Christianity and The Growth of Industrialism in Asia, Africa and South America*.[2] A Church which is beginning to realize that she must assert the claim of her Lord to rule in industry and international and racial relationships cannot but concentrate her attention on oriental and African dispersions.

In support of this contention, this article seeks to enlighten the Church as to certain characteristics of present-day oriental migration, and first concerning their enormous extent.

The African is a great migrant. In Elizabethan times and onwards the economic interests of the white man in the

[1] *The Call to West and East*, the Sixth World Call Report, stiff cover, 2s. 6d.; paper cover, 1s. Obtainable from Press and Publications Board, Church House, Westminster, London, S.W.1.

[2] *Jerusalem Meeting Report*, vols. IV and V. New York and London: International Missionary Council.

New World gave rise to the slave trade. This trade has bequeathed to the United States a coloured population of twenty millions and the most acute race question in the world; and to the British West Indies an African and mixed population of over two millions and a problem social rather than racial but of peculiar intensity. Truly the appalling and lasting results of this slave migration, the Frankenstein monster of the dominant white race, should give pause to those who, in however mild a fashion, would exploit a coloured migration in the imagined economic interest of the white man.

To-day the British West Indian is once more a migrant. His dispersion presents an economic problem to the Latin American republics which have begun to pass exclusion laws against him. His labour under the Stars and Stripes constructed the Panama Canal; that labour supplies the world with mahogany from British Honduras, bananas from the estates of the United Fruit Company in Central America, oil from Venezuela, cocoa from Brazil and so forth. There are no less than 80,000 British West Indians, mostly from Jamaica, in Cuba to-day out of a population of two and a half millions. Haiti, 'where black rules white,' is also a colonizing land and there are 100,000 Haitians in Cuba at the present time.

In East and South Africa, hundreds of thousands of Africans are on trek in response to the white man's demands for labour in gold and diamond and copper mines. There are half a million Bantu labourers in the mines on the Rand alone. The native labour supply in the Union of South Africa is exhausted, and recruits must be sought from Portuguese territory; 120,000 Portuguese Africans are at work in mines in the Union. All the African miners in the Union's coal mines and 110,000 in the gold mines come from Mozambique. The operations of the nineteenth century 'Yankee at the Court of King Arthur' were revolutionary, but they brought no such fundamental changes into the life of Arthurian Britons as twentieth century Johannesburg

brings into the life of immigrant Bantu tribesmen and back into their kraals in Central Africa.

The most significant modern migration from Africa is the Berber invasion of France. France has become an immigrant country and is absorbing immigrants in her mines, factories and fields at the rate of 600,000 a year. An Englishman distributing portions of Scripture in the west of France round Nantes and La Rochelle uses Bible portions in sixteen languages, including not only European tongues, but Arabic, Kabyle and Chinese. The Kabyle portions are for the Berbers—the autochthonous race of North Africa found in Algeria and Morocco. They entered France in labour corps during the war, and since the war have been pouring in as labourers in vineyards, docks, mines and factories, especially in motor factories. They are now at least 100,000 strong and the large majority are found in and around Paris. Here we have a Moslem community, disintegrated in many ways morally and socially by their contact with western civilization ; but for that very reason far more accessible to western ideas, including Christian, than ever they are in their Moslem home surroundings. Here is a large Moslem field but a short distance from the headquarters of the very missionary societies in Holland and England which specialize in Islam, and are sending missionaries to Moslems in Java, India and Persia. The North African Mission carries on a not unfruitful work amongst these Berbers through *foyers* in Paris and through colportage, and is surely right in claiming that such work may prove to be a spearhead directed towards the Moslem block in North Africa.

The largest of all oriental dispersions is the Chinese. Two years ago, according to the Chinese Minister of Foreign Affairs, it numbered 9,634,000. All round the world the Chinese are found, from the East Indies across British India and South Africa to the New World. In the West Indies they are 150,000 strong—the largest contingent is 100,000 in Cuba. There must be 30,000 Chinese in Peru, and they

are found in all the South American Republics. In many a large city in the United States and Canada there is a Chinatown; so there is in Limehouse on Thames, and on Mersey-side. At the World Call Convention in York Minster last November, while the Bishop of Lichfield was pleading the cause of oriental dispersions, in a lane behind the minster a Chinese laundryman was plying his trade.

But the greatest and in many ways the most significant Chinese migration of recent years is within the bounds of greater China, the northward trek of Chinese from the crowded provinces of Chihli and Shantung into the sparsely populated and comparatively peaceful provinces of Manchuria and Mongolia. In forty-five years the population of Manchuria has trebled, and is now about 26,500,000. Previous to 1926 the annual Chinese immigration did not exceed half a million; in 1926 it was 600,000, in 1927 one million and in 1928 considerably over two millions.[1]

The Japanese dispersion is as large as the Chinese in proportion to the population of the mother country. Japan is a colonial power, with large groups of its own people overseas under its own flag; 400,000 in Korea, 150,000 in Formosa, 200,000 in the Mandated Islands in the Pacific and in the leased territories in China. In all these regions Japan, the only non-Christian power with a colonial empire, is dealing with migration problems at least as delicate and difficult as those to be found in the overseas dominions of the United States, France, Holland or Britain. The Japanese Government, facing a serious problem of over-population, is encouraging emigration on a large scale within the Empire. There are already 186,000 Japanese in Southern Saghalien, but the Japanese Government is proposing in twenty-five years to send 63,000 families to the Island to develop its agricultural, pastoral, mineral and forest industries, and estimates that the Japanese population will be at least 1,250,000.[2]

[1] *Monthly Record of Migrations*, 1928 (Dec.), 44–5.
[2] *Ibid.*, 1928 (Nov.), 397.

A more remarkable development of Japanese emigration is to South America. In Peru there are already nearly 12,000 Japanese; in Brazil, in the State of Sao Paulo, nearly 80,000. The Brazilian and Japanese Governments are convinced that further Japanese emigration is highly desirable for both countries. Besides the rapidly increasing Japanese migration to Sao Paulo, largely to the coffee estates, the State of Amazonas is putting 2,500,000 acres at the disposal of the Japanese for settlement; the concessionnaires are to introduce three hundred Japanese agricultural families the first year, and ten thousand families in fifty years. The State of Para has made a similar concession of 1,250,000 acres to be cleared for rice, coffee, cocoa and tobacco. The Japanese seem destined to play in the United States of Brazil at least as important a rôle as the Irish or Scandinavians in the United States of America. The Japanese Government is systematically educating its emigrants for assimilation in overseas countries through recognized emigration societies, training centres and overseas museums.

It is surprising to find that the oriental land most inclined to emigration is Korea. Out of a population of only 17,500,000, it has sent 1,500,000 emigrants outside the Japanese Empire, mostly to Manchuria where there are 800,000 Koreans, and to Siberia; there are large groups also in China, the United States, Hawaii and Mexico. The Korean dispersion in Japan itself is large and has proved a storm centre. It was (without justification) the subject of many attacks during the earthquake crisis.

The dispersion from British India probably amounts to over three millions, if we include the fifty thousand Lascars on the ships who form nearly a quarter of the British Merchant Marine. They are found mostly within the British Empire in nearly thirty British colonies or mandates, although there are many thousands in the Dutch Indies and 30,000 as far afield as Dutch Guiana. Indian migration is not on the increase, for the present-day policy

of the Government of India is to restrict emigration to those areas where the conditions under which the immigrants will work are favourable, i.e. mainly British Malaya, Burma and Ceylon. The Government insists on a large proportion of women accompanying the men, and makes careful provision for the thorough understanding of contracts on the part of the labourer.

In addition to the large streams of emigrants from these great oriental lands, there are smaller currents of considerable importance. The Armenian migration is one of the few oriental migrations due to persecution rather than to economic causes. The Syrian dispersion is widespread in Egypt, and in North and South America. The Arab migration, so fateful in its old slave-trading operations in East and Central Africa, is still found in large numbers in the African coastal cities. It is more surprising to find 50,000 Arabs in Java and Sumatra, where most of them are moneylenders and some exceedingly wealthy. They finance the huge pilgrimages from the Dutch Indies to Mecca. The Javanese are also a migrating race and are found in considerable numbers in Sumatra, in British Malaya and in Borneo, while there are twenty-five thousand of them in Dutch Guiana.

Not the least portentous feature of modern oriental migrations is the rapidity with which they spread. There has been a steady flow of Chinese to the East Indies for the past three centuries; many of the wealthiest and most respected citizens under the Dutch and British flags are Chinese; but recent disturbances in China have caused the stream to rise in spate. In 1926, 348,600 Chinese landed in British Malaya, and of these no less than 228,285 have remained there; while shiploads poured into Borneo and Dutch Indies. Small wonder that the governments concerned, highly as they value the good qualities of the Chinese colonies on their territory, scrutinize these new Chinese immigrants as a possible source of economic and political danger, and that in Malaya, the Philippines and Siam varied

measures are being taken to check the flow of Chinese immigration.[1]

In some countries immigration has taken place on such a large scale that the immigrant elements have entirely swamped the original inhabitants, changing the whole character of the country. Kipling could say of Singapore even a generation ago: 'England is by the uninformed supposed to own the island. The rest belongs to China and the continent, but chiefly China.' In Mauritius, half a million Indians, originally introduced as in so many other areas to work the sugar plantations, are to-day by far the largest element in the strangely mixed population of Indians, Chinese, Europeans, Africans, Arabs, Malagasy and half-castes. In British Guiana again the East Indians number one-eighth of a million: they are the dominant element in the population and are fast becoming so in Dutch Guiana also. In Sumatra, in the tobacco-growing district round Medan, the population of half a million consists entirely of dispersions—Chinese and Japanese shopkeepers, Arab money-lenders, Indian cattle and dairy men, Chinese and Javanese coolies and Batak clerks.

It is easy to see that such vast dispersions bring revolutionary changes in their wake, and most of the whirlpools of the world's politics have a dispersion at their centre. Manchuria, for example, is a danger centre with its 26,000,000 Chinese, its 800,000 Koreans, its 120,000 Japanese, and 100,000 Russians, both Red and White. The Japanese look westward along the South Manchuria Railway, which is under Japanese direction. Along this line Japanese capital is the main factor and controls a large number of farms and mines. The Russians look eastward along the Chinese Eastern Railway, so largely under their direction, and communicating with the Trans-Siberian Railway. Chinese war lords have been operating in Manchuria, and disputes between Soviet Russia and China, and Japan and China, centring around the rights on these railways, have more than

[1] *Monthly Review of Migrations*, 1928 (Dec.), 443.

once gone perilously near war. But surely in the end the fate of Manchuria will be determined by that exhaustless stream of Chinese immigration pouring up from the south.

When the Institute of Pacific Relations met at Honolulu in 1927, its aim was dispassionate and informal consideration of difficult questions of international relationship by unofficial groups representative of the nations round the Pacific. The acutest discussions centred round problems of migrations; first of all, the various problems of tariff autonomy, extra-territoriality, foreign concessions, in China itself — all arising out of the commercial dispersion of Europeans and Americans in China; secondly, the question of restrictions on Chinese and Japanese immigration into the white man's lands: United States, Canada, Australia, New Zealand. Even the most casual reader of the newspaper cannot fail to realize how close these complications have brought us to war between eastern and western powers.

But difficult as are the problems which result from white dispersions in oriental territory, and oriental dispersions in the new countries of the West, they are simple compared with the issues which arise when the white dispersion and one or more oriental dispersions come face to face in Africa, where there is already a large indigenous population. The natural demands of the Indians in Kenya and South Africa clash both with the economic and political aspirations of the white settlers and with the avowed responsibility of the Imperial Government to guard the welfare and development of the native Africans. Nowhere in the British Empire are Church and State face to face with more difficult and delicate complications.

What has the Church done to meet the spiritual need of the dispersions? The Church has certainly not neglected this phase of her missionary responsibility. In almost every field something has been attempted, though almost invariably with a miserably insufficient staff and funds, and many nations and denominations have taken a hand.

The only seriously neglected areas are all in East Africa, amongst the Indians in Uganda, Kenya, Zanzibar and Tanganyika.

The Methodist Episcopal Church of the United States has, for example, specialized on the Chinese in Burma, British Malaya and the Netherlands Indies, and has done much valuable evangelistic and educational work. The British Wesleyans work among East Indians in Guiana, and among Lascars and Chinese in the Liverpool and London docks. The United Free Church of Scotland has for fifty years carried on work amongst the East Indians in Jamaica. The Church of England is carrying forward work amongst dispersions in many different fields, largely through the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. This fact is apparently less due to deliberate policy or choice than to the fact that Indian or Chinese dispersions happen to enter S.P.G. fields. The Moravians, true to their traditional fields and type of work, have made considerable advance among the East Indians and Javanese both in Dutch and British Guiana. Dutch missions and the Basel Mission in the Netherlands Indies have taken over work amongst the Chinese in Java from the Methodist Episcopal Church. The Roman Catholic Church has followed its own people as they have migrated, for example, the Goanese in Mauritius and East Africa. They have carried on extremely successful work amongst the Chinese in Jamaica and are now making vigorous propaganda amongst the Japanese emigrants to Brazil both in the ports in Japan and in Brazil itself. The American Episcopal Church and a union mission of Methodists and Presbyterians are likewise carrying on a successful work amongst the Japanese in Brazil.

The Churches in the United States and in British overseas dominions, Canada and Australia, have shouldered their own responsibility for making Christ known amongst the oriental dispersions in these lands. Mr Galen Fisher's careful and thorough report, given to the Jerusalem meeting, of the work of the American and Canadian Churches amongst

Chinese and Japanese, and of their efforts to promote good relationships between East and West, in spite of certain criticisms, gives the impression of a generous, devoted and widespread effort, full of lessons for other areas.[1]

The young Churches in China, Japan and India are showing a deep concern for their 'own people overseas.' They have sent them Missions of Help, they train pastors for them, they send literature and missionaries of their own blood. The theological colleges of the Episcopal, Presbyterian and Methodist Churches in Japan are training Japanese workers from Brazil to return to that country to labour amongst their own kith and kin. The Christians of the dispersions, especially the Chinese, almost everywhere do much to make their Churches self-supporting, and some of them do good evangelistic work. In Central Sumatra, the Rhenish Barmen Mission has gathered a Church of a quarter of a million out of animistic savagery and cannibalism. Educated Batak boys go as clerks and government officials all over the Dutch Indies. The Church has a missionary society, entirely supported by Bataks, which raises £3000 per annum, and has founded Batak churches in Java and elsewhere.

Indeed, the chief criticism to be made of the Church's efforts of evangelization amongst dispersions is not that they are too few but that they are far too many. Missionary work amongst dispersions throws into relief the stumbling-blocks of our divisions. Relatively to the populations from which they come the dispersions in any one country are small, yet it is not uncommon to find Roman Catholics and four or five varieties of Protestants at work amongst the same dispersion. The difficulty caused by our lack of unity is not only a question of confusion created in the minds of non-Christians. In lands like China and India the different denominations for the most part observe some form of missionary comity, but the people of the land emigrate in complete disregard of all such carefully arranged boundaries. In consequence,

[1] *Jerusalem Meeting Report*, vol. IV.

difficulties arise again and again of which the following is one example: the Chinese in British Borneo are all Hakka-speaking; the Church of England does much work amongst them and would naturally like to call Chinese priests from China for the work; they cannot do so because there is no Anglican Church mission in any Hakka-speaking district in China, and they must therefore maintain a small theological college in the island.

The divided state of Christendom, however, is far from being the only difficulty of work amongst dispersions. The average missionary in Asia or in Africa has some chance of specializing in one language, one race, one sect or religion. Not so the missionary amongst dispersions. He is usually confronted by several races, many languages and not a few religions. Whatever the explanation, the entrance of one dispersion into a country is almost invariably followed by others. In British Malaya, for example, in addition to 1,700,000 Malays, the original inhabitants, there are 1,500,000 Chinese, 500,000 Indians, 18,000 Siamese, 6000 Japanese, 4000 Arabs, 27,000 Europeans and Eurasians and a sprinkling of Javanese and Jews. This means that the religions of the country include Islam, Hinduism of many different sects, Buddhism in various forms, Confucianism, Shintoism and Judaism. The Indians are for the most part Tamils, but many speak Telugu or Hindi. A missionary may of course specialize on the Chinese, but in Singapore so many varieties of Chinese are spoken, that one mission has to hold six different Chinese services every Sunday, each in a different language.

Missionaries amongst dispersions must face also infinite varieties of psychology. In North America and throughout the East Indies the beginnings of the Chinese dispersion date back generations and even centuries. The Chinese migration to Java began before the Christian era, and all the records of the history of Java are found in Chinese literature. To-day there are three million Chinese in the Dutch Indies and they are still coming. The first generation are called

Sinkeh (Chinese), the rest Peranakan (people of the country). The Peranakan have intermarried with other races and lost their Chinese culture. The American-born Chinese or Japanese, the Straits-born Chinese, have an entirely different mentality from the newly arrived immigrants. The Chinese business man of Burma, educated in Scotland, who greeted Harry Lauder in the broadest Doric and by playing on the bagpipes; the Indian or Chinese with a seat on the Legislative Council or a ministerial portfolio in a British colony; the young oriental educated in an American high school, lives in a completely different world from the newly arrived Korean labourer, the Chinese house-boy, or the Indian coolie on the sugar or rubber plantations.

There is, as a matter of fact, but one characteristic common to almost all oriental and African dispersions, and it is one which by no means helps the work of evangelization. That common factor is a sense of injustice, whether justified or not, resulting from some proceeding on the part of the white man for whose economic interests the emigrants left their native land. It is sometimes the bad housing provided for them in locations, sometimes forced repatriation, sometimes colour-bar restrictions or pass laws such as have obtained in South Africa, or the exclusion laws of North America. Whatever the grievance, it invariably raises a barrier to the work of the missionary. The United States' exclusion law of 1924 produced a reaction against Christianity not only amongst the orientals on the Pacific coast of America, but in China, Japan and India wherever American missions were at work.

In like manner, the conditions in their homelands powerfully affect the dispersions. The nationalist movement in China, the non-co-operation movement in India, as also any religious or philosophical movement—Gandhi-ism or the Ahmadiyya sect—reproduces itself amongst the dispersions and affects their attitude to Christianity. Large sums are sent to the National Government in China from the Chinese in Java or Singapore; Javanese students go to Lahore and

Cairo to study the latest phases in Islam; missionaries in Guiana report increasing difficulty through Hindu and Moslem revivals amongst the East Indians.

With all these difficulties and barriers to understanding it might be concluded that Christian missions would make little headway amongst dispersions. Such a conclusion would be wrong. A recent investigation of such work brought almost universal testimony from missionaries and nationals at work amongst dispersions that they presented a most hopeful field. They are hopeful because of their accessibility. Away from the religious and social restrictions and sanctions of the home land, they are on the one hand a prey to lawlessness and all manner of new temptations, but on the other hand their minds are free from ancestral prejudices. The Kabyles in France, for instance, find themselves in a land where there is complete religious freedom and where a change of religion brings them neither social nor political difficulty. Caste barriers amongst the Hindus tend to disappear, and in spite of pitifully small efforts on the part of the Church the harvest reaped amongst dispersions is almost invariably more fruitful in proportion to their numbers than in the home land.

Dispersions, moreover, are a hopeful field because they produce leaders. It is a pioneer spirit that takes them from their native land, and, when Christian, they produce the pioneer spirits of the Church. The greatest missionary of all time came from the Jewish dispersion in Tarsus, and from St Paul onwards dispersions have made missionaries. St Patrick determined to evangelize Ireland when he was in exile there as a slave; Bishop Crowther of the Niger, Joseph Neesima of Japan, Pandita Ramabai of India and J. K. Aggrey all gained much of their knowledge of Christ and their missionary inspiration away from their native land. Such missionary leaders are to-day usually drawn from the ranks of those who have left their native land in pursuit of education and culture. With the great question of work amongst student migrations we have not space to deal, but

the cardinal fact concerning them is their possibilities of leadership for good or evil.

One special joy is denied to the missionary amongst dispersions, that joy which is the dominant interest of all missionaries to oriental nations—it cannot fall to their lot to help in the upbuilding of a national Church in China or Japan, or to watch with ever-increasing joy the special contribution to the whole Church of Christ which is given by the Church of Africa or the Church of India. But another joy may be theirs—the hope of building up, out of a welter of races and tongues and peoples, a truly catholic Church; and to see the triumph of the spirit of Christ just where the economic and social circumstances of the dispersions intensify the clash of colour and the fierceness of race prejudice. The lands where several dispersions come face to face are often, as we have seen, storm centres of inter-racial fear and hatred. Yet in land after land the Church of the dispersions is a Catholic Church. The Anglican Bishop of Guiana tells us that in his diocese 'the ideal is carefully guarded of one altar at which all, English, Chinese, black and coloured, aboriginal Indian, Portuguese and East Indian, meet to receive the one Bread, the one Cup.' The same ideal is guarded, despite difficulties of language, in many another field. The report on *The Christian Mission in the Light of Race Conflict*, given at the Jerusalem Meeting of the International Missionary Council, declares that 'the missionary enterprise itself, as an instrument of God for bringing into being among all races the Church of Christ, has it in its power to be the most creative force working for world-wide inter-racial unity.'[1] This power of the Gospel is shown at its height amongst the dispersions of oriental and African peoples where the maximum of inter-racial confusion and difficulty is to be found.

RUTH ROUSE

[1] Vol. IV, American ed., p. 201; British ed., p. 245.

THE TRAINING OF VILLAGE TEACHERS IN AFRICA

THE following paper represents the work of a group consisting of secretaries of British mission boards having work in Africa, missionaries on furlough and others interested in African education. Some help has also been received from missionary societies in Germany through visits and correspondence. The conclusions provisionally reached by the group in regard to the functions of the village school and the training of teachers for such schools are stated here. The study has opened up important questions regarding co-operation with governments, the relation between the Church and the school, and problems of finance, and to these the group hopes to devote further study.

The Function of the Village School

The village school is, at the present stage, the most important unit in the African educational system.[1] Its functions extend beyond the training of children to the elevation and education of the whole community. It is a strategic centre for reaching the masses—the people on whose attitude and habits any hope of improvement depends. If it is to exert its largest influence it must have the following characteristics :

It must belong to the community and be a part of it; the people must feel that it is their school. Its strength lies in the fact that it promotes spontaneous growth. It can be a stimulus from within. With the right kind of teacher it will be regarded by the village folk as their own school and they will back its efforts as their own concern. Even the

[1] The term ' village school ' is not here intended to bear any technical meaning, but simply to designate the kind of school which we should wish to see in an African village.

best-intentioned effort (either foreign or African) if it comes from outside is met with suspicion and loses much of its effect.

The pupils also must feel that the school is not alien to their normal life and interests. Only in this way can it prepare them for helpful, happy and intelligent life in the villages. It must be a part of the village life, applying the wisdom that it brings from the outside world to the solution of its problems and to making life fuller and richer.

Since the whole life of the people depends on agriculture, the school ought to lay emphasis on this and give some idea of the scope for a trained intelligence in improving crops and stock; it must stimulate enquiry as to the channels along which the marketable produce and stock may be most advantageously disposed of; and, enlarging thus the horizon of its pupils, it will help to lessen the gap between those who stay at home and those who seek work further afield.

The school should make village life interesting and attractive by study of its traditions, its social organization and the mutual responsibilities of its inhabitants, and by preparing its pupils to earn a living there; and it must, by games, music and so on, provide a wholesome and adequate outlet for the physical and emotional energies which formerly found expression in pagan dances and orgies.

If it would win the wise and thoughtful among the elders, the school must show itself as a steadying force, introducing new ideas and new skill, no doubt, but bringing along with these a self-control, a respect for law and order, an appreciation of responsibility for the common weal and, by building up a sound Christian family life, help to reconstruct the fabric of society which is crumbling under the white man's demands for labour and his numberless unconscious demonstrations of the futility of primitive man's customs and taboos.

It must also serve as an interpreter between the old and the new. Progress is both inevitable and desirable,

and many customs and arts must disappear from Africa as they have disappeared from the West. Progress will inevitably be too rapid for comfort in nearly every part of Africa, and it is the village school which, by enlisting the interest of the elders in the progressive experiments of their children through membership of school councils, suggestion of school activities and so forth, must begin to build the bridge where the old-fashioned parents and the children of the new age can meet and understand one another. It must moderate the shock of the impact of the West and prevent the wholesale abandonment of everything African, simply because it is old.

Such a school makes severe demands on the village teacher, himself only newly emerged from the primitive life which he is trying to improve, and it cannot be expected that many will attain to it soon. It is, however, an ideal which is not impossible for any little village school. It does not call for elaborate equipment or expensive buildings, so long as there is space and light, and here and there even now a teacher of natural genius may come near it. At the same time we must face the fact that the qualities of judgment and sympathy, with balance and a wide outlook, are fruits we are accustomed to look for after many years of education superimposed on centuries of similar culture. Until the general level of education in Africa is higher we cannot expect many schools to approximate to the type. Nevertheless more advanced education will not in itself create the ideal village teacher, and we cannot wait for the years to produce him.

The picture we have drawn is a considered whole, and an attempt, though weak at first, along all the lines we have sketched is desirable in the interests of both children and community.

All that has been said here in connexion with the village school should be said with almost more emphasis of the other stages of education, since in these there is a greater tendency to drift out of touch with rural life. A school

where pupils are collected from different places, even from a group of surrounding villages, cannot be in the same way an integral part of the community in which it is situated. The community to which it belongs is a wider and more complicated organism, if indeed it is an organism at all. It is, therefore, a task of proportionately greater difficulty but of equal importance to evolve some definite plan—such as, for example, a school council formed of representatives from the different villages or districts concerned—whereby the school may be a recognized part of the life of the district and not an alien institution accidentally landed in it.

In the actual work of the school, also, the connexion with village life and the homes of the pupils must never be lost to sight. Hygiene and agriculture can be quite definitely related to real life, and social service can be carried out in all kinds of ways both at home in holiday time and in the immediate neighbourhood of the school during term. These central schools to a large extent determine the course of the village schools both through their requirements for pupils coming up to them and also through their natural prestige. Therefore, since in the higher schools western life presses with growing insistence on the pupils, it is particularly necessary to maintain their affection and interest in their own people, and the 'bridge' begun in the village school must be sedulously kept in use and good repair.

The pupils from these schools will not all go back to their villages, and emphasis on the relation to the country life must not be allowed to hinder development on other lines. The danger is hardly a practical one in view of the determination of the African to learn the white man's knowledge, but there is a danger that in our desire to broaden the base we might lay too little emphasis on the vital necessity of giving to those who can profit by it the best of our western learning. The truth is that both lines of development are equally necessary. A tree which is spreading its roots wide

underground must push its branches upwards, and the tree that were to throw its crown too high for the spread of its roots would fall in the first storm.

THE TEACHER REQUIRED

This kind of village school involves a certain kind of teacher. He must have character, not in any negative sense such as respectability or the avoidance of error, but he needs such qualities as we associate with a leader. He needs a sound understanding of the Christian faith and an eager loyalty to it, along with an intelligent comprehension of the life around him—the devotion of the older evangelist with a much broader range of ability and interest. He must be able to interpret the home and family, the daily work of the hands in field and garden in such a way that the spiritual element shall be as near and vital and pervasive as it was to the pagan, though now transfigured in the light of the Christian message.

If the teacher is to be leader he must be one of the people, possessing their confidence because his interests are their own and his ambitions such as they can accept for themselves. He cannot lead if he is, as so many are, enlightened only to the point of calling his father's ideas silly and his people's ways merely folly. He will do nothing with the parents and elders unless he retains respect for age and tribal authority and that pride of tradition which keeps a people united. The true leader will be regarded as a friend by old men in blankets or women clad in skins. Though he is different and free, yet he is loyal, and his manners are not those of a superior but of a friend. He does not laugh at the notions of his home circle. He is conservative in the best sense.

But as a leader he is ahead of his village. He sees where progress is to be sought. He sees what can be made of his school. People must be able to see improvements in his garden. He must know such things as how you set about

getting windows, where better seed can be bought, what it costs to buy a small plough, according to the needs of the district.

The teacher's home must serve as a model for the community where he is living, since a large part of his task is to supply those essential elements in education which are seen in satisfactory home conditions. This is where a married teacher has a peculiarly responsible part to play. His home must be better and his children cleaner than those of his neighbours. Help and training given to the teacher's wife will more than repay the additional trouble by the demonstration his home life affords of the lessons he is attempting to inculcate. It is hardly possible to exaggerate the importance of the presentation of every subject through the home.

He must be able to judge and decide when a fresh situation arises, because he has been taught to think for himself and to bear responsibility for common concerns. He is a natural leader, not a formalist.

His qualification is not the standard he has passed, but his ability to teach the youngest pupil with skill and insight. He is an opportunist. He starts with life and not a textbook. To him the growth of a child's mind or something he has really thought or felt is more interesting and important than correct syllables or rapid calculations. In his mind the school is an adjunct and never an object. He interprets words and figures in terms of the pupil's experiences. The work and play of the village, its joys and sorrows, its homes and farms are real and vital to his mind even when he has a book in front of him ; and time-tables, subjects, schemes of work and government certificates are secondary to his main purpose, which is the widening of the pupil's experience and the use of lessons in life.

This is frankly an ideal portrait, approached only by rare individuals, for it represents an ideal which has not always been before the minds of those engaged in the training of teachers. Furthermore, it is an ideal which will

be very hard to attain until young men and women come up for training from a school which has been taught by such a teacher, boys and girls with live minds, who have been accustomed from childhood to think for themselves and to adapt theoretical knowledge to the needs of real life. Particular attention must therefore be given to the selection and training of the present-day teacher.

THE TRAINING OF THE TEACHER

It follows from what has been said that in the training of teachers two objects must be kept steadily in view. The first is to produce men qualified to act as moral and spiritual leaders of the village community. The second is to produce skilled teachers. The constant danger is that effort should be directed in practice to achieving one of these two objects, while the other is neglected. In both cases it is necessary to build on gifts already present, and if a student proves himself lacking in these directions he should be encouraged to turn to some other line of training.

In regard to the first of these objects it is necessary to bear in mind that the aim of the training must be to produce thought, responsibility and initiative. The course must give the student a point of view in regard to his work. It must provide an elementary philosophy of the education to which he will devote himself. A teacher ought to know what he is doing, what he is aiming at, in his village community. So his training must include discussion of the rights and wrongs of native custom, the support which schools can give to native industry, how education can affect the homes of the village. As we said earlier, he is to be a leader in the community, and for that purpose his thought must not be bounded by the four walls of a school. His view is not that of a pedagogue, ' doing subjects,' but of a keen and understanding student of his own people at their particular stage, thinking of the line of progress, remembering the past, and trying to see how the life of the

villages is to be reconstituted by new intelligence, skill and information, and what contribution his school can make to this end.

While most of the requirements we have sketched are qualities of personality rather than mere book-learning, we cannot burke the fact that these are seldom found apart from an educated mind, and that the best results cannot be expected from teachers whose academic studies have not gone beyond the standard of the village school. Experience in India and elsewhere shows that to attain satisfactory results a teacher should have completed at least two grades beyond the highest which he is expected to teach, and should, in addition, have had two years' specialized teacher training. The two years' work for higher school standards as well as the teacher training may be given at the normal school or training college. In the present circumstances in Africa so full a course may not always be feasible, but it may nevertheless be set down as a definite aim. No teacher can be considered qualified to teach unless he has devoted some time to the mastery of the art of teaching; no amount of study of the subjects of the curriculum can take the place of study of the child and the presentation of those subjects to him. Therefore, if it should ever come to a choice between the study for passing a higher school standard and practical training for the teaching profession we consider that the latter must be preferred. Special care will be required, however, with less advanced students to prevent the development of a wooden formality of mind.

Since the task of the teacher in a village school is to train his pupils in a Christian way of life, and since in carrying out this task example is greater than precept, the course of training must aim at foreseeing the spiritual growth of the students and strengthening their Christian character.

The training course should include the following:

Practice-Teaching. The specialized training for teaching should revolve largely round practice-teaching. The student

should have practice in teaching lessons prescribed, worked out beforehand and related to the instruction in method and subject which is received at the normal school. But mere practice is not enough. He should give some of his lessons in the presence of his teacher, receiving criticism and individual help in his technique. Where possible the rest of the normal class should be present and discuss the lesson fully afterwards.

Subjects of the Village School Curriculum. The subjects to be taught in the village school must be studied from the beginning from a new angle; reading, for example, would begin with the introduction of the child to the 'written word,' and show how to teach the skill of reading at every stage; arithmetic would take the introduction to the idea of number, the formulation by the students of real arithmetical problems arising out of the life in the villages, how to lead the children on from one process to another and drill them in each; and so through all the subjects of the village school. These will vary slightly according to the government requirements in the different colonies, but they will always include the teaching of religion (as well as personal advancement in the Christian faith), the use of language, the beginning of reading, writing and number, nature study, hygiene, handwork and games. In every case the subject-matter will be treated as material for teaching, to be divided up into lessons for village classes. In treating it in this way the teaching method is constantly involved and each lecture leads inevitably to the practising school for proof and criticism.

School Organization. School organization is another necessary subject for a teacher who, in a single teacher school, will be responsible for children in several different classes, and it should be possible for the student to have practice, during his course, in teaching under the ordinary conditions which he will have to face when he goes out. He should know how to keep order without tyranny and have mastered the details of attendance rolls and the necessary returns.

Other Studies. If the teacher is to be what we have pictured him, his training must include much more than the technique of teaching. He must study the history of his own people, their customs and the organization of society; the obligations and duties of the old days and of the new; the development and needs of his own country. His study of agriculture and crafts will not be fully effective unless he knows how products can be marketed—what means of transport are available and how steps might be taken to improve them, where tools and other supplies can be procured. He must know where such books as are available in the vernacular can be bought and what sources of news are trustworthy, for he must himself be in touch with the outside world if he stands as its representative in the village.

It is most important that during this course the prospective teacher shall be free to give undivided attention to the task before him, for the intellectual content of this work is new to him. He has to adapt himself to a new standpoint and all his energies will be required to meet these new demands.

Training of this kind cannot—particularly while the ideas in general are strange and new—be given to large numbers of students, and it may in some cases be desirable to keep the training college small, to concentrate on a small area and prove the new ideas by practical demonstration.

It is of the greatest importance that any institution for the training of teachers for rural areas should be placed in a rural environment where there is access to the land, where the prospective teacher is not too far removed from the conditions in which his work is to be done and where he can have practice in teaching and managing an ordinary village school.

We may seem to be content here with a very low standard of attainment as regards school subjects, but we recognize that this is a temporary measure. Standards will be continually revised and steadily raised as education develops.

At the present moment we are faced with a demand which far exceeds the supply and must take such steps as are possible.

THE TRAINING OF WOMEN TEACHERS

The education of girls in Africa is less widespread than the education of boys, and yet it is of even greater importance for the future of the country. Special attention should therefore be devoted to its development, but it can never be considered apart from the policy for education as a whole. Most of the foregoing is applicable to the training of women teachers, with the necessary adaptations to the conditions of a woman's life. In present circumstances the main reliance must still be placed upon the woman missionary, though every effort should be made to arrange for the service of educated girls as teachers, even though they can be expected to give only a few years' service before marriage.

Local circumstances must decide whether a normal college for girls is possible, or whether they must be trained in small numbers in the local boarding-schools. In some places, where girls have had preliminary academic training up to the same standard as the boys, they can be trained along with them in teacher-training classes. Such an arrangement may not always be suitable, but it has certain advantages apart from the saving of expense; the chance of meeting and working with educated persons of the opposite sex, both African and foreign, is beneficial to both the boys and the girls. The training courses would not, of course, be identical in all points, but would be adapted to the future needs of the pupils.

Where it is not yet possible for an unmarried girl to teach in a village she can give help in boarding-schools along with western women. A trained woman who marries a teacher can find a valuable sphere in the village, even though, while her children are young, she will not be able to give regular teaching in school. The teacher's own home,

his garden, his house, his children, if unsatisfactory, may neutralize all that he teaches in the school, whereas if he and his wife are working together to make a really Christian home, their example will be far more potent than any precept.

Some help may be given to a teacher's wife who has had no training if she comes with her husband to a 'refresher' course, but it is only if she has had some previous education that any considerable results can be expected from such a course.

For a long time in many districts little village girls will receive their schooling with their brothers, and this should be borne in mind in the training of village teachers.

It must be remembered that the teaching of small children demands special qualities in the teacher. In England a specialized training is given for this work and it is done entirely by women. This is impracticable at present in a great many places in Africa, but special kindergarten training will have to be included in the future as a part of any scheme.

LANGUAGE OF INSTRUCTION

The language of instruction in teacher-training classes must depend on local conditions and on the requirements of Government. The principle which must always be kept clearly in mind is that (as stated in the memorandum issued by the Advisory Committee of the Colonial Office) 'if those who are being taught are to remain in touch with their communities and become in any true sense the leaders of their people, it is an essential part of their education that they should be able to reproduce and express in the vernacular the new knowledge of which they are the privileged recipients.'[1] It is essential that the teacher should understand and completely assimilate the new ideas on the training of children and the function of the school; he cannot easily

[1] *Education Policy in British Tropical Africa.* Memorandum submitted to the Secretary of State for the Colonies by the Advisory Committee on Native Education in the British Tropical African Dependencies. Cmd. 2374. 1925.

translate into his own language what he has learned solely through the medium of English; where, therefore, the teacher is to teach in the vernacular in a village school, his own training should be given him in that language, and careful drill in the use of his own language should be regarded as an essential part of his intellectual training. Most African vernaculars, however, are still poorly provided with literature, and the teacher will usually have to know either an African *lingua franca* or a European language, in order that he may have access to wider sources of knowledge.

In some parts of Africa the *lingua franca* or the European language is one of the subjects in the curriculum of the village school. In this case, as in the foregoing, the second language should be a subject of careful study and practice in the training college. The best methods of language teaching should be used and the teacher should himself be trained in the use of such methods, but the language would not be used as a medium for instruction in other subjects.

Where a training college has to serve several small language areas the whole training of the student will be given in a *lingua franca*, with such recourse to his vernacular as may be necessary to ensure that points are fully grasped. Such an arrangement may not be ideal, but the difficulty of reproducing and expressing in another African language what has been learned in a language of African origin is not so great as when the teaching has been given in a European language. Where the Government requires that teaching in the village schools shall be given in the *lingua franca* the same arrangement will be necessary.

WESTERN STAFF

If training of this kind is to be given to the African teacher it should be done by trained educationists giving their full time to this work. This undoubtedly presents difficulties for most missionary societies. Relatively few of those now engaged in the training of teachers would be

qualified to give the kind of training described above. A certain amount of reorganization and centralization may make it possible to use the present staff to better advantage, but some cases will remain where this cannot be done and where the numbers are not likely to justify special staff. Nevertheless it must be recognized that, although remarkable work has been done by overworked missionaries with no preliminary training, the best results cannot be expected until specially trained men and women are set free to devote their whole energies to this task. There is no part of the missionary enterprise which does not involve the teaching process, not even medical, and least of all 'evangelistic' work. When this is realized no missionary will be sent abroad without some idea of how people learn and how they can be helped to make new ideas their own. For the present, however, the first step is to secure that those in charge of what is ordinarily called 'educational work,' and in particular the training of teachers, shall be fully trained for their task, and that those whose initial equipment is inadequate shall be set free during furlough for special study.

MAINTAINING EFFICIENCY

After the initial training of the teacher comes the problem of maintaining his efficiency. The foreign teacher can keep alive mentally and in touch with progressive thought by reading journals and books, by conference with other teachers in the country and by furlough study. The African teacher has few of these advantages, and without such stimulus much of the value of his initial training may be lost. The rural teacher, whether fully trained or entirely untrained, must have help to maintain his mental vigour and improve his qualifications. No college course or certificate can protect him against the effect of isolation in a village where there is little or none of the stimulus which comes from contact with other trained minds, and every influence around him tends to discourage effort and to dim

ideals. The visiting teacher, described in more detail in the following section, is as useful here to keep alive the trained teacher as to help the untrained man. Where it can be arranged, the head, or some member of the staff of the training institution, might spend a certain part of the year in visiting his or her old students at their work. Knowing the faults and difficulties of each he will be able to be of more help to them than anyone else.

It is as necessary for the visiting teacher as for the ordinary teacher to keep in close touch with the training centre. He should come back for a short refresher course at least once a year ; if his initial standard of attainment is low he should come more frequently still.

Some missions definitely maintain a scheme of recurrent training. After one year's course the student is sent out to teach for two years, then brought back for another year of training and so on. Variations of this plan have been found successful in different areas.

Teachers' associations which meet regularly for discussions are stimulating, and create an *esprit de corps* in the teaching body. In summer schools or teachers' conferences teachers from different districts can meet and compare notes.

Teachers' libraries and teachers' journals have been instituted in some colonies and are most useful for both Africans and foreigners where they are practicable, but they cannot entirely take the place of personal contact with other live minds.

VISITING TEACHERS

The visiting teacher, or Jeanes teacher as he is often called, is a most important factor both in maintaining the efficiency of trained teachers, and in improving the work of those who have not had a regular course in a normal college or class. He is allotted a district of such a size that it is possible for him to spend two days to a week in each school every month, or at least once in two months. In his visits

he follows a definite programme to help the teacher, not dropping hints and suggesting improvements all round, and so confusing the man he wants to assist, but sticking to one thing or a few things which he follows up at his next visit. Thus he tackles a particular subject, imparts information for some definite purpose, or devotes himself to some feature of management or method in the school till his teacher-pupil has learned it thoroughly. In all such work the visiting teacher aims at making the teacher his most fervent ally in the improvement of his school.

The men selected for visiting teachers must have had considerable experience themselves as village teachers and have proved themselves capable, self-reliant and trustworthy. The time is not yet ripe in most places for the employment of African women for such work, but this depends more on local circumstances—the general attitude (both African and western) towards women and the opportunities for education which they have had—than on the age and development of civilization.

The training of the Jeanes or visiting teacher should refresh his knowledge of modern educational methods and develop his ideals for the village school along the lines suggested here. He should have definite training and practice under supervision in helping and tactfully guiding village teachers, with opportunity to discuss mistakes and failures. The extent and adequacy of his previous professional training and academic knowledge will determine how much of such work will have to be repeated in the Jeanes course.

THE UNTRAINED TEACHER—A TRANSITORY STAGE

While the basic training of the teacher can undoubtedly best be given in a carefully planned consecutive course, lasting at least two years and usually continuing directly from the school course, the missionary societies have very frequently found it necessary to send men out to take charge

of pioneer village schools without any training for teaching at all. Such teachers have often done exceedingly good work considering their limitations, and missions cannot do without them as ' pathfinders.' But the value of such men of sterling character and natural gifts must not blind us to the fact that there are also quite definite possibilities of harm in ' schools ' run by untrained ignorant men. Bad discipline, and the rule by fear often involved in it with no bad intentions on the part of the teacher, may mean the formation of bad habits, driving away anything like a real Christian atmosphere ; the mechanical monotonous cramming of unrelated facts may deaden and close the children's minds instead of opening them to new ideas. The untrained teacher is largely responsible, too, for the dangerous idea that education and ' book ' are synonymous terms. But while the dangers cannot be ignored we have to reckon with the fact that with the limited resources at present available it is not yet possible to reach the standard desired in any but a relatively small number of schools. Nevertheless, these weak schools struggling slowly forward may, and frequently do, accomplish results of some real value. The teacher may be a simple unlearned man, yet he is living a Christian life in the midst of the village and his neighbours cannot but be stirred to questionings, if not to imitation, by his example. His teaching of the three R's may not do more than suggest the possibilities of such accomplishments, but it also introduces the idea of discipline and ordered work towards an end both in lessons and games. Systematic and sympathetic supervision is always required.

Various measures have been taken to give these bush teachers some training and help while they are at work. When they are near to a station with a responsible trained teacher (either African or western) in charge they are gathered at regular intervals, sometimes once or twice a week, sometimes once a fortnight or once a month, for instruction and guidance. The teachers either come in the afternoons or the school week is arranged to suit, school

being held on certain days only. Such a course must be carefully planned to include: (*a*) preparation of the work for the coming week, going over the ground to be covered in each class; (*b*) the study in detail of one special lesson to be given during the week—both subject-matter and method of teaching; (*c*) discussion of difficulties and problems which have arisen in the various schools, both as regards school organization and relations with the village, and the needs of individual pupils; (*d*) a regular course of Bible study.

Incidentally the special lesson as well as the course of Bible study will be the means of helping the students to the acquirement of new knowledge for themselves as well as for their classes, but all will be centred round their work for their school and village.

Where the villages are too scattered to allow of teachers attending classes so frequently, an attempt may be made to bring them in once a quarter for a week's instruction, the time-table and courses being most carefully planned to secure their gaining the maximum of help, mentally and spiritually, from their sojourn at the station and also from the contact with their fellow-Christians and fellow-teachers.

Valuable help can be given in these circumstances by the visiting teachers who visit the school at regular and frequent intervals, staying for several days with one teacher or collecting one or two from neighbouring schools at an out-station. In the Universities' Mission this work is most successfully done by trained European women teachers; it can also be undertaken by African men. Such training is slow and uncertain when there has been no preliminary foundation of concentrated and consecutive study, but in skilled hands, when each visit is a part of a carefully planned scheme of training, it is possible by this means for a 'bush school' teacher to work for and obtain the government teacher's certificate. A teacher who succeeds in this may be rewarded by a regular course of study at a school or

college, increasing his academic qualifications and proceeding to the higher grade of certificate.

LIMITATIONS OF THIS STUDY

This memorandum is deliberately confined to the village schools in rural areas. It does not attempt to deal with the particular problems of the native towns of West Africa, nor with urban areas and those districts where the foreigner dominates the life of the community and tribal or village life is broken up. It is recognized, nevertheless, that the influence of these areas on rural districts is by no means negligible, and that in them special effort will be necessary to strengthen for these *déracinés* the weakened link with the past and with their fellow-countrymen, and this, not as a turning back from progress, but as a rooting in the soil to make growth and progress healthy and safe.

The higher stages of education are also deliberately left for further study.

No discussion of the training of teachers from the missionary point of view can be complete without treating the question of finance. In many places the missionary societies could not pay the salaries of a large number of certificated teachers, even if they were available, and such salaries are often far in excess of those of the preachers in the same district. The question has been discussed once by the group and will be dealt with again in detail. It is therefore deliberately omitted at this stage.

THE MISSIONARY EDUCATION WORK OF NORTHERN BAPTISTS

By WILLIAM A. HILL, D.D.

THE invitation to prepare this article specified a practical study of missionary education at the home base, and this statement, therefore, is not a discussion of theory but rather an exposition of the plan and method employed by Northern Baptists in missionary cultivation, through the Department of Missionary Education of the Board of Education. This Department, now concluding its tenth year, has six objectives vital to its program: The training of boys and girls in the world interest ideas of Jesus Christ; the preparation of seminary graduates in the missionary program and objectives of the denomination; realization by all age groups of the essentially missionary character of Christianity; a more sympathetic and intelligent denominational acquaintance with past and present missionary achievement; a denomination awakened and aroused to the meaning of Jesus' program of world friendship; and the evangelization of the people of all races everywhere.

The missionary undergirding of our denominational life calls for renewed emphasis on the missionary motive as inherently Christian. It is not the printing of pieces of attractive missionary literature—a sort of patchwork without purpose—but it is the continuous emphasis upon well-established programs and methods of missionary education in the local church that leads to the formation of educational habits.

We are increasingly convinced that missionary education which seeks to make vital the missionary motive is not so much an aspect of religious or social education as it is comprehensive of them. The missionary motive must result

in missionary conquest; missionary education, therefore, must be actively aggressive in its effort to broaden the horizons of human fellow-feeling and to strengthen the grip of Christianity on the thinking of the whole world. Any definition of our task that is less inclusive is not in accordance with the New Testament emphasis and program. The utterances of two outstanding Baptists, a theologian and a former secretary and statesman, express this conviction.

> Christianity is fundamentally missionary. By this we mean that the missionary ingredient is an original, essential, necessary and indispensable major element in it; that the missionary spirit is no offshoot or by-product, but belongs to the very central core of our religion; that Christianity is not itself without it; the professing Christian, who does not see and feel this, has yet to learn what real Christianity is (Frederick L. Anderson).
>
> Our interest in missions measures our Christian character. Our knowledge of missions measures our Christian attainment. Our participation in missions measures our Christian efficiency (Henry C. Mabie).

Broadly speaking, there are at least two types of missionary cultivation. One is highly organized, timed to the achievement of a great financial objective. It utilizes the more spectacular features of missionary work, is under the constant temptation to make use of high-pressure methods, to indulge in inordinate publicity, and to emphasize certain facts out of proportion to their relative importance, for the sake of reaching somehow the objective in view. This type of missionary promotion, however important or successful it may be, is after all in the nature of an expedient, and one of the dangers attending it is the need for readjustment without loss of power when the objective has been reached or when it fails.

Some, at least, of our denominations have for too long a time placed missionary education on a promotional basis. While it is difficult to draw the line between missionary education and missionary promotion, yet there is always the danger lest missionary education be deprived of its largest and most effective service if its policies are controlled by financial considerations. Missionary education should be so

correlated in the denominational scheme that it may have liberty to function freely and without the embarrassments of financial pressure, if it is to do its work thoroughly and well.

The other type of missionary promotion should be even more carefully organized, setting itself to a long-range task, and building its program upon foundations not subject to violent disturbance. It emphasizes the importance of the fact that the study method is as serious in acquiring missionary information as it is in acquiring secular information. It applies sound principles of education to the furtherance of the missionary enterprise.

The first type of missionary promotion is calculated to deal largely with the present generation, and its methods are suited to that purpose. The other type of promotion is built for long-range results, and must take into account the oncoming generations, and the painstaking cultivation among our children and youth of a sympathetic, natural and normal attitude toward missions as inherent within the New Testament and necessary to the life of the world.

The time is nearly if not already past when a denomination can successfully promote a great financial campaign without a maximum of attention to educational methods. The hortatory appeal and the inspirational address, so necessary on occasion, cannot continuously be offered as a substitute for a real acquaintance with missionary facts and literature. Nothing is more urgent in the life of each of our Christian communions at the present moment than a quickened sense of the importance of missionary intelligence, if we are to secure and hold the attention and support of our larger constituencies for a program of world advance in Christian missions.

It is more unfortunate that there are so many persons within each denomination who have to be converted twice —once to make them Christian, and once to make them missionary-hearted. We must somehow so build our missionary education plan that when a person is converted to Christ it will not be necessary later on to use high spiritual

explosives to awaken in him an interest in the cause of missions. This all means that our missionary promotion must reach into the Sunday school and young people's areas, and if it does it must be first of all educational.

In order to secure results most likely to endure, the Department, in building its plans, has taken into account existing agencies, and their hearty co-operation has resulted in the following departmental organization.

The secretarial staff of the Department includes four salaried executives, two salaried field secretaries, an office staff of a salaried secretary and five assistants, and a staff of between fifteen and sixteen hundred field assistants working without salary in districts, States and associations, from the Atlantic to the Pacific.

The auxiliary agencies through which the Department is working and for which it has provided definite plans and materials are: The Children's World Crusade (boys and girls under twelve, with 60,000 members); the World-Wide Guild (young women and girls over twelve, with 55,000 members); the (new) Royal Ambassadors (young men and boys over twelve, with 8000 members); the Sunday school classes and departments (graded stories, studies, poster charts); the young people's groups; student groups; women's groups; and adult and general groups.

The societies and organizations with which the Department co-operates include: The missionary societies (home and foreign); the American Baptist Publication Society; State conventions and city mission societies; the Missionary Education Movement; the Christian Life Program for all Baptist young people; summer assemblies and conferences; teacher-training institutes; ministers' conferences; and theological seminaries.

The literature of the Department covers a wide range of interests, and is prepared on a graded basis, suited to the needs of rural, town, suburban and metropolitan churches. This literature provides for missionary reading courses for organized groups; missionary programs for organized pro-

gram meetings; mission study courses; church schools of missions; teacher training groups; and plays and pageants.

A 'costumes section,' with five hundred costumes of mission lands available at a moderate rental, is in constant use by the churches of the Northern Baptist Convention.

The space limits of this article require the omission of detail in many lines of work, but there are certain phases of our educational program to which we wish to call special attention. These are the church school of missions; missionary education outreach; the church missionary committee; missions in theological seminaries; the Christian training of boys; and a series of studies from records.

THE CHURCH SCHOOL OF MISSIONS represents an endeavour to engage the entire church in a serious study of some field or phase of the missionary enterprise, covering a period of from six to eight weeks. Graded class groups are organized and graded mission study text-books are used. Special features are introduced, such as the stereopticon, the pageant and addresses by missionaries and denominational secretaries. The school of missions is one of the newer methods in missionary education of great promise, and is being successfully carried on by many Christian denominations. The effect upon the local church is wholesome and stimulating.

Two illustrations are here cited, one giving a five-year record of a school of missions in a large city church and one in a small rural church. The Temple Baptist Church of Los Angeles, California, is in the front rank in denominational giving as a result of its thoroughly organized missionary education, and much credit is given to the school of missions. Here is its record:

Year	Total attendance	Highest	Average
First . .	2404	450	401
Second . .	2714	599	452
Third . .	4391	960	732
Fourth . .	5741	1142	957
Fifth . .	6325	1352	1172

The Baptist Church at Pullman, Washington, has demonstrated how a small church in a rural community can profitably use this educational method :

Year	Church membership (resident)	Average attendance school of missions
1922 . .	78	61
1923 . .	91	95
1924 . .	100	125
1925 . .	126	166
1926 . .	144	117
1927 . .	130	100

It will be seen that the average membership for the six years was 111, and the average attendance 110.[1]

MISSIONARY EDUCATION OUTREACH. An increasing appreciation of the value of missionary education as a basis for world service has resulted in a recent decision in several States to establish State departments of missionary education, supervised by trained and salaried directors. The activities of a large force of individuals rendering voluntary service is thus correlated and their energies harnessed for a State-wide promotion of missionary education intended to reach every church within these State areas. This new plan is jointly supported by the State organization and the National Department of Missionary Education. Goals of endeavour have been carefully determined, based upon experience and record, and the general plans already are operative.

THE CHURCH MISSIONARY COMMITTEE. As a means to this desired end literature has been prepared, calling for the reorganization of the church missionary committee, which henceforth will combine the educational functions with the promotional.

The missionary committee is a time-honoured committee in Baptist churches of the United States. Since it is the mission of the Church to give the Gospel to the whole world, the work of the missionary committee is regarded as central

[1] Outlines of these schools and other material quoted in this article will be furnished on request.

in the life of the church. Hence, it becomes increasingly necessary to bring this committee to its highest efficiency. The committee is representative of the church and its auxiliary organizations. The functions of this committee are as follows: To co-ordinate the missionary education programs of the church and of the auxiliary organizations, to avoid overlapping, conflict and the neglect of certain groups; to supervise the various missionary education projects provided for in the united program; to define the missionary policies of the church and present them to the church for consideration; to promote the adoption of an adequate missionary budget for the church, and to secure the proper emphasis upon missionary needs in connexion with the every member enlistment; to promote throughout the church publicity of the missionary program of the denomination.

The further development of this more intensive cultivation of local church interest is under consideration, with promise of success.

MISSIONS IN THE THEOLOGICAL SEMINARIES. After making several briefer studies of missionary courses in our theological seminaries, the Department secured the assistance of Professor K. S. Latourette of Yale, and of the Rev. Stacy R. Warburton, now of the Chair of Missions in Berkeley Theological Seminary, for the securing of data which would afford a trustworthy basis for an estimate of curriculum needs in the field of missions. The survey which resulted after this study has already been placed at the disposal of our seminaries. We have already been gratified at receiving some specific indications of desire to strengthen the missionary courses which are intended to equip young pastors to discharge their missionary responsibilities.

We believe a chair of missions should be established in each of our theological schools at the earliest moment, for the following reasons:

1. To give missions a place of dignity and equality with other departments of the seminary. We have given such a

place to the new departments of Christian sociology and religious education, almost every seminary having professors of these two subjects. It remains now to give missions an equal place of opportunity.

2. To make possible an adequate study of the curriculum from the point of view of the missionary needs of the student. This cannot be done by those who are interested primarily in other subjects, although their advice will be valuable. It needs some one definitely charged with missionary responsibility and who can give continuous study to the subject.

3. To provide the missionary courses required by those entering the pastorate. It is only in those seminaries that have a distinct department of missions and a full-time professor that full provision is made for the missionary training of prospective pastors.

4. To guide the training of those who are to enter missionary service. It is clear that a special course of this character needs a special department to plan it and to guide the students in their studies.

5. To provide facilities for missionaries on furlough to continue their studies along missionary lines, and to guide them in relating their studies to their missionary plans.

6. To guide missionaries on the field in continuing their studies.

7. To help pastors to continue their missionary studies and to aid the churches in their missionary plans.

The increase in courses in missions and increased attention to the subject are sufficiently satisfactory to justify a further study now being undertaken by the Department.

THE CHRISTIAN TRAINING OF BOYS is a development of great significance. For several years we have been seeking an effective method by which our boys might be given a real training in world friendship and Christian missions. In 1925 we built a body of educational material on the basis of biographical interest, and, encouraged by the experience of our friends in the south, we organized our boys in groups known as 'the Royal Ambassadors,' and provided for them

suitable organizational material. There are now more than 300 chapters of this organization, representing an actual enrolment of 4000 boys and an outreach among other boys' groups of an additional 4000. These chapters are found in 31 States and among 17 nationalities. There are foreign chapters in Burma, Porto Rico, the Philippine Islands and Canada, with promise of chapters in other countries. In each of the 31 States a High Counsellor, usually a pastor, is acting as a State secretary without compensation. Travel and incidental expenses are borne by the Department of Missionary Education. In addition, there are over 300 Chief Counsellors (local directors) in charge of these boys' groups.

A recent development of this work is worthy of special comment. The Boy Scouts of America, already endorsed by the Northern Baptist Convention, appreciating every effort being made by different religious bodies for the religious training of their boys, has expressed the desire that the Royal Ambassador program and materials should be made accessible to the Boy Scout troops in Northern Baptist churches. There are 1600 of these troops representing more than 30,000 members. A pamphlet jointly endorsed by the Boy Scouts of America and the Department of Missionary Education of the Baptist Board of Education is now in preparation and sets forth this new and happy affiliation. Credits will also be allowed in the Scout merit system.

One of the successful adjuncts to this enterprise is the summer camp for boys, having an educational program built on the idea of world friendship. For two years we have conducted a demonstration camp at Ocean Park, Maine, attended by two hundred boys from Baptist homes in New England and supervised by fifty Baptist pastors, serving on the faculty as teachers and living with the boys as pals. A camp is now in preparation for 1929. The educational program used in this camp has by request been used in thirteen other boys' camps across the country. Demands for the extension of this service are more than we can meet at this time.

It has been truly said: 'Give to our girls and boys a friendly acquaintance with the peoples of the world whom they will recognize as God's great family, and it will prove in later years a foundation for the great superstructure of world peace and Christian missions.'

STUDIES FROM RECORDS. This Department publishes each year the lists of books selected for reading courses. The following table shows the increasing numbers of readers. No account is here taken of those reading less than five books.

Year	Number of readers of five missionary books
1922–1923	6,262
1923–1924	7,888
1924–1925	10,143
1925–1926	21,319
1926–1927	35,994
1927–1928	44,102

The following two-year comparison will show how seriously the organized reading program is being followed:

	1926–27	1927–28	Increase
Number of churches co-operating in missionary reading	2,704	2,962	258
Number of persons reading five books	35,994	44,102	8,108
Total number of readers	137,907	148,294	10,387
Total number of books reported read	541,981	624,399	82,418

The local church support of a definite program of missionary education is further shown by the following comparisons:

	1926–27	1927–28	Increase
Number of churches represented in missionary conferences	1620	1815	195
Number of churches having missionary committees	1947	2195	248
Number of church schools of missions reported	241	287	46
Number of mission study classes	4946	6424	1478
Number of churches receiving the missionary education certificate awarded on standard requirements	815	963	148

Another local church method productive of practical results is the missionary program meeting, based on the current interdenominational mission study texts. By its use many persons, not readers or otherwise informed, are brought into touch with and become interested in the missionary enterprise. Later on many of these persons become members of mission study classes. The figures below will show this growth of interest :

Year	Number of meetings
1922–23	8,426
1923–24	12,183
1924–25	11,965
1925–26	20,767
1926–27	39,173
1927–28	41,063

The following figures show the increase in attendances, during six years, at summer conferences for leadership training :

Year	Attendances
1923	95
1924	108
1925	115
1926	131
1927	183
1928	284

The total attendance in the conferences of 1928 aggregated 13,662 persons, of whom 55 per cent attended mission study classes, as compared with 46 per cent in 1927.

These figures will indicate the growing appeal of missions in the thinking of students and of prospective leaders in local churches.

WILLIAM A. HILL

FOLLOWING UP THE JERUSALEM MEETING IN BRAZIL

By ERASMO BRAGA

IT is no easy task to pass on to a community scattered over an area larger than that of the United States the message from the Jerusalem meeting. A safe estimate of the number of persons who constitute the Protestant Christian community in Brazil is about one million, including children and adherents. The largest section of the community is the German, which outnumbers all the others put together. The German churches will be influenced by the leaders in Germany, as they have practically no contacts with the national Protestant churches in Brazil.

Isolation has been one of the characteristics of the spiritual life of Latin America. During three centuries Spain and Portugal jealously guarded their western dominions from the inroads of foreign thought, which was always suspected of heresy and treated as such. Protestant Christianity was introduced in the middle of the nineteenth century, each denomination organizing its own close community. Not till 1903 did the first National Protestant Congress meet, just when one of the largest communities was being rent by strife.

After the Panama Congress on Christian Work (1916), the co-operative movement was definitely organized to promote the spiritual unity of Protestant Christianity in Latin America, and to co-ordinate the forces on the field. The Committee on Co-operation in Brazil, affiliated with the New York Committee on Co-operation in Latin America, corresponds to the National Christian Councils of other regions. Through this Committee, the Brazilian Protestant communities have been provided with a medium for inter-

relation among themselves as well as for international relationships. In an environment adverse to them—both on the part of the dominant religion, Roman Catholicism, and of secularism, that great menace of this young continent—the Protestant communities of Brazil developed an inferiority complex. Small struggling churches, worshipping for the most part in poor buildings, they had no sense of solidarity with the millions who adore and serve Christ in the rest of the world, except for their relationship with the denominational missionary movements. Since 1924, however, and especially since the Montevideo Congress of 1925, Brazil has become vitally interested in the great Christian world movements.

Only against this background will it be possible to understand what meaning the Jerusalem meeting of the International Missionary Council had for the Protestant communities of Brazil.

To begin with, the inclusion of Latin America in the International Missionary Council has given us the sense of being no longer isolated, small organizations engaged in a local or regional struggle, but a part of the great Christian world movement. Among the three Latin-American members of the Committee of the International Missionary Council in the revised constitution proposed at the Jerusalem meeting, one represents Brazil, the Portuguese-speaking section of Latin America. This gives to the Brazilian churches a fuller sense of their privilege and concomitant responsibilities in international co-operation for missionary work.

Soon after the Jerusalem meeting, Dr Stanley Jones came to Brazil, under the auspices of the Committee on Co-operation in Latin America. He stayed but a short time in the country ; he visited only four large cities in the more progressive section. But, as a result of his visit, hundreds of Christian workers have been fired with a new enthusiasm for evangelism and impressed with the essential truth that our only message is Jesus Christ.

Religious education was one of the main subjects before the Montevideo Congress of 1925. Since the Jerusalem meeting, the National Council of Religious Education (Sunday School Union of Brazil) has been reorganized. The members of this Council represent officially five of the six large denominations which have joined the co-operative movement. Resolutions were passed by the National Convention on Religious Education held last December to carry out the ten-year programme recommended by the Continental Committee on Religious Education which met in Buenos Aires, in 1927. This calls for a number of new books, and involves the expenditure of £12,000 for the whole of Latin America. Rio de Janeiro has been selected as the site for the next convention, in 1932, of the World's Sunday School Association.

A live issue in Brazil is the problem of religious education in day schools and colleges, and the Federation of Evangelical Schools has appointed a special committee to study the matter.

Memoranda have been prepared for placing before the higher national councils or conferences of the several denominations and missionary organizations the questions in the Jerusalem findings which chiefly concern our work in this region. The suggestions made in the memoranda, to which the organizations are asked to give their approval, are as follows :

1. The ratification of the inclusion of Latin America in the International Missionary Council and authorization of the Committee on Co-operation in Brazil to confirm the appointment of our representative in the Committee of the Council.

2. An appreciation, in general, of what was done at Jerusalem, and a statement that the only message of the Church is the Gospel of Christ.

3. The presentation of Brazil to the International Missionary Council as a most favourable field for the study of inter-racial relationships, on account of the lack of race

prejudices and the great currents of immigration now flowing into the country.

4. The approval, in principle, of the plan to establish the Bureau of Social and Economic Research and Information.

5. The calling to prayer of the evangelical community, following the suggestions sent out from Jerusalem (*The World Mission of Christianity*, pp. 64, 85–6). The Call to Prayer has been translated and widely circulated. All over Latin America women of the evangelical churches have been organized into a continental prayer circle and follow the seven-point programme.

6. The issue of a strong appeal to the International Missionary Council and the mission boards for a larger number of foreign missionaries to share with the national churches of this country in carrying the Christian message, and in religious education.

7. The directing of attention to the growth of the Jewish community in this country and placing before the churches the duty of evangelizing the Jews.

8. The endorsement of the statement on war made at Jerusalem and a call to the churches to prayer for peace.

9. A request to missions and to missionaries on the field to issue a statement in reference to the renunciation of political and military protection of missionaries.

10. The issue of a statement and adoption of a policy on the relationships of the older and younger Churches, involving the principle of co-responsibility in evangelism.

When lecturing, preaching and speaking at round-table meetings, I have found that international co-operation in Christian work makes a great appeal to the Brazilian. Our greatest living historian, Rocha Pombo, after attending a service in a suburban chapel in Rio, at which an address was given on the Jerusalem message, remarked, 'This is an entirely new world to me.' Almost every man of education whom I have told of our experiences on the Mount of Olives,

and of the new bright visions on the horizon, has echoed that remark.

But it involves hard work to enlarge the vision of the Christian communities, to widen their heart in prayer and to make them understand that there is danger in self-centredness, that in the kingdom of God no one can live to himself or die to himself.

ERASMO BRAGA

A GERMAN VIEW OF THE JERUSALEM MEETING

By M. M. UNDERHILL, B.Litt.

UNDER the title of *Von den Höhen des Oelberges*[1] (*From the Heights of the Mount of Olives*) Dr Schlunk has edited a book written by the eight German representatives who were present at the meeting in Jerusalem of the International Missionary Council. The first three sections are devoted to a general view of the conduct of the meeting, and to the actual discussion of subjects, as well as to impressions of things seen and heard in Palestine apart from the meeting. The fourth section alone is dealt with here, as it gives expression to feelings and thoughts of which others, British and Americans in particular, should not remain in ignorance.

The section is written by Dr Schlunk himself, and is entitled: 'Kritische Würdigung der Konferenz' ('Critical Appraisal of the Conference'). He begins by pointing out the impossibility of really representing the missionary work of the world by a mere handful of two hundred and fifty people; for example, eight missionary professors and board secretaries could not adequately represent German missions; it was a case of choosing a few men in whom confidence was placed, and who had a knowledge of the facts, the difficulty of choice being complicated by having to choose men with an adequate knowledge of English. This proviso also complicated the choice of representatives both from continental Europe and from the East. It was more by chance than by intention, for instance, that the Christians from the younger Churches included a Batak. He was not sent by the Batak Church, but was there in view of his position in Java and his knowledge of English. This question of lan-

[1] Stuttgart: Evang.-Missionsverlag. Berlin: Furcheverlag. M. 6. 1928.

guage largely determined the Anglo-American character of the meeting.

Dr Schlunk continues, with regard to representation, that the congregations connected with German missions in India, China, South and East Africa were not represented by a single soul, native-born or missionary, and those sent by the National Christian Councils in the mission fields did not include representatives of German missions. The same was the case with the missions of other continental European countries. It was not only the language difficulty which strengthened the Anglo-Saxon preponderance at Jerusalem; more attention should in future be given to the fact that British or American influences are not the only influences working among Christians of the younger Churches, whose many-sided life should be taken into account. It was not to be expected, continues Dr Schlunk, that the Germans could contribute much, being so few in number, but he hopes in the future that such strong Churches as those of the Bataks or of the Kols, or such an outstanding group as that of the Lutherans in South Africa, should not be entirely overlooked. They have a contribution to make, and should be listened to, as far as the immense difficulty of choosing representatives makes it possible.

Dr Schlunk considers the programme, like the organization of the meeting, as good as it could be, the subjects chosen being those which commanded general interest. He compares the seven topics discussed at Jerusalem with the eight discussed at Edinburgh in 1910, and points out the changes in thought and in the actual situations represented by the changed emphases in the programme. But again, in the matter of the preliminary papers, he finds grave cause for criticism. A satisfactory solution of such questions as were determined for discussion demanded wide co-operation. It was to be regretted, therefore, he says, that there was an almost complete absence of continental European writers among those who prepared the preliminary papers. This was probably not intentional, but due to pressure of circum-

stances. Only those of Anglo-American missionary areas were trusted with the preparation of the official preliminary papers; no Swede, no German, no leader from any area where missions of continental Europe only are working. Though this was undoubtedly an oversight, it shows what care must be taken, in preparing for international meetings, to get a really international exchange of view. Dr Schlunk observes that this criticism is not altered by the fact that the *International Review of Missions* for January 1928 (prepared with the meeting in view) contained two articles on continental missions. The other 'international' articles all emanated from areas where British or American missions are working, and inevitably bore the characteristic stamp of their origin.

The Germans recognize their great need for co-operation in international conferences, yet do not feel that there are means really to satisfy their need, because the very essence of international exchange of thought is at the same time the cause of mental stress and turmoil. Immediately on entering an international Christian conference, Dr Schlunk says, the German feels that he is 'a foreigner,' although he may be conscious of real underlying unity. He learns there to know men whose faith and love bear so unmistakably the character of sincerity that he is drawn almost compellingly under the spell of their personality, and feels the deepest union with them. They are Christians, as he is, with their whole souls devoted to their Lord and Saviour, ready to put their lives at His service and to have all their words and thoughts utterly sanctified by Him. They have experienced sin and guilt, forgiveness and grace, and prayer is to them, as to him, the need of their innermost life—and yet a 'foreign' atmosphere prevails, and must prevail, because nationality and education, customs and manner of thought from youth up are different in different races. And so, even when similar thoughts, experiences and resolves move them and him, within and behind all lies that consciousness of being an alien, the knowledge, more instinctive than comprehended,

that he and they cannot mutually understand the depths of one another's being. Education, customs with regard to prayer, the very formularies of prayer—all differ; and so, above all, does theological thought, in regard to which the same expression for the same idea yet carries a different meaning with it.

This experience of being 'a foreigner,' Dr Schlunk says, he has felt in many conferences spread over many years; and it was the experience also of his colleagues at Jerusalem last year.

He continues: Consciousness of variation in types of Christianity is in itself enrichening; it leads a man of reflective and investigating habit to self-examination and to the penetration of another's mind, it reveals shortcomings to be made good and treasures to be won. But at this point lies a difficulty which can become a matter of conscience to the slow and sober German. He may be called on to agree to a resolution which is passed, knowing that others are using words in a sense quite other than that in which he uses them. For example, how often the Germans at Jerusalem were faced with the phrase: 'We are called to build the kingdom of God,' a phrase which is unacceptable to them. Dr Schlunk queries whether there is, after all, a great difference between the optimists who have such high ambitions and those (like the Germans) who feel that men, being powerless, are at the best only God's instruments for carrying out what He alone can bring to pass, but that there was a difference lying behind the whole expression of faith, which was not touched by the verbal uniformity secured, is an incontrovertible fact.

It becomes a problem whether it is possible to give one's consent to such formularies, without transgressing the law of truth: whether support should be given to those who uphold a view not held by oneself, at the risk of losing the best and deepest things of one's own religious inheritance. The danger is there, but the possibility of the mutual enrichment to be gained is worth taking risks for, and on the whole

Dr Schlunk feels it to be the right course to give such support.

Dr Schlunk quotes an opinion which has been expressed, namely, that it would have helped towards a better understanding if more attention had been paid to the Biblical foundation of the problems dealt with. He does not agree with this view, for in the interpretation of Scripture, and in Biblical conceptions generally, the whole of German education, expression of belief and religious habit come more into play than in any other realm, and the feeling of strangeness would not have been overcome. It needs a long time of living and working together to create a common basis of Biblical interpretation. Perhaps a reason for the differing view of the Bible is the different way in which it is used for devotional purposes. The Germans are not accustomed to devotional periods without a detailed, not to say minute, exposition of a Bible passage and its meaning in regard to the context and application; the English-speaking races read much longer passages from the Bible, which serve to lead the thoughts to united or to private prayer, but exposition is absent. Dr Schlunk thinks that each race could learn from the other: the Germans in the use of the Bible more as a whole, the Anglo-Americans in delving more deeply into its meaning word by word.

It will be understood from what has been said above that the differences of religious experience and of theological thought were acutely felt, as, for example, when the Reformed Church's concern with works met the Lutheran concern with faith, or when expressions were used such as 'the sacredness of personality' or 'the brotherhood of all mankind,' which in the German view are not scriptural, yet to which, nevertheless, they often had to subscribe, just because they saw the truth which underlay them not less than the risk involved, in accepting them, of appearing to give up some of the inherited treasures of their faith.

Dr Schlunk recognizes the possibility that the German delegates' mode of thought and expression were as dis-

turbing to others as theirs to the Germans, and goes on to say that he felt the above criticisms needed to be made, in order to show why resolutions taken at an international gathering can easily become compromises or ambiguous statements. He would not have such gatherings, however, approached with anxiety born of mistrust, for there is room for rejoicing that even with all the weaknesses and language difficulties so much can be accomplished. He then points out that decisions and resolutions can never solve problems, but only serve to point the way to action, and proceeds with comments on the different resolutions.

His criticism with regard to the subject of the younger and older Churches is that it is impossible to consider the gathering representative of Churches. Can 8 speak for the 200,000 of Japanese Christians ? or 35 for the 100,000,000 Protestants of North America ? or 8 for the 40,000,000 of Germany ? The idea borders on the grotesque. He reminds the younger Churches that the International Missionary Council is not representative of Churches, but of missionary movements within the Church, entailing the acceptance of responsibility for the expansion of the Church.

The German group repeatedly felt, during the discussions on industrialism, that they had been drawn into a debate on questions of social economy, for the solution of which they lacked knowledge of facts ; and as if the meeting were in danger of straying into territory with which the missionary task was not greatly concerned ; yet they could not dissociate themselves from measures suggested for protecting exploited peoples, nor accept the view that such work was wholly outside the missionary task.

It is not unlikely that the difficulties felt by Dr Schlunk and his colleagues were felt to be difficulties also by other groups or individuals at Jerusalem. As he points out, it is the very fact that men and women of a differing cultural and religious heritage must necessarily approach practically every question from different angles that makes international exchange of thought so valuable—even necessary—and at

the same time so difficult. But Dr Schlunk gives us a timely reminder that in such international gatherings the man or woman to whom not only the English speech but the whole British or American outlook is a birthright, may easily, howbeit unconsciously, dominate the thought of the meeting in an unfair way. We should be grateful for having this pointed out in so courteous and kindly a way.

M. M. UNDERHILL

COMMUNICATED TO THE EDITORS

(*The following has been received from Dr Weir, prompted by the Jerusalem meeting and by Dr Frimodt-Möller's article in our January issue*)

THE CHRISTIAN MESSAGE AND MEDICAL MISSIONS

ONE of the shorter reports accepted by the International Missionary Council at Jerusalem deals with medical missions. This subject was not included among the preliminary papers and agenda, but was brought to the attention of the meeting during its course.

This omission from the preparatory consideration is not altogether surprising, for it is common experience among leaders of missionary thought that medical missions are treated somewhat as a side issue, even those who value them greatly showing a tendency to overlook the subject unless actively associated in the work themselves. There are reasons for this. Primarily, there is the fact that the thought of the Church has not yet outgrown that attitude which regards medical work as a useful, pioneering auxiliary to the Gospel—an attitude effectively controverted by Dr Frimodt-Möller in the January number of this Review. Then there is the relative independence of this work in practice, and the small number of highly specialized missionaries engaged in it; facts which cut them off from the interests of others. Pastoral, evangelistic and educational work tend to merge into one another, and there can be, and is, a certain interchange of personnel between them. Just for this reason the potential competition of these activities, both for workers and for funds, keeps each in the forefront of the thought of all—while medical work goes quietly on its way, on a pitifully small scale, and, because it does not compete with other branches of work, tends to be forgotten by them.

Even when these, and perhaps other causes, are taken into consideration, it does, however, seem strange that the work of medical missions should not have been receiving more emphasis than it has

since the Jerusalem meeting, for it is not too much to say that its real place in the reports is fundamental. The most prominent outcome of that meeting has been the revelation, as the chief opponent of Christianity, of secular civilization, which is effectively attacking all existing religions. The present Archbishop of York emphasized the essential position of Christianity when he said : ' It is the glory of Christianity that it is the most materialistic of religions, not in being less spiritual than others, but in being so spiritual that it can face and claim to control the material world. Its basic affirmation is that " the Word was made flesh." '[1] Medical missions are the direct result of this affirmation and the method most particularly employed by our Lord Himself for the revelation of the divine character and for the expression of the claim to control the material world.

Moreover, medical missions form the natural point of contact between the spiritual and the material, for the essential element in the rising tide of secularism is science, and medicine is scientific. The enmity which was once supposed to exist between science and Christianity is now recognized as non-existent, but it remains true that for the most part science has about it something inhuman, something cold and calculating, something essentially material and, perhaps, inimical to the spiritual. This has been vigorously expressed by Rudyard Kipling in his poem, ' The Secret of the Machines.' In medicine science and the divine meet. The mercy, pity, peace and love of God are brought to bear upon the needs of man by means of science. It is striking to notice how medical practice brings out what is best in human nature, and how the doctor, even if his life be far from irreproachable, becomes a changed man when he is dealing with a patient. If it were the work of the Church to oppose and destroy science and material things, then indeed there might be no place in it for medical missions ; but we declare that it can face and claim to control the material world, and it has no other instrument to compare with medical work for that purpose. Both as the supreme means of manifesting Christ and as the method by which to penetrate and dominate the material world, medical missions must then be put in a foremost place in the thought and work of the Christian Church.

Further, the statement of the missionary motive formulated at the Jerusalem meeting says that the end of Christian missions ' is nothing less than the production of Christlike character in individuals and societies and nations through faith in and fellowship with Christ

[1] *Roads to the City of God*, p. 39.

the living Saviour,' and while there are many means of doing this, it is true to say that there is no better school of Christian character than work in the wards of a mission hospital, where young Christians are taught, and expected to render, simple service of a kind which does not come easy to them, in the Name and for the sake of Christ.

While much needs to be done to convince the older Churches of the true significance and place of medical work, there is still greater need in the case of the younger Churches, which took such a prominent place in the thought and conclusions of the meeting. It may indeed be doubted whether the idea of medical work as a function of the Church has yet begun to rise upon their horizons. They may recognize the utility of a mission hospital as a means of attracting hearers but there is still a widespread sense that it is just a desirable social benefit, provided by the foreign missionary for the use of the Christians. Could anything be more diametrically opposed to the real purpose of the work, or to the spirit of Christ which inspires it? True, the National Missionary Society of India has a medical mission, and the Anglican Church in Ceylon has started such work among Buddhists, but there is so far little attempt on the part of the younger Churches to undertake it, and the idea has been expressed by leading Christians that in due course mission hospitals will be handed over not to the native Church but, as in western countries, to the State.

There is perhaps room for discussion on this point, but there is all the difference in the world between a state or public hospital in a country which has, more or less, practised the spirit of Christ for centuries and one in a country with no such tradition. In any case it may be argued that in England the division of function between Church and State in this matter has gone too far, but even now medical missions are carried on in London. A strong case for the preservation of medical work by the younger Churches as an important activity has been made by Dr Frimodt-Möller, and need not be re-argued here, but there is need for careful and far-seeing thought to be given to this question, and to the formulation of a sound objective as to the place which medical work should play in church organization.

The problem of devolution of medical mission work has received more consideration in China than elsewhere, but in that country the thought has turned more on the aspects of finance and control than on that of personnel, which, as clearly shown by Dr Frimodt-Möller, is the more fundamental. Unless the younger Churches can staff the existing mission hospitals with doctors and nurses who are

able to carry on the work at a high standard both of professional efficiency and of spiritual life, the foreigner will still be required; and the raising of funds and development of administrative capacity are at present in a more advanced and hopeful state in the young Churches than is the production of suitable personnel. The failure of the younger Churches to produce doctors of the type needed is probably due in large part to a lack of understanding on the part of many medical missionaries of the importance of seeking to train missionary colleagues and not merely good assistants. An even greater factor would seem to be a widespread lack of a sense of vocation and of a desire for sacrificial service among Christian medical students. These are, of course, lamentably small even in Great Britain and America, but that fact does not justify resignation to their absence also in young and vigorous Christian communities. Perhaps one reason may be found, as far as India is concerned, in the fact that nearly all medical education there is in the hands of Government; for there seems to be rather more sense of vocation among the Chinese doctors educated at missionary medical schools. It is, however, essential that medical missionaries and all Christian leaders should give attention to this subject and seek to use every means to call out a true medical mission vocation on a wide scale.

The problem of the nurse is even greater than that of the doctor, for while there are many Christian Indians, Chinese and Africans who are good and devoted nurses, there are so far few who are qualified to be placed in charge of hospitals or to train others. Here, again, China is perhaps more advanced than other countries, but everywhere the recognized status of a nurse is still far too low, and as a result good material is hard to secure. It is probable that the nursing profession in these countries will only rise to its proper heights through the personalities of Christian nurses when the Church is able to train leaders filled with the spirit of Christ and professionally equipped to a high standard.

Let us then see to it that the true significance and the fundamental importance of medical work in the Church of Christ is never ignored or overlooked, and that all, both in the older and younger Churches, give themselves to more earnest thought and prayer that the way may be found and taken to use to the full the instrument which played such a prominent part in the earthly life of the Son of God.

HUGH H. WEIR

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

CHRISTIANITY AND THE HIGHER HINDUISM

Im Kampfe mit der Zauberwelt des Hinduismus: Upadhyaya Brahmabandhav und das Problem der Ueberwindung des höheren Hinduismus durch das Christentum. Von Alfons Väth, S.J. Berlin und Bonn: Dümmler. M. 7.50 und M. 9.50. 1928.

HERE we have from the pen of a German Jesuit, for many years a lecturer on the staff of a Bombay college, and a close student of Indian spiritual life, a study of that remarkable Indian seeker after God, Upadhyaya Brahmabandhav, in which new light is thrown on the crisis through which he passed and the problem involved in it; and the whole placed in the setting of the surging spiritual and religious tumult of the world of magic, as the rather inclusive and possibly misleading title of the book indicates.

In addition to general works upon the Indian environment and the biography of Animananda, which is still the principal authority, the author has drawn upon sketches by Khemchand Amritrai, Father Hegglin and Father van Nestle, and also upon Upadhyaya's own essays in the *Sophia*, the *Twentieth Century*, the *Examiner* and the *Tablet*, though these do not as a matter of fact modify to any large extent the accepted estimate and general picture of his life.

Father Väth first describes the encompassing world of magic in Hinduism, with all its briars and creepers from the primæval forest, its hierarchy of diverse gods, its secret cults and religious observances, its all-powerful caste system, its profound excursions into the philosophy of religion, its particular characteristics and the religious tolerance which cancels them out, its sects, its renaissance and its syncretism. Against this background the relations between Hinduism and Christianity are portrayed in their fundamental contrasts and apparent analogies, along with the hindrances to conversion, at least among the upper castes.

In this setting the author places his hero who, as an Indian, exorcized Hindu magic with Indian spiritual weapons, and yet ended in its clutches once more. The birth and family of Bhawani Banerji (his original name) are described, his spiritual and religious develop-

ment, his conversion to Protestant Christianity and then to the Roman Catholic Church (1891). Then follows a chapter on his work with his first scholars, converts with whom he marched singing and preaching through the streets of Karachi in his saffron ascetic's dress as a Christian *sannyasi*. In chapter V we have his apologetic work with his pen—on the positive side, in the presentation and defence of the Christian teaching, and on the negative, in the fight against orthodox Hinduism and its sects—and also by word of mouth on his preaching tours, which took him eventually from Haiderabad to Calcutta. This is followed by a sketch of his character, with its outstanding trait of love for men, for the Church and for his country, but also with its instability and emotionalism.

The author traces the metamorphosis back to the year 1898–99, when Upadhyaya traced out somewhat overbold plans, founding a Christian *matha* (monastery and missionary centre) and at the same time trying to strip the Christian philosophy of life (*Weltanschauung*) of its European and scholastic trappings and to wrap it in the Vedanta philosophy. Though these attempts may sound extreme we cannot pass judgment on the motive behind them by pointing to their novelty and danger, or to the religious meaning of the Hindu name.

Then came the clash with the ecclesiastical authorities in 1900, through the actions of the apostolic delegate, Zaleski, in forbidding Roman Catholics to read the periodicals *Sophia* and the *Twentieth Century*. In this matter the action of the hierarchy was upheld, chiefly because the two organs took too strong a position politically against England, which was friendly to the missions and at the same time against the Europeanism of the missionaries, but also because he had introduced into his theological utterances elements strongly savouring of Hinduism—an argument to which we should not like to subscribe too readily.

Then comes a digression on the episode of Upadhyaya's teaching at Bolpur and his relations there with the Indian poet, Rabindranath Tagore. In chapter VIII we follow the Indian Catholic on his travels in Europe in 1902–3, first to Rome where he only looked longingly at the Vatican, then to England where he lectured in Oxford, London and Cambridge on Indian thought, with the negative result that he returned to India more antagonistic than ever to European civilization.

Finally came what Animananda calls 'the last act of a heart-breaking tragedy'; how Upadhyaya carried on a school and planned

a national college, founded the Bengali paper *Sandhya* and threw himself into the whirlpool of political life; how he furthered the cause of Hinduism, as a true syncretist venerating and encouraging the worship of Hindu deities; how he toyed with the theory of the transmigration of the soul; in practice neglected his Christian duties and succumbed to the ceremony of *prayaschitta* (atonement), although at the same time his desire was to hold true to his Christian faith and to certain religious practices; how at last, in 1907, with the prospect of prison before him, he died in hospital after an operation and was cremated in Hindu fashion, but to the last did not give up his Christianity, and therefore surely found 'forgiveness for the erring of his last years and the way to the glorified Beyond.' We can only echo this hope, though we cannot shut our eyes to the fact that he really ended in the thrall of Hindu magic, and thus far the disapproval of the Church is comprehensible.

The last chapter closes the whole with a theoretical discussion of the possibility of the conquest of higher Hinduism by Christianity. First, the author again states the reasons for the difficulty of the task of converting India: on the one side, its intimate association with the Hindu religion and, on the other, the European character of the missions; then he shows the wrong roads to a reaction, in itself sound, which Upadhyaya followed by reason of his self-will and his adoption of Hindu elements. Thereafter he develops the sound principle that Christianity must be in a measure Indianized (though not Hinduized) by clothing it in a dress of Indian culture; by the choice of form in presenting the Christian message; by the study of Hindu systems for information, arming for battle to meet the Hindu; and wherever possible, by Christianizing the Vedanta. Finally, Father Väth describes the actual efforts and plans for a solution on the Catholic side on the part of Upadhyaya's followers, particularly Animananda, but also by the Brahman colony of Trichinopoly, by the Jesuits in Calcutta (especially by the magazine, the *Light of the East*), by the Congress of Madras and the plans for religious orders suggested by Animananda and Zacharias.

Even if we are not willing to adopt the whole position of the author, particularly in regard to outward 'accommodation,' we must regard these principles in general as valid, and must therefore treat Swami Upadhyaya as their great pioneer, even though he was often mistaken and also misunderstood.

MÜNSTER J. SCHMIDLIN

A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF RELIGIONS

VERGLEICHENDE RELIGIONSWISSENSCHAFT. Von D. Dr HEINRICH FRICK. Berlin und Leipzig: de Gruyter. M. 1.50. 1928.

IN a small volume of only 134 pages the author provides a most useful guide to the comparative study of religions, which is marked by German thoroughness and orderliness; it provides not only the skeleton of the study, but in its illustrations from the religions clothes the bones with flesh.

In this country, where the most objectionable name 'comparative religion' has got such a footing that any exposure of its obvious absurdity for any accurate mind is not likely to effect its ejection, the purpose and the scope of this comparative study of religions has not been strictly defined, and the phrase has been used for any consideration, historical, psychological or philosophical, of religions other than the Christian. As it is not likely that this volume will be translated, an outline of its contents may help readers at least to clearer thinking on this important and interesting subject.

The place of this study in the science of religion generally is indicated in the introduction. The science generally deals with the two questions, the actuality and the essence of religion. With the first are concerned the history (special and universal) and the psychology of religion (individual and collective). With the second deal religious typology, or science from the empirical standpoint, and religious philosophy, or science from the normative standpoint. Typology is the task of the comparative study of religions. 'The organic structures of living religion are to be so explored from the point of view of homology and analogy that one comprehends typologically the *stadium* and *habitus*, the universal stage and the distinctive character of each moment in the universal history of religion' (p. 19). These terms need explanation. There is no homology between Christ and Gautama or Mohammed, as regards the significance of the founder for the religion; but there is an analogy between Christ and the Buddhist *dharma*, or teaching, and the Moslem *Koran*. We can speak of homology where there is identity of position or function, analogy where there is only resemblance. 'The *stadia* indicate what is horizontally common in different religions. Perpendicular to this, seen in the duration of the history, lies the distinctive of each particular religion, let us

call it *habitus*, which reveals itself through different *stadia* as an always similar distinctive character of a positive religion ' (p. 15). A comparison of two religions should yield a greater insight into the *habitus* of each, ' but also a survey of (*Ueberblick*) a succession of *stadia*, through which both have passed.' But this does not exhaust the study ; it leads, when followed to its end, to the original phenomena of religion, the fundamental structure of every possible religion.

Before dealing in the three sections of the book with the parallels (the convergence of *stadia*), the distinctive character (the continuity of the *habitus*), and the typological original phenomena, the writer gives his conception of religion, following Otto, for whom the Holy is central. Using as an instance Jacob's experience at Bethel, he finds in the account of it (Genesis xxviii, 17 ff.) the following elements, all relating to the Holy : experience, recognition, adoration and expression (a transformation of the life). ' The Holy is always at the same time attractive and repellent, bringing fear and making blessed ' (p. 21). This conception, however, he insists is the result of an empirical analysis, and must not be confused with the essence or the truth of religion in a metaphysical sense.

In the first section he deals with contemporary emergence of religions, uniformity in the modes of expression, the formation and consolidation, the contrast of the man conscious of a special call and the man pious in his calling, or the inspired and the official, reformation as a re-interpretation of tradition, expansion, decline. Limits of space forbid giving any of his most interesting illustrations. This morphological stage he distinguishes from the historical period and the phase in a universal development of religion.

In the second section Dr Frick compares specially the founders of Buddhism, Christianity and Islam, and the foundations they laid, also the mode of dealing with the human crisis (disease, fate or guilt), and the three roots of the conception of God in different religions.

In the third section he dismisses the typological original phenomena in three problems : ' In the expression in the history of religions, religion shows as an original phenomenon the catholic and protestant contrast. As experience, every religion stands under the polarity (religious-psychological) between the piety of faith and of mysticism. In its representations every religion must take account of the alternative of all symbolic knowledge, that is, a religious-philosophical decision between symbolism in space or in

time ' (p. 86). The discussion here is of special interest ; but limits of space forbid any details. I must content myself with most warmly commending this volume, combining wide learning, keen insight and fine feeling.

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MISSIONS AND THE SOUL OF A PEOPLE

L'AME DES PEUPLES À EVANGÉLISER : Compte-rendu de la Sixième Semaine de Missiologie de Louvain (1928). Louvain : Editions du Museum Lessianum. Fr. 15. 1928.

EVERY year there is held at Louvain a gathering of Roman Catholic missionaries, called the ' Semaine de Missiologie.' [1] The sixth gathering attracted five hundred missionaries of twenty-six different nationalities. The subjects of the papers read and of the discussions which followed bore on the theme which is the title of the report.

The treatment was characterized, in the first place, by a profound respect for and complete sympathy with Native peoples ; then, by a formal repudiation of European imperialism exercised at the cost of the very people to whom Christianity is to be taken ; and finally, by a conviction of the existing urgent need for creating and developing everywhere an indigenous clergy. The missionaries present pooled their experiences and did not hesitate to mention some which had been unfortunate. They considered that by a loyal recognition of their mistakes they were making the way ready for more efficient evangelization. Protestant missionaries in all lands and of all Churches should be interested in following their example ; while it is only just to recognize that they do not neglect opportunities of meeting and exchanging views, at the present time such meetings become more and more necessary.

Those who foregathered at Louvain this year were occupied chiefly with Africa, eight out of twenty papers dealing with Africans. China and India occupied a very small place. But this is not intended as a criticism. These ' missionary weeks ' are held annually,

[1] I cannot approve of the word ' *missiologie*,' which, being half Latin and half Greek, has a barbarous appearance. Its structure is as bad as that of ' *sociologie*,' and has the same defects. This unnatural marriage of Latin and Greek hurts one's ears.

and naturally are directed to one or another race or religion. Another year, what seems to have been neglected in 1928 will occupy a leading place.

The Roman Catholic Church renders a great service to science in the realm of its missions. The *Semaines d'Ethnologie religieuses*, which are also held annually, greatly enrich our knowledge of non-Christian peoples. My own opinion is that they are of greater value than the *Semaines de Missiologie*, their documentation being more penetrating and the influence of the scholar, Father Wilhelm Schmidt of Vienna, being felt to great advantage. The *Semaines de Missiologie* are, however, by no means negligible ; Protestant missionaries can glean from them much that is useful.

Among the questions treated last summer we single out the following : Is there anything to gain from grouping native converts into separate villages ? Is the African a child ? What are the innate qualities of the villager ? What are the characteristics of the Dahomeyan villager ? What is the intellectual, and what the religious, capacity of the Negro ? Each of the papers bearing on one or another of these matters was followed by discussion, of which a brief record is given. The papers and discussions do not add much to the knowledge which we already had ; recent theories concerning the psychology of these small human groups are not taken sufficiently into consideration. For example, the paper on the intellectual capacity of the Negro should have taken into account recent theories on his alleged prelogical nature, and should have discussed the theories of M. Lévy-Bruhl, which are widely known in the scientific world and not to be ignored.

One of the most original contributions was that of Father Pierre Charles, S.J., Professor of Theology and Missions at Louvain, on the subject : ' Are the Negroes suffering under the curse pronounced on Ham ? ' The learned historian proves that such an idea is absurd, first invented by certain writers and then included in a mass of beliefs repeated without examination. During the first Christian centuries the Negro was held in high esteem. When slave trading was established on the West Coast of Africa in the sixteenth century, no one had any idea of justifying this crime by the curse pronounced on the sons of Ham. The belief that any race had been destined for servitude had not even entered any mind at that time. But, in 1577, Jean-Louis Hanneman pronounced all Africans (and with them all the inhabitants of the Netherlands Indies, and even those

of India) the descendants of Ham, and all under the curse condemning them to servitude.

Is he the 'writer' who first invented this idea? If he is not responsible for it, who is? This curious problem has not yet been solved. Father Charles echoed an error quite sufficiently widespread in Roman Catholic circles, where it is affirmed that Luther, in his *Commentary on Genesis*, first propounded the theory that the black colour of Ethiopians was proof of the ancestral curse. Investigations prove that nothing of the sort is affirmed in the *Commentary on Genesis*. Luther never thought of, nor mentioned, Negroes; he believed and said that the curse fell on the Canaanites.

In studying the soul of a people one needs to appraise their moral riches, their religious beliefs, their capacity for art. That does not lead to the denial of the existence among pagans of a strong tendency to evil, nor of the heavy disability created for them by the absence of a Christian education. The real psychological problem consists in discovering what, at bottom, constitutes a bondage which the Native by his own efforts cannot break, but over which the power of the Gospel triumphs always and everywhere. It consists, too, in discovering what in the pagan's beliefs, customs and rites can serve as a pathway for the Gospel message and can help him to understand that message. This is brought out in the volume under review and in this lies its value.

RAOUL ALLIER

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THE ROOT OF PRIMITIVE BELIEF

THE SOUL OF THE BANTU. By W. C. WILLOUGHBY. Garden City, New York: Doubleday, Doran. $5. London: Student Christian Movement. 15s. 1928.

THE 'SOUL' OF THE PRIMITIVE. By LUCIEN LÉVY-BRUHL. Authorized translation by LILIAN A. CLARE. London: Allen & Unwin. 12s. 6d. 1928.

THESE writers do not use the word 'soul' in an identical sense in their titles. For Professor Willoughby it stands for what is deepest in the life of the Bantu of Africa. For Professor Lévy-Bruhl it has its ordinary theological meaning, and he puts it within inverted commas to indicate his conclusion that the Primitives do not believe as we do in a soul. 'Primitive,' it should be noticed, means here, as in the author's previous books, people relatively primitive, people of inferior culture.

Professor Willoughby has written a book which, as he truly says, is overdue. There are many descriptions of single African tribes, or groups of tribes, but no other volume that gathers together and compares the essential elements in the religion of the Bantu as a whole. By his long experience and his untiring diligence as a student of other men's work, Professor Willoughby is amply qualified to undertake such a task, and he has achieved it in a way that excites our warm admiration and gratitude. He incorporates the fruits of much original research. It is an interesting fact that Khama, chief of the Bamangwato among whom he worked so long, publicly appointed wise old men to instruct him in tribal custom and religion ; and these were not his only teachers. He promises a second volume dealing with nature-worship, the Supreme Being and other matters, if the present one pays, as we hope it will, the cost of production.

This instalment describes Bantu ancestor-worship. After stating that Bantu life is essentially religious, Professor Willoughby begins with a brief exposition of ' survival after death,' and ideas concerning the incarnate soul and the discarnate spirit, and goes on to consider the ways in which spirits of the dead are thought to reveal their will to the living. What events move the Bantu to seek the help of these divinities, and what can they do to secure their help ? This is the next stage of the enquiry, and here the author marshals evidence to prove how widely and deeply this religion permeates the life of the people.

In his preface he reveals his attitude towards the religious ideas : ' responses of the human spirit to the Eternal Spirit that broods over humanity.' In an introductory chapter he expounds the theme that ' a craftsman must know his materials as well as his tools.' An African missionary may be master of exegesis and many other useful tools, but he is not a craftsman in missions till he has made a profound and sympathetic study of the tribesman. It is sound doctrine and widely accepted ; when will mission boards put it into practice ? Professor Willoughby has provided a text-book which every candidate for African service should be bound to study. The final chapter on ' Ancestor-worship and Christianity ' sets forth the conclusions reached by this wise and zealous missionary. He duly points out the weaknesses of the religion, but concludes that as a pathfinder for the evangel of Jesus it is not without merit.

Professor Willoughby and Professor Lévy-Bruhl represent two

different schools of thought on ' primitive ' religion. The former, without proving it, asserts that Bantu religion consists of animism and ancestor-worship, taking animism in the older sense as the attribution of a living soul to inanimate objects and natural phenomena. Dealing with ' soul ' and ' spirit ' he uses animistic phraseology throughout. It is precisely this position that M. Lévy-Bruhl challenges. Drawing his materials from wider sources than Professor Willoughby (for he embraces all ' primitives,' not African alone) he conducts an ingenious and, to my mind, conclusive argument that at the back of all these beliefs and practices there is no conception of ' soul ' in our sense of the term, but something much more subtle and complex. How do these people conceive of the human individual ? This is perhaps the most difficult question that a student of these matters has to answer. I believe that M. Lévy-Bruhl comes nearer to the true answer than any other writer with whose books I am familiar.

To our way of thinking, however complex an individual may be, his primordial and essential characteristic is that he shall be one person. But the ' primitive ' has not this well-defined concept of individuality ; and so my old friend among the Ba-ila could say, ' I am my grandfather.' The individual is only himself by virtue of being something other than himself. Far from being one unit, as we conceive him to be, he is one and yet several at the same time. When missionaries teach Natives that man's nature is a dual one, they often approve : ' That is what we have always held.' But, says M. Lévy-Bruhl, missionary and Native are in reality thinking different things. To the white man's mind it is a question of dualism ; to the Native's of duality. The missionary believes in a distinction between two substances—one corporeal and perishable, the other spiritual and immortal ; and that these are separated by death, which releases the spiritual substance or soul, which is the real individuality. But such a conception, M. Lévy-Bruhl insists, is entirely foreign to the primitive's mind : he feels all things to be homogeneous ; all things possess not ' souls ' but, in varying degrees, the mystic properties which we ascribe to spirits alone. M. Lévy-Bruhl quotes my statement that among the Ba-ila I could find no word that could be translated ' soul ' ; I question whether any Bantu language contained an exact equivalent before the missionaries came.

I cannot follow M. Lévy-Bruhl through all his illuminating

discussion : the book must be read by all who wish to understand this interesting subject. I believe he speaks a true word when he describes as ' a symbiosis ' the relations between the living and the dead.

Edwin W. Smith

Walton-on-Thames

A FAITH FOR THE WORLD

A Faith for the World. By William Paton. London : Edinburgh House Press. 2s. 6d. 1929.

I REMEMBER some years ago reading a preface by Dr R. F Horton to a little book written by Dr H. B. Durrant, the present Bishop of Lahore. In this preface Dr Horton spoke of the new light upon old themes that was being given to those who were engaged in missionary work overseas. I have myself been surprised that as yet, apart from the comparative study of religion, so little great theological literature has emanated from the mission field. There has of course been excellent work done by men like Hogg, Larsen and Macnicol in India, and by Gairdner in the Near East, and there is a background of the mission field in some of the work of Rudolph Otto, Moulton and T. R. Glover and of many other theologians of the West. But on the whole I think it must be said that the clarification of theological thought and the originality in its expression which Dr Horton sensed as an inevitable outcome of missionary work overseas has not as yet been as conspicuous as we expected. As a matter of fact the reasons for this are fairly obvious : In the first place there has been a great deal of original work that has had to be done in study of the great ethnic religions before much in the way of generalization was possible, but the chief reason is that the missionaries have been far too overworked in their regular duties to be able to find time to write ; and that is not one of the minor evils that have resulted from the inadequacy of the home Church's support of missions overseas ; it is one of its major evils. The loss is in some cases irreparable. Those who might have helped us by their writing have passed on.

Signs, however, are not wanting that the great theological literature that we expect from the mission field is, so to speak, on its way. And this little book is, as I believe, a precursor of a great school of

theological literature which, emanating from Africa and the East, is destined greatly to stimulate the theological thought of the western Churches.

I have no hesitation in saying that in *A Faith for the World* William Paton has written one of the most remarkable books that have yet come to us from the mission field. Its author would be the first to admit, and indeed would rightly glory in the fact, that his book was very much the product of the group spirit. Its real greatness in fact (and it is a great book) is that it succeeds in faithfully revealing the group thinking that emerged in the Jerusalem meeting of the International Missionary Council, Easter 1928. As William Paton set out to write this book, I presume that what he did was to attempt to discover within himself the impressions that were left on him by what was said and done at Jerusalem. When I read his book I discovered that his impressions were precisely mine, and I shall be surprised if the same conviction is not arrived at by everybody who reads this book who was with us at Jerusalem. If this be true it would seem to me to be almost as high praise as it is possible to give to a book of this character. It implies that its author was so much in the heart of all that was taking place at Jerusalem that he was really able to separate the general from the particular and the important from the unimportant and to lay bare before all of us the ideals and aspirations that really mattered, and that were consciously or unconsciously influencing all of us who were there. By means of this book we are really able in imagination to take those who were not with us right into the very heart of our fellowship and thinking there on the Mount of Olives ; and if the members of the Churches, East and West, would only allow themselves through the instrumentality of this book thus to be taken, the results might be incalculably great.

The range of the book is necessarily as wide as the range of our programme at Jerusalem. The author starts with an impression of the world in which we live to-day, and he frankly faces the problems which Christianity meets in its claim to be a universal religion. Here is his summing up of the criticisms by the men of to-day of the world-wide Christian mission :

> Man, by his own efforts of mind and heart and will, can redeem himself and the order of his world. Science will patiently discover the truth about the material world in which man lives. Education will strike off the fetters from the human spirit and set the children free to realize

themselves. Economic study will find the solution to the problem of riches and poverty. Medical and other technical sciences will abolish physical misery. Art and letters will uplift the soul by the contemplation of absolute values. Such an enterprise as the Christian world mission must then seem to the scientist to be irrational, to the educator a thing savouring of the old authoritarianism, to those versed in economics irrelevant, to the æsthete something vulgar, and, perhaps we should add, to the critic of organized Christianity an impertinence (pp. 20–1).

But he does not find it difficult to prove that however splendidly self-sufficient and modern this all sounds, it simply is not true. In point of fact the world must have religion. The real question is—what religion?

It must be universal in its meaning and power, for the world is becoming one society, conscious of common needs and speaking a common language. It must be able to do justice to the claims of the intellect. . . . It must be more than abreast of the best that men are thinking in the realm of morals. . . . It must touch the great heights and depths, not be chatty and thin and pedestrian and convenient, but such as to convince a man or a nation that it is a poor thing to gain the whole world at the cost of the soul (pp. 24–5).

And what does that mean if it does not mean the Christian religion?

In the next eighty pages he has, I think, achieved a remarkable presentation of the Christian religion as it does actually meet the needs of the world to-day. He really makes us see India and Japan and China, the world of Islam and Africa in their superb search for a religion that satisfies, and so helps us to realize the message of the Gospel in relation to the actual needs of all mankind.

The more carefully I have read these pages on the message of the Gospel the more I have become convinced that the home Church is, if it will allow itself to be, destined to be immensely helped by the kind of thinking that was developed at Jerusalem and which is continued by William Paton in this book. Take, for instance, his discussion of the disintegration of the great religions and the moral confusion of the West as well as East, with which chapter two closes. Is it possible that we are going to be helped in clearing up our moral confusions here in the West by our study of what is happening in the East? There are many of us who think so.

I hardly dare touch upon chapter three, entitled 'Lord and Christ,' because there is so much of it that I want to quote. This

chapter will, I think, give many thoughtful people a new conception of the Lordship of Christ, though the reader should be warned that there is more to be said upon the early Christian's use of the word '*Kyrios*' to describe Jesus than is referred to by the author on page 90.

From his discussion of the message, the author goes on to a discussion of the Living Society. The first chapter in this part of his book deals with the Divine Community itself. It is here that I would make the only criticism that I have to give of the general plan of the book. There seems to me to be an hiatus which is rather serious between his paragraph which deals with the nature of the Church and the succeeding paragraph which deals with the Church in the mission field, as though a whole section or even a chapter had been left out. I myself am convinced that our lack of realization, at any rate in practice, that Christian missions are nothing more nor less than 'the expansion of the Church' and that the Church 'is not simply an instrument which came into being because men found they needed it; it has arisen out of that very necessity in the nature of God which led to the Incarnation,' is at the root of much of our failure in missionary work overseas. And I should have liked to see a development of this thought with a view to preparing readers for the immense importance of the detailed statements which follow.

I think I personally am least satisfied with his statement of the racial problem. I differ from him. And he makes it quite easy to state that difference—that, by the way, is one of the supreme excellences of this book, there is no 'hedging.' He quotes the late E. S. Montagu as saying that 'there was in India no racial feeling between Indians and British, but that the feeling which undoubtedly existed was in its essence political' (p. 216). Mr Paton says that with this judgment he concurs. Well, I do not. I believe that the feeling which undoubtedly existed and still exists in India was and is in its essence cultural not political, and this difference between Mr Paton's thought and my own would make my statement of many of the things to which he refers in chapter eight somewhat different from his. I confess that I think it is rather serious in a discussion of this sort to minimize the enormous importance of cultural background in the creation of racial antipathy. As a matter of fact, in his reference to St Paul at the end of his chapter on racial problems, he has, almost as it seems without realizing it, stated the tremendous significance of cultural unification in the destruction of antipathy:

To Paul, Jew that he was, with his Roman citizenship and his Greek culture, other men were no longer Greek or Jew, Roman or barbarian, no longer inferior in culture or outside the chosen people by religion, or lower in political privilege. They were 'my brothers, for whom Christ died' (p. 236).

Yes, that is true enough, but it was not so easy to Peter, Jew though he was, without Roman citizenship and without Greek culture; and there is not much doubt as to which of the two was the better missionary.

I feel also, in the closing sentences of paragraph 6 of this same chapter, when the author deals with difference of colour, that he does not give fair weight to the possible biological significance of difference of colour.

One of the finest things about this book is that it does succeed in setting one to think. I feel convinced that on the whole its conclusions are right and that in it we have one of the most masterly interpretations of the world mission of Christianity that exists in the language. I wish some philanthropist would start by giving a copy of it to every minister of religion in my country and that his example would be followed elsewhere.

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ANCIENT CHINESE THOUGHT

A HISTORY OF THE RELIGIOUS BELIEFS AND PHILOSOPHICAL OPINIONS IN CHINA: From the Beginning to the Present Time. By LEO WIEGER, S.J. Translated by E. C. WERNER. Shanghai: Hsien-hsien Press. 1927.

ANCIENT CHINESE POLITICAL THEORIES. By KUO-CHENG WU, Ph.D. Shanghai: Commercial Press. $4. London: Simpkin. 16s. 1928.

IT is always a pleasure for the student of things Chinese to handle a book by Dr Wieger. His extensive work in sinology calls for the gratitude of all who are interested in the study of the language, thought or life of the Chinese. The book under review might be regarded as the crown of his work in sinology. For a scholar of his calibre this later work must have been comparatively easy, since

much of the material was already in hand, and could be rearranged and put to further use. Yet this work is not merely a repetition, in another form, of books already published.

In this book we travel through 4000 years, from the days when the Emperor of China was the 'father of his people,' down to our own days, when ideas with regard to authority, whether 'fatherly' or otherwise, have undergone a profound change.

We renew our acquaintance with the wise men of the Chou dynasty, with Confucius, with Lao Tzu and the Taoist fathers, and with Mencius; we see the beginnings of Buddhism and Buddhist literature in China, and follow the developments and changes in that system; we read of the introduction of Nestorian Christianity into China; of the new life brought into Confucianism through the work of the commentators; of its expanse through Chu Hsi; of its influence in Japan, mainly through the intuitive interpretation of Wang Yang Ming; of its official form under the Manchu dynasty. And all through the book the main questions which have captivated the minds of the Chinese are kept to the fore: the nature of man, ancestor-worship, heaven, divination, genii, survival after death, the wanderings of the human soul.

It would take us beyond the scope of this review to deal adequately with the various aspects of Chinese thought and belief throughout the period covered. We can only take one brief illustration.

The theory of the double soul of man is full of interest. Wieger reminds us, at the beginning of his book, of the well-known passage in the *Annals*, where, in reference to the death of the Emperor Yao, we are told that 'he ascended and descended,' i.e. that his superior soul (*hun*) ascended, while his inferior soul (*p'ai*) descended. But what are these two souls? Are they separate during a man's life, or do they become so only after death? Wieger follows up this subject through various texts. We are reminded of the belief that the inferior soul, also called the material soul, is formed first; the superior soul, also called the aerial soul, is only produced after birth, and little by little as the individual grows. Intelligence belongs to the superior soul, memory to the inferior. At death the higher soul is free, while the lower soul still clings to the body. In ancient times, when offerings were made before the tablets of the departed, the superior soul of the dead was called first from space, by means of music, while the inferior soul was called later from the depths of the earth, by means of the fragrance of wine. A number of extra-

ordinary tales are given, culled from texts of different epochs, showing how the superior soul can cause a dead body to live again, by returning into it ; or how the inferior soul can commit crimes which baffle the smartest detective. The student who has the inclination and the leisure will find it fascinating reading to follow this subject through the 77 Lessons of Wieger's book.

The author is not blind to the shortcomings of Chinese sages. Confucius is no inspired prophet for him, and Mencius is anything but a sound moralist. Eastern sages have often been a puzzle to western scholars. Even such a man as James Legge found it necessary to reverse completely his opinion concerning Confucius.[1] Wieger at times seems to be sure of his ground, perhaps too sure. He tells us himself that his book represents thirty years of researches and studies made in China ' with a view to the propagation of the Kingdom of God.' One does gather the impression that he is not only an interpreter of Chinese thought but also a defender of Roman Catholic doctrine. In his zeal for the faith, he is apt, at times, to do less than justice to the thoughts of these eastern seekers, who sought after truth without the knowledge of Christ's revelation of God.

The translation is well done. My first acquaintance with the book was when it was published in French some years ago, and in finding this old friend in a new dress I was glad to find that it was the same old friend. Mr Werner is to be congratulated on his fine achievement.

The second book deals with political theories which flourished in China during the three centuries which Dr Wu calls ' the golden age of Chinese philosophy,' namely, from 530 to 230 B.C. In order that we may be prepared for a closer examination of this period, however, we are first of all given, in chapter 1, a summary of the earliest political conceptions of China, mainly taken from the *Book of History*. Then follows a chapter on the *Constitution of Chow*, a document of doubtful value, both from the point of view of its genuineness and of the worth of its contents.

With the third chapter, Dr Wu enters upon the main field of his investigations. He surveys rapidly the social and political conditions of the ' golden age.' He reminds us of the collapse of the central imperial government ; of the downfall of feudalism, with the consequent ruin of the ancient aristocracy ; of the new states

[1] See Legge, *The Chinese Classics*, vol. i. *Prolegomena*. Cf. the edition of 1861 with that of 1893.

rising out of the ancient empire; and of the new power of the sovereigns. He tells us how the growth of large cities fostered trade, causing wealth to change hands, and also how education ceased to be restricted to the privileged few.

The author draws a parallel between this period in the history of Chinese thought and the period of the renaissance and of the reformation in Europe. Old standards are no longer adequate and new ones have not yet taken their place. The problems awaiting solution are without number; unrest grows; disorder follows upon disorder, revolution upon revolution; families emerge and perish; kingdoms rise and fall. But all this means life. It means that men are thinking as well as acting. They think out all manner of possible and impossible theories, but they think. The people think of ways and means whereby they may enjoy some security, the sovereigns think of how they can preserve their power and wealth.

From all the political theories which grew out of this chaotic period, Dr Wu selects four main types, as being those most, perhaps those only, worthy of attention.

These are: (1) Taoism, an old variety of the 'wait and see' policy, with its leaders Lao Tzu and Chuang Tzu (chaps. 4 and 5); (2) Legalism, with its idea of being up and doing, represented by such men as Kuang Tzu, Shang Yang and Han Fei, who had a firm belief in law as a means of government (chaps. 6, 7 and 8); (3) Micianism, or 'government by God through men,' upheld by the kindly Mo Ti (chap. 9); and (4) Confucianism, or 'government by man through ethics,' represented by its founder, Confucius, and two of his followers, Mencius and Hsuan Tzu.

What these men had to say upon the science of government is clearly set forth and supported by quotations from the philosophers themselves. Interest is added through the biographical sketches which precede the exposition of the theories of each of the writers quoted.

Dr Wu is to be congratulated on his able dissertation, which adds one more to the books recently published by rising Chinese scholars. The Commercial Press also is to be congratulated on the increasing number of books on things Chinese, issued for the benefit of the English reading public.

A. J. GARNIER

SHANGHAI

JAMES EWING AND ARTHUR NEVE

SIR JAMES EWING. By R. E. SPEER, D.D. New York: Revell. $2.75. 1928.

A CRUSADER IN KASHMIR: Being the Life of Dr Arthur Neve, with an Account of the Medical Missionary Work of Two Brothers and its Later Development down to the Present Day. By ERNEST F. NEVE. Illustrated. London: Seeley, Service. 6s. 1928.

EWING and Neve were as different from one another as an oak is from a pine. But they were alike in this, that to a quite unusual degree they commanded the respect and affection of both Europeans and Indians. Far too often missionaries are looked upon with suspicion. Even their own countrymen too frequently speak ill of them. But Ewing and Neve had long since dispelled every symptom of suspicion or antagonism, and at the end of their lives were not only respected but revered by Europeans and Indians alike.

James Ewing was built on big, massive lines. He carried with him an air of solid dependability. And there was about him that largeness of comprehension and that imperturbable good nature which is so characteristic of the best type of American. And having with this spacious personality much shrewd wisdom, a ripe judgment and the happy gift of carrying men with him, his counsel and help were as much sought after by the British Government in India as by his own people. He was an outstanding figure among Europeans in the Punjab. And all classes and creeds of Indians trusted him.

Arthur Neve was of a more concentrated, intenser type. He was not broad and large. He was slim and tall. And his activities were not extended over a wide field: they were focussed on individuals in a hospital. He was not welcoming and accessible as Ewing. He was more a man whom men admired for that living energy within him which compelled him so straight and direct to the skies.

But different though they were in outward appearance as in inward character, they resembled each other in this that they were both animated by a consuming passion to testify by their lives to their faith in Christ Jesus. Their one desire was to win men to Christ. And though so much unlike in many ways, they were both practical-minded men. They wanted to be doing things—to be showing by their deeds their love for their Master. In the case of

Ewing the deed took the form of education. In the case of Neve, it took the form of surgery.

For thirty years Ewing was Principal of the Forman Christian College at Lahore, and three times he was Vice-Chancellor of the Punjab University. He was a strict disciplinarian and inspired some awe in the students. But also he was very accessible and social and genial. He was human. And his whole heart was in his work. Students soon came to know this, and so he won their affection.

Neve's mode of action was surgery. He was born with an instinct for surgery. He had himself trained in the art. And he would use it in the service of Christ. Christ had healed men and he would do the same. He had originally hoped to have found his field in Africa. Destiny took him to Kashmir. And there, in the hospital maintained by the Church Missionary Society, he carried on his work for over thirty years.

Both these men had as their supreme object in life the bringing of individual men into personal relationship with Jesus Christ. And looking back now on their completed lives it may be questioned whether they made many direct converts to Christianity. But this, of a surety, they did accomplish. They did by their personality, by the goodness which radiated from them, and by the visible, tangible, example of their lives infuse among men the very spirit of Christ. They were as leaven which leaveneth the whole lump.

And their good work has affected not the Punjab and Kashmir only. It has had its effect in America and England also. It has turned men's minds, if only for a time, away from the material side of life to the spiritual. For both were men who, by their training and experience, might have earned material wealth and worldly position. Ewing once visited the Philippines, and he was of just the calibre and type to have made an excellent Governor-General of those Islands. Neve, with his skill and experience as a surgeon, might have taken high fees in London and risen to great eminence in his profession.

But all worldly advantage these men set aside to attain a great spiritual object. And it is well for those who remain and those who follow that a record of their deeds and an appreciation of their characters by their fellow-workers should be preserved in these two volumes. It is well, again, that both volumes should have been written by their fellow-workers—and Neve's by his brother.

FRANCIS YOUNGHUSBAND

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THE PRINCIPLE OF NATIONALITY

Geschichte der nationalen Bewegung im Orient. Von Hans Kohn. Skizzen. Berlin-Grunewald: Vowinckel-Verlag. M. 24. 1928.

IT is always the aim of this Review to place missionary movements of to-day in their contemporary setting and to understand them and estimate their significance in the light of the great historical movements of the present time. To this purpose the book under review is one of the greatest aids. It is written by one who is not a Christian, and only incidentally mentions missions and their outcome, but it brings out the close relations which exist in the thought-processes of the Near East and of the lands between that and India.

Each of the twelve chapters is in itself a comprehensive statement of and comment on history: Reforms and Renaissance in India; Pan-Islamism; the Religious Renaissance in India, Great Britain and the East; the Russian Revolution and the East; the National Movement in Egypt; Turkish Nationalism; the New Arabia; Changes in Persia and Afghanistan; the Awakening of India; the New Self-consciousness in India—the chapter titles show that the book does not deal with unrelated, single subjects. On the contrary, it is of the greatest interest to see how the author makes British policy, on the one hand, and the Russian revolution, on the other, answerable for the genesis of nationalism in the East.

He arranges his statement, then, in accordance with the mental process by which at the present time in the East, as in the West, religion as a settled principle is being thrust aside by nationalism, while behind nationalism there is already rising up the new, strong, growing idea of socialism. He cites Arnold J. Toynbee:

> Recent history has been a *reductio ad absurdum* of the principle of nationality and has made the western public begin to see that there are limits to the application of it. The historical interest of these limiting cases lies in the doubt which they cast back upon the fruitfulness of the principle. The historian is led to speculate whether the inoculation of the East with nationalism has not from the beginning brought in diminishing returns of happiness and prosperity. Given the previous breakdown of indigenous institutions and the irresistible ascendancy of the West, he must admit that it was inevitable. But he will possibly judge the movement to have been not so much a political advance as a necessary evil.

Dr Kohn closes with a glance towards the future :

At a time when political nationalism in Europe is already beginning to lose in exclusive value and become regarded as a myth suitable to one stage in history, it is building strongholds in Asia. Nevertheless, it has been the means of creating, for the first time in history, an approach to a single political and social world conception, comprehending the whole of mankind. On this foundation is based the possibility of a victory over the present state of affairs, shared by all men, in the direction of a new humanism, as foreseen by the liberated spirits of all races whether in the East or in the West.

To this work, which is written from the fullest knowledge of facts, is appended a most comprehensive bibliography, which bears witness to the amazingly wide reading of the author ; and a really fine index makes it possible to find references both to individual and to related statements, which are treated in different places on account of the construction of the book. In a new edition I should like to see the addition of another few pages in which could be given documentation for the astonishing number of isolated facts.

M. SCHLUNK

TÜBINGEN

ARABIA AND ITS PEOPLE

IBN SA'OUD OF ARABIA : His People and His Land. By AMEEN RIHANI. Illustrated. Maps. London : Constable. 21s. 1928.

ADVENTURES IN ARABIA : Among the Bedouins, Druses, Whirling Dervishes and Yezidee Devil-Worshippers. By W. B. SEABROOK. Illustrated. London : Harrap. 12s. 6d. 1928.

AMEEN RIHANI, a Syrian by birth and an American by adoption, has written what is at present an authoritative book on Arabia. In 1922 and 1923 he visited the chief rulers of Arabia with the hope of promoting a pan-Arab union, and subsequently published in Arabic his history of *The Kings of the Arabs*. The present work is an account of his visit to Abdulaziz ibn Sa'oud, then Sultan of Nejd, later also King of al-Hijaz, whose future position is not yet apparent. Ibn Sa'oud cordially welcomed the conception of an all-Arabia kingdom (p. 236), and definitely rejected the idea of any other than himself as the head of it.

Rihani was captured from the first by the personality of Ibn Sa'oud. He became his honoured guest for four months. The book shows him to be a grateful friend. Without presenting an ordered

biography, he gives an attractive description of Ibn Sa'oud's life and character. He tells the story of the resuscitation of the Wahhabi movement and describes the present-day Ikhwan without restraint.

The account of conditions in Central Arabia—political, economic and social—is carefully written. The reader is left for the most part to make his own analysis and to form his own conclusions. It is a story of the marriage of politics and religion, of ambition and fanaticism, of desire for dominion and the pressure of economic necessity. Later events indicate that some of the statements made to the author are no longer true. The Shi'ahs of al-Hasa (cf. p. 235) now attend the Sunni mosques, and Wahhabi convictions are changing time-honoured customs of the pilgrimage. Moreover, the Ikhwan have been indulging in raids which Ibn Sa'oud officially repudiates. It seems that they are increasingly ruling their ruler and the end is not yet.

Probably no travellers in Arabia who have written in English have had Rihani's literary and linguistic equipment in Arabic for the double task of receiving and reproducing impressions and information. The result is a record of Arabian travel that is unusually intimate without being minute, and an account of Arabian life and character that is usually accurate without being complete. Nowhere is the tragedy of the Rashid dynasty of Haiel so well told. And yet it is easy even for an *ustaz* to make mistakes. It is stated that the sunset prayer must be said a little before the sun goes down (p. 92, footnote). The account of the battle of Jahrah (p. 352) is probably the version that the author received in Nejd. It could easily have been corrected and verified from Arab and other sources in Kuwait.

The book deserves careful reading and will yield a partial understanding of the present situation and tendency of affairs in Arabia. It has good illustrations, some of which post-date the text. It has the same missionary significance that is common to all travel books which describe conditions as they are, and a review in a missionary magazine may well quote the following (p. 141):

AR-RIYADH—Monday—Christmas Day, 1922.

I have not the least doubt about it: a religion of love, and mercy, and tolerance, is better than a religion which is imposed by the sword.

The romance of Arabia had long cast its glamour over the mind of William Seabrook, and finally demanded expression in his experience of life. Then he sought knowledge of the land and the language

from university and Washington Street Arabs of New York. There and elsewhere he formed friendships with people of the places he planned to visit, and secured letters of introduction that meant the fulfilment of his dreams.

He then spent months with the Beni Sakhr Bedouin of Transjordan, as the guest of the chief shaikh of the tribe. The record of what he saw and heard of the daily life of those Arabs is exceedingly interesting and readable. He heard and preserved a number of true and modern Arabian tales that equal the mediæval *Arabian Nights* in interest and romance, if not in marvel. The rest of the book relates experiences and observations among the Druses, Melewi and Rifai dervishes in Syria and the Yezidees of Kurdistan. Here the author's friendliness and sincerity of interest took him far into the inner mysteries of the cults he describes.

Mr Seabrook's method of consulting living sources for material has given freshness and vivacity to the book. But there are some statements he would not have left on record if he had checked them through living or literary authorities. The translations of the Arabic phrases with which he flavours his narrative could easily have been made accurate. The statement (p. 136) that ' there are no flowers in the Arabian desert ' is too incorrect botanically to be justifiable even as a rhetorical introduction to a thrilling story.

In the interest of literary and historical accuracy a remark made early in the book may be examined. Mr Seabrook says : ' Old Jeremiah's prophecy that the Lord would " roar from on high " and make Ammon " a desolate heap . . . no more remembered," had—fortunately for my convenience—been unfulfilled ' (p. 25).

The *International Standard Bible Encyclopedia* states : ' It is quite impossible to say that anything Ammonite is now above ground ' (p. 2521). Hastings' *Bible Dictionary* states : ' The Ammonites are referred to by Justin Martyr about the middle of the second Christian century as even then a very numerous people ; but not more than a century later Origen speaks vaguely of them as of Moabites and Edomites, classing them all with the Arab tribes ; and with this doubtful allusion they pass altogether out of history ' (i. p. 83). According to the *Handbook of Arabia* Ammon to-day is peopled by Circassians and Arabs who are grouped into tribal confederations, among whom the Ammonites find no place.

EDWIN E. CALVERLEY

KUWAIT, ARABIA

CONCERNING BUDDHISM

THE PILGRIMAGE OF BUDDHISM AND A BUDDHIST PILGRIMAGE. By JAMES BISSETT PRATT, Ph.D. New York and London: Macmillan. $3. 15s. 1928.

THIS book is intended to give a synthetic view of Buddhism, to represent it as it is actually lived to-day and to make it 'plausible.' This is the author's own word; and he also expresses the hope that at the end of the book the reader will understand a little 'how it feels to be a Buddhist.'

Dr Pratt is a psychologist and a close observer who has spent several sabbatical years in visiting Buddhist countries, and has done much study of the books. He thinks sympathetically and often writes well, and certain chapters, such as the first and the last but one, are admirable. They give the reader an introduction to the founder of Buddhism: 'a personality whom to know, even at this distance . . . is a benediction.' And they help him to get the right perspective: Buddhism is an organism, and no part of it can be understood in abstraction from the rest. Dr Pratt sees in the Buddha a *yogi* who was 'primarily a moral teacher.' This is a paradox to the student of Indian religion, yet there is truth in it, for the sense of a moral mission and of a religious reformation were closely knit in his complex personality. But when Dr Pratt goes on, 'the Buddha came to save the world . . . the Buddha cannot save us: we must do that for ourselves,' he is stretching paradox too far. The fact seems to be that in his reformation of Indian religion the Buddha started a movement which had in it elements of universality, and that Buddhism soon became a great missionary movement; that from the first he realized that there are many who cannot save themselves, and that to these he became the Beloved Lord and Saviour.

The book is a useful compendium with some picturesque scenes, some valuable 'documents' and an unusual and welcome insight into spiritual values in Buddhism. There is, too, a good account of the history of Buddhism, which is told in an interesting if rather verbose way. But there are passages which suggest that much of the book was written on steamers, and that the proofs were corrected in trains. Here are one or two sentences which will puzzle the simple as well as the learned:

But one should remember also Hideyoshi's ear mourned in Kyoto, and the iron heel shown in Korea in our own times.

. . . . . .

There is, however, one use to which prayer may be put, of which all earnest souls may avail themselves, and that is the active debasing of oneself before the Divine, the August, the Over-powering, the immediate sensing of the contrast between one's own finiteness and the infinitude of the Eternal, the pouring forth of one's soul in deep humility and reverence before the unspeakable Whole of things which is never far away.

Missionaries in Japan will understand the reference in the first quotation to the mound of Korean ears cut off by Hideyoshi: we hope that missionaries nowhere will debase themselves 'before the unspeakable Whole of things.' We all need to abase ourselves before God—but that is another story, and only a part of prayer.

The same page goes on to attribute the erotic mantra of Tibet, *Om Mani Padme Hum*, to the Hinayana. It will be interesting to see what Buddhists say to this and other queer passages: it is easy to imagine—if one can think of a Quaker being accused of paying for masses on behalf of the dead.

But enough of criticism. The book needs revision and condensation, yet it contains much that is of value and some passages which rise to real dignity and beauty. Missionary readers will find its conclusions as to their task puzzling: but there is much that is salutary. 'The genius of Buddhism is one; the genius of Christianity is another. The philosophy of Buddhism is one; the philosophy of Christianity is another.' These are timely remarks, and Dr Pratt is right in deploring the attempt to unite the two, and in urging that 'they settle down to live side by side on terms of amity and co-operation and friendly rivalry.' But the matter is not so simple as this, and many profound oriental thinkers know that it is not merely a question of a pantheistic philosophy on the one hand, and of a personalist philosophy on the other. This is certainly important, but men are more concerned with power to change the social order and unify their own lives. It is leaders of the practical idealism of Kagawa and Sundar Singh, with their Christocentric lives, who are the justification for the belief that inspires the missionary movement. Dr Pratt believes that Buddhism is 'as yet immeasurably inferior to Christianity in actual and efficient helpfulness' and that 'the psychological power of the image of Christ is unique.'

Perhaps most missionaries would be content with these two great

motives—the unique Person of Jesus and His transcendent ethic of human brotherhood: and many will be ready to agree that the power of the Buddha 'for good has probably been only second to that of Jesus.' That is enough reason for a more thorough study, and for more books of such sympathy and insight. More teachers should go on pilgrimages such as this of Dr and Mrs Pratt.

K. J. SAUNDERS

BERKELEY, CALIFORNIA

LIVINGSTONE AND KIRK

KIRK ON THE ZAMBESI: A Chapter of African History. By R. COUPLAND. Illustrated. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 18s. 1928.

PROFESSOR COUPLAND'S book is an account of the Zambesi expedition of 1858 led by Livingstone, of which Kirk was a member. No one who starts reading it will find it easy to lay down unfinished. His first chapter brings out vividly the helpless condition of Africa in the middle of the nineteenth century. The slave trade was almost at an end, but little constructive work had yet been done by the European nations to set against the cruel selfishness of their relations with the African peoples.

The story of the suppression of the slave trade is one from which idealists and lovers of humanity may take heart and courage. 'One wonders, after all, if large-scale altruism is really so far beyond the power of mankind.' The hope of Africa 'still lay in contact with the outer world, in the chance that Europe would not regard the slave trade as her sole link with Africa and with its abolition break off all connexion, but rather that she should now start afresh, as it were, and seek in Africa the springs for civilized commerce and, perhaps, for colonial settlement which had hitherto been blocked by the slave trade' (p. 12).

The opportunity offered for high adventure, and the man, worthy to carry to its close England's crusade against slavery, was there. 'It might well have seemed that the adventure on which Livingstone was embarking under such desperate conditions could only have one end; and indeed he recognized the risk and made provision for his death. But the thought of giving it up, of turning back, seems never to have crossed his mind' (p. 66).

Kirk, like Livingstone, was well fitted for the adventure by his qualities as a man. 'It would be easy enough to quarrel, when

nerves were frayed by heat and fatigue and fever, but it would never be easy to quarrel with Kirk' (p. 117); and difficulties between members of the expedition, with which Livingstone found it peculiarly hard to deal, served to bring out the fine qualities in Kirk's character.

If we seek in this book for the causes which make for failure or success in dealing with the African people, we shall not seek in vain. The long history of the Portuguese in Africa, while not unrelieved by self-sacrificing effort for the African, is a story of failure and decay. The story of Livingstone—though through it all there runs the thread of suffering, of baffled endeavour and of seeming failure—is the story of a man who dared and who achieved, who found his way to the hearts of the people and won their trust, who laid deep the foundations of constructive effort for the uplift of the peoples of Africa. 'It is the personal aspect of the Zambesi expedition that seems in the end most vital. . . . Explorers and missionaries, all that joint company, had gone to Africa and worked in Africa, each according to his gifts, with motives as purely disinterested as those of Wilberforce and Buxton when they preached the "positive policy." To promote the welfare of the Africans—every plan and purpose was subordinate to that single aim. And by their lives and deaths in Africa they bequeathed to their cause a tradition that cannot be forgotten, a challenge that cannot be ignored. No one, surely, who knowing their record follows in their footsteps, can fail to feel that he is treading consecrated ground' (pp. 277–8).

The slight introduction which we have to Sir John Kirk in this volume makes us look eagerly for the further volume which Professor Coupland is now writing.

MARY OLDHAM

CHIPSTEAD, SURREY

CHINA CHRISTIAN YEAR BOOK

THE CHINA CHRISTIAN YEAR BOOK, 1928. Fifteenth Issue. Edited by FRANK RAWLINSON, D.D. Shanghai: Christian Literature Society. $2.75. 1928.

THROUGHOUT the maelstrom produced in China by the political upheaval of 1927 and the revolutionary changes which accompanied it, a series of questions has been uppermost in

the minds of all students of missions. What has been the effect of these momentous events upon the Chinese Church? How far has she been able to appreciate their significance, and to produce an effective answer to their challenge? What readjustments are called for in the relationship of mission and Church, of Christianity and the active movements of thought in the country?

The volume before us is largely concerned with an attempt to answer these questions. Conditions in China prevented the publication of a year book in 1927, but more has been gained than lost by the delay. Events are seen in truer perspective, and the situation is discussed in a series of thoughtful papers which will amply repay careful perusal. The articles by C. S. Miao and T. L. Shen on 'Current Religious Thought' and 'Religious Liberty'; by H. T. Hodgkin on the effect of the political events upon the Chinese Church; by Y. T. Wu on 'The Revolution and Student Thought'; and by H. T. Tsao and Sidney Wei on the position of education under the Nationalist Government are all of primary importance, and give this volume a unique value.

Another group of papers which will be read with keen interest deals with the social life of the country. An illuminating article by Gideon Chen—an old Woodbrooke student—discusses the position of labour under the Revolution; Mr J. Lossing Buck describes the various peasant movements which have grown with such rapidity in some parts of China; Miss Eleanor Hinder contributes chapters on the status of woman in modern China, and on some Christian social and industrial experiments; while other papers record the efforts that are being made in connexion with the problems of public health, of opium, and of blindness and disease.

One of the most fascinating chapters in the book is the account of the Village Education Movement, which has its centre in Nanking under the able leadership of W. T. Tao, and is attempting a most important piece of constructive work on behalf of the rural districts.

Christian literature is discussed under various headings, and every student of Chinese will welcome the article by Mr Z. K. Zia on the best books in Chinese, both Christian and non-Christian, to which Mr J. B. Powell has provided a valuable addendum on the best books on China in English, and (in conjunction with Dr Rawlinson) an annotated bibliography dealing in fuller detail with the same subject.

A new departure in this volume which will be warmly welcomed

is a brief historical sketch of the work of the Roman Catholic Church in China, from the able pen of Dr O'Toole.

The significant movement which is taking place throughout China in the direction of a united Christian Church is described by Mr A. R. Kepler, and one of the four useful appendices is devoted to the Doctrinal Basis of Union and Constitution of the Church of Christ in China.

This year book is, without question, the most important that has yet been issued in this series, and should be studied by every one interested in the progress of the Christian movement in China.

HAROLD BALME

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RELIGIOUS EDUCATION

EVANGELISCHE LEBENSKUNDE AUF WERT-PÄDAGOGISCHER GRUNDLAGE. Von Schulrat D. OTTO EBERHARD. Stuttgart: Steinkopf. M. 6.50 und M. 8. 1928.

CHRIST AND MODERN EDUCATION. By CHARLES E. RAVEN, D.D. London: Hodder & Stoughton. 3s. 6d. 1928.

BOTH these books have a connexion with the Jerusalem meeting of the International Missionary Council. The second owes its existence to it. The first was substantially written before the meeting, but the author, who was present at it, records in the preface his surprise and delight in finding how largely the conclusions at which he had arrived were in agreement with the papers, mainly of Anglo-American authorship, submitted to the meeting, and is quick to see the vital connexion between the ideas set forth in his book and the present problems of the mission field.

Dr Eberhard is the author of several works on religious education, which show him to be outstanding among writers on the subject in the combination of a wide knowledge of the philosophical tendencies reflected in educational ideals, a ripe experience as a practical educator and a firm belief in the Christian Gospel as the thread that can alone lead us safely through the puzzling labyrinth of tasks presented by modern education. His new book, which gathers up the fruits of a lifetime of thought and experience, is an attempt to present a comprehensive and systematic view, though necessarily only in outline, of the educational process as education for life through the knowledge of life. This view of education is exerting a large influence on educa-

tional thought in Germany, and Dr Eberhard here interprets it in the light of the Christian affirmations regarding the ultimate nature of reality. From this standpoint he considers in turn the pupil, the educator and the content of education. The last is viewed in relation to each of the three worlds of which man is a citizen—nature, society and the eternal order. Christian educators who read German will find the book full of stimulus and suggestion. Those who are not familiar with recent tendencies in the philosophy of education in Germany may find it useful to have at hand a handbook on the subject, such as Lehmann, *Die Pädagogische Bewegung der Gegenwart* (Röse & Cie, München, 2 small vols., pp. 141 and 196); or Messer, *Pädagogik der Gegenwart* (Mauritius-Verlag, Berlin, pp. 293), both of which are excellent.

Canon Raven's book is in the main a study of the teaching method of our Lord. He finds that the principles of the best modern education are in harmony with that method, whereas the traditional method of presenting Christianity is in sharp contrast with both. 'If it be true that our method is wholly unlike that of Jesus we shall hardly be surprised at our lack of success.' The book is a plea for 'an almost revolutionary change' in our methods.

The acceptance and application of the ideas contained in these books would bring about far-reaching changes in current educational practice. Canon Raven's 'revolutionary' is not too strong a word. The ideas are not wholly new. They can claim the support of many of the great educational thinkers throughout history. But modern systems of education, having to deal with masses and confronted with tasks beyond the power of their limited resources, have tended to be content with what is easiest in education, namely, the imparting of information and training in particular forms of skill. It is true that there has often been a corrective. The English public school has always believed in its heart of hearts that games and the tradition of the school were at least as important as book learning. This education has been largely unconscious, and in this has lain much of its strength. There are few educational influences that can be compared with a worthy tradition unconsciously absorbed. But now on all hands there is coming into existence a more integral view of education. Schools are becoming more unified in their purpose; the relation between what is taught in the class and the total life of the school is more clearly seen.

This broader conception of the meaning of education opens up

many big questions. If the purpose of education is to educate for life, how can this purpose be carried out until one has decided what life is? How can one impart a knowledge of life until one has formed a judgment which of its infinite and inexhaustible manifestations are most worth knowing and understanding? So long as education was thought of mainly as a means of imparting the tools of knowledge it might be possible to think of schools as independent of any world view. But the moment the attempt is made to educate for life, the question of a world view comes at once into the foreground. Is the life of man a purely natural phenomenon, or has it its roots in the unseen? If man is a citizen of three worlds, are these worlds so entirely separate that it is possible to educate him for living in two of them on six days of the week and for the third on Sundays? Or does our relation to God affect profoundly our relation to nature and to society? The force of these questions will be felt more and more as education concerns itself with life.

The new ideas, moreover, must bring about a radical change in religious education. This has too often been allowed to degenerate in practice into a religious lesson, which imparted information about God and spiritual things, since this was what fitted most easily and naturally into the framework of school organization. The new view is a call to attempt the much more difficult task of helping the pupils to experience God. Again, we have been much too prone to overlook the fact that when a boy is learning a lesson, whether of Scripture or grammar, he is simultaneously learning a great deal about life—from the attitude of the teacher, the conduct of the class and the effect on his feelings and attitude of the work he is doing. These lessons about life may be far more important in their influence than the Scripture or grammar lesson, and the new view of education requires that as much thought should be given to them as to the teaching of any particular subject. Once more, the new outlook demands a new study of Christianity from the standpoint of the living and growing learner. A revolution in the presentation of Christianity is implicit in this demand. While the facts and truths of our faith remain the same, the content and method of our teaching will be very different when the starting-point is the experience and needs of the living person who is being taught.

The conception of the educational process as education for life through the knowledge of life compels fresh thought on the training of teachers. Are not our present systems of training directed largely

to equipping teachers with a knowledge of their subject? This indeed they must have. But the more the new view is pondered the clearer it becomes that even more important than the knowledge of subjects is the power to love and influence children. If the main purpose of a teacher, whether of young children or of adolescents, is to help them to appreciate values, then his indispensable qualification is not knowledge about those values, but a living and growing appreciation of them. Only an ardent love of goodness and truth and beauty can kindle a love for them in his pupils. To talk about them, however correctly by the book, without this love, may only kill in the pupils the capacity of appreciation before it has time to develop. Dr Eberhard quotes a remark of Max Scheler that 'nothing on earth so radically, immediately and inevitably makes a person become good as the penetrating and sufficient contemplation of a good person in his goodness.'

If effect is to be given to these new ideas, the mission field, as Dr Eberhard sees, has a great opportunity. Christian educators overseas are working on comparatively virgin soil. They are not burdened with the traditions of centuries. They are freer to experiment. The younger Churches have here an opportunity of making a contribution of great value to the life of the whole Church. Though they will for long need the help of the larger experience and greater resources of the older Churches of the West, they have much that they can give as well as receive. They may with greater freedom strike out on new paths, and thereby gain experiences that will enrich the whole Church of Christ.

CHIPSTEAD, SURREY J. H. OLDHAM

SHORTER NOTICES

The Segregation Fallacy and Other Papers. By D. D. T. Jabavu. (Lovedale: Institution Press. 2s. 6d. London: Friends' House, Euston Road. 3s. 1928.) Of the papers reprinted in this little book—which is described as 'A Native View of Some South African Inter-racial Problems'—one, on 'Crossroads of Native Policy,' appeared in this Review in 1926, and another, 'Christian Missions and the Bantu,' in the volume, *Thinking with Africa*, with which our readers are familiar. Mr Jabavu publishes the book in the hope that it will arouse all loyal citizens of South Africa to do something to save the country from further mistakes committed under the policy of segregation. He knows, of course, that the word is used

in several different senses. If segregation, as understood and practised in Basutoland, could be applied to the Union, ' or to portions of the Union *in toto*,' then, he acknowledges, few people would be found to oppose the principle. But can it be applied on all fours to any section within the Union ? Mr Jabavu gives cogent reasons for replying in the negative, and argues strongly for the old Cape policy. ' Those of us who were born under it have every reason to admire it,' says he ; ' its results have amply proved it to be worthy of general adaptation to the northern provinces of the Union.' Readers who wish to know what an educated Christian African thinks of the present situation in South Africa should study this little book ; and they should not overlook the kindly criticisms of missionaries. We have read it with considerable, if not complete, sympathy.

E. W. S.

The Japanese Enthronement Ceremonies. By D. C. Holtom, Ph.D. (Tokyo : Kyo Bun Kwan. Y. 4.50. 1928.) To write on so intricate and fundamental a national affair as the Japanese enthronement ceremonies a study which is at once a careful historical and ethnological statement, and also an account colourful and fascinatingly interesting to the lay mind, is a rare achievement, but such is this timely treatise by Dr D. C. Holtom, Secretary of the American Baptist Foreign Mission in Japan. Dr Holtom presents and interprets, from his long study of ancient and mediæval Japan, the main outlines of the two most important observances of the ceremonies, the *Sokui Rei* and the *Daijo Sai*, with their numerous rites and forms, many of which have come down from the ancient past. After reading this study one feels as if one had been present with a delightful guide throughout the series of magnificent historical pageants ' wherein Japan relives her long and glorious past.'

E. S.

Brennende Fragen der Frauenmission. Herausgegeben von der Arbeitsgemeinschaft Deutscher Frauenmissionen. (Leipzig : Mädchen-Bibel-Kreise. M. 0.40. 1928.) Those who are interested in the development of women's missionary work will welcome this little pamphlet from Germany following on the book by Dr Gertrud Wasserzug-Traeder. As might be expected from this source, the ' burning questions ' are fundamental : the training which a woman missionary should have at home and in the mission field, preceded by an interesting study of the value of women and their work in the

community as found in the New Testament. In this paper, which appeared as an article in the *Neue Allgemeine Missionszeitschrift* for April 1928, Fräulein Elisabeth Spengler, one of the leaders of the Association of Girls' Bible Circles (*Deutscher Bund der Mädchen-Bibel-Kreise*), points out that the scope given to women for work in the early Christian community was considerably wider than that now generally available for them. B. D. G.

The Rise of the Missionary Spirit in America, 1790–1815. By Oliver Wendell Elsbree, Ph.D. (Williamsport, Pa.: Printing & Binding Company. 1928.) This is a well-written and well-documented study of a short period which saw great men and the foundations of great work. An introductory chapter sketches the work of pioneer missionaries in the two preceding centuries—first among the American Indians, then the negro slaves, then the freedmen; for 'foreign missions' in the United States grew directly out of 'home missions.' In his chapter, 'Prophecy, Prayer and Propaganda,' Dr Elsbree shows the motive power behind the 'onward rush' of the missionary spirit during this quarter century. It was largely 'the widespread feeling that the time had arrived when obscure Scripture prophecies concerning the last days were beginning to find their fulfilment in current events,' and 'the millennial glory of the church was about to be ushered in.' The thesis closes with the reminder that we to-day who cannot accept the theology of the men of that earlier generation may well judge them by their faithfulness to their ideals.

The Untouchables: A Story of Indian Girls. By Lt.-Col. Matilda Hatcher. (London: Salvationist Publishing and Supplies. 2s. 6d. 1928.) This is less a story than a series of pictures of a school in North India for girls from criminal tribes. The parents of most of them were serving long-term sentences, and the Salvation Army was asked by the Government to take and train the children. The physical and mental vigour of the girls, and their originality of thought, command our admiration, but what commands it even more is the wisdom of 'the Mother' in all her dealings with them. From the rawest of raw material she—or, as she would say, the Lord working through her—produced a loyal Christian community. The book gives an insight into the mentality of these criminal tribes, and provides food for thought as to the best means of treating the problem they present. M. M. U.

NOTES ON CONTRIBUTORS

The Rev. Frank Rawlinson, D.D., has been a missionary in China since 1902, and for the last seventeen years Editor of *The Chinese Recorder*. He has long watched the trend of religious movements in China.

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INTERNATIONAL MISSIONARY BIBLIOGRAPHY

In the preparation of the bibliography the Editors have the advantage of the co-operation of M. le Pasteur Allégret (Paris), Mr Chr. Dons (Oslo), Professor J. N. Farquhar, D.Litt. (Manchester), Rev. E. Folke (Drottningholm), Miss Hollis W. Hering (New York), Professor Arthur Jeffery (American University, Cairo), Professor H. M. van Nes, D.D. (Leiden), Rev. Frank Rawlinson, D.D. (Shanghai), Professor Kenneth Saunders, Ph.D. (Berkeley, Cal.), Rev. Fr. Schepelern (Denmark), Professor Dr M. Schlunk (Tübingen), Missionsdirektor M. Tarkkanen (Helsingsfors), Rev. S. H. Wainright, D.D. (Tokyo), Canon A. Lukyn Williams, D.D. (Cambridge).

While the bibliography is concerned primarily with missionary literature, published matter on other subjects closely related to the progress of Christianity is included when it is of exceptional value.

Entries of magazine articles are distinguished by †.

Abbreviations of magazine titles are explained on p. 320.

Annotations in the bibliography do not preclude a subsequent review.

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I. History

The Rise of the Missionary Spirit in America, 1790–1815. Oliver Wendell Elsbree. 187 pp. Lewisburg, Pa.: Author, Bucknell University. $1 and $2. 1928. *116.*
See review, p. 311.

See also *141, 145, 171.*

History of Missionary Societies

See *155.*

II. Missionary Biography

John Williams: Missionnaire en Océanie (1798–1839). John Hunt: Missionnaire aux Iles Fidji (1812–1848). F. Faure. (Les Cahiers Missionnaires. Nos. 13 et 14.) Cartes. 44 pp. et 60 pp. Paris: Société des Missions Évangéliques. F. 2 et F. 2.50. 1928. *117.*

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See also *159* (Livingstone), *167* (J. S. Emerson).

III. The Home Base

MISSIONARY EDUCATION IN THE CHURCH. H. W. Gates. *277* pp. Boston: Pilgrim Press. $1. 1928. *120.*

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†THE MISSIONARY EDUCATION WORK OF NORTHERN BAPTISTS. William A. Hill, D.D. IRM, 1929 (Apr.), 250–60. *120a.*

†DER ALLGEMEINE EVANGELISCH-PROTESTANTISCHE MISSIONSVEREIN. Siegfried Knak. NAMZ, 1928 (Nov.), 331–48; (Dez.), 354–77. *121.*

†NEUE BEWEGUNGEN IN DER AMERIKANISCHEN MISSIONSWELT. K. Hartenstein. EMM, 1928 (Nov.), 321–30. *122.*

See also *170* (Survey).

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IV. The Mission Fields

Japan

(including Formosa)

JAPAN YEAR BOOK. Coronation Edition. 20th year of issue. Y. Takenobu. xvi+759 pp. Tokyo: Japan Year Book Office. Y. 12. New York: 140 Greenwich St., London: Arita, 6 Howley St., York Rd., S.E.1. 32s. 6d. 1929. *124.*

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See review, p. 310.

STORY OF ANCIENT JAPAN: or Tales from the Kojiki. Yaichiro Isobe. 241 pp. Tokyo: Kyo Bun Kwan. Y. 1.70. 1928. *127.*

Presented in a briefer and cheaper form than in Chamberlain's translation.

NIPPON SHINDO RON: The National Ideals of the Japanese People. Yutaka Hibino. Translated, with Introduction by A. P. McKenzie. Portrait. 214 pp. London: Cambridge University Press. 7s. 6d. 1928. *128.*

†TREATY REVISION IN JAPAN: An Historical Survey. William P. Ker. *Pacific Affairs*, 1928 (Nov.), 1–8. *129.*

†PROPOSED CHANGES IN THE CURRICULUM OF THE MIDDLE SCHOOLS. Y. Tanaka. JCQ, 1929 (Jan.), 36–9. *129a.*

See also *169* (Pan-Pacific Women's Conference), *209* (International Relations).

Korea

See *169* (Pan-Pacific Women's Conference), *177* (Missionary Education).

China

THE CHINESE REVOLUTION, 1926–27: A Record of the Period of the Communist Control as seen from the Nationalist Capital, Hankow. H. Owen Chapman. Map. 328 pp. London: Constable. 12s. 1928. *130.*

SOME BIGGER ISSUES IN CHINA'S PROBLEMS. Julean Arnold. Shanghai: Commercial Press. New York: Stechert. $2.50. 1928. *131.*

†MODERN REVOLUTION AND RELIGION IN CHINA. Frank Rawlinson, D.D. IRM, 1929 (Apr.), 161–78. *132.*

RUSSO-CHINESE DIPLOMACY. Ken Shen Weigh, Ph.D. xxiv+382 pp. Shanghai: Commercial Press. New York: Stechert. $4. 1928. *133.*

THE GUILDS OF PEKING. John S. Burgess. 270 pp. New York: Columbia University Press. $4. 1928. *134.*

A detailed study of professional, craft and commercial guilds, their present trends, problems, possibilities and probable future.

THE FOUNDATIONS OF MODERN CHINA. T'ang Leang-li. Preface by Wang Ching-wei. 310 pp. London: Douglas. 12s. 6d. 1928. *135.*

CHINESE SOCIAL ORIGINS. Herbert F. Rudd, Ph.D. x+221 pp. Chicago: University Press. $2. 1928. *136.*

The historic background of Chinese cultural life. Published in China in 1915 under the title *Chinese Moral Sentiments before Confucius.*

CHINA'S MILLIONS. Anna L. Strong. xiv+413 pp. New York: Coward-McCann. $4. 1928. *137.*

A shrewd analysis of the social forces struggling in China in 1927.

THE DRAGON AND THE FOREIGN DEVILS. Johan G. Andersson. xii+341 pp. Boston: Little, Brown. $4. 1928. *138.*
A penetrating characterization of Chinese temperament and culture, together with an outline of the difficult task of adjustment to industrial life.

†NEW CITIZENS FOR CHINA. Y. C. James Yen. *Yale Review*, 1928 (Dec.), 262–76. *139.*

DET DANSKE MISSIONSSELSKABS KINAMISSION GENNEM DET FÖRSTE SLÄGTLED. R. W. Winkel. Illus. 358 pp. Copenhagen: Lohse. Kr. 5. 1928. *140.*

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Malay Archipelago

See *119* (J. Woensdregt), *186* (Netherlands Indies Missions), *210* (Dutch Administration).

Indo-China and Farther India

†A CENTURY OF MISSIONS IN SIAM. Lucy Starling. MRW, 1929 (Jan.), 5–10. *141.*

See also *210* (French Administration).

British India and Ceylon

INDIA: THE NEW PHASE. Sir Stanley Reed and P. R. Cadell. viii+175 pp. London: Allan. 3s. 6d. 1928. *142.*
A concise and readable account of the Reforms and their working during the last ten years.

AN INDIAN COMMENTARY. G. T. Garratt. 335 pp. London: Cape. 7s. 6d. 1928. *143.*
An able attempt to further understanding of Indian questions at the present day.

THE UNTOUCHABLES: A Story of Indian Girls. Lt.-Col. Matilda Hatcher. xi+141 pp. London: Salvationist Publishing & Supplies. 2s. 6d. 1928. *144.*
See review, p. 311.

VED AFGHANISTANS GRÄNSE: Teltmissionens Historie. II. 1917–1928. E. Geismar. 222 pp. Copenhagen: Teltmissionen. Kr. 3. 1928. *145.*

WAT IK OP MIJN INDISCHE REIS ZAG. H. C. Rutgers. 208 bl. Kampen: Kok. f. 2.90. 1928. *146.*

See also *162* (Indians in S. Africa), *188–90* (Church), *198–201* (Religion), *202* (Gotama), *214* (Christianity and Government).

Central Asia

†CENTRAL ASIA AS A MISSION FIELD. A. Mildred Cable. IRM, 1929 (Apr.), 179–87. *147.*

Mohammedan Lands and Work among Moslems

ARABIA OF THE WAHHABIS. H. St John B. Philby. Illus. Map. Plan. 438 pp. London: Constable. 31s. 6d. 1928. *148.*

ACROSS THE WORLD OF ISLAM: Studies in Aspects of the Mohammedan Faith and in the Present Awakening of the Moslem Multitudes. S. M. Zwemer. 382 pp. New York: Revell. $4. 1929. *149.*
A review is in preparation.

†TURKEY GOES TO SCHOOL. Maynard O. Williams. *National Geographic Magazine*, 1929 (Jan.), 95–108. *150.*

See also *168* (Jews in Palestine), *183* (Educational Needs), *204* (Encyclopædia), *205* (Ahmadiyas).

Africa

(General)

THE SOUTH AND EAST AFRICAN YEAR BOOK AND GUIDE FOR 1929. Edited by A. Samler Brown and G. Gordon Brown. Thirty-fifth edition. Atlas. Diagrams. lv+908 pp. London: Sampson Low. 2s. 6d. 1929. *151.*

CAN AFRICA BE WON? W. J. W. Roome. With an Introduction by Rt Rev. J. J. Willis, D.D., O.B.E., Bishop of Uganda. Illus. Map. xvi+216 pp. London: Black. 7s. 6d. 1927. *152.*
Discusses the problems of African evangelization, with references to many authorities.

†BRIDE-PRICE, DOWER, OR SETTLEMENT. E. Torday. *Man*, 1929 (Jan.), 5–8. *153.*

See also *180* (Teacher Training), *181* (Farm Text-books).

West Africa

(from the Senegal to the Cunene, including the West and Central Sudan)

†DIE GOLD-KÜSTE MISSION UND IHRE PROBLEME. H. Kurtz. EMM, 1928 (Nov.), 331–8; (Dez.), 370–8. *154.*

BAPTIST MISSIONS IN NIGERIA. Louis M. Duval. 213 pp. Richmond, Va.: Foreign Mission Board of Southern Baptist Convention. 75 cents. 1928. *155.*
A study book on the history and present status of the work of the Board.

East Africa

(from the Zambezi to the Juba rivers)

EASTERN AND CENTRAL AFRICA: Report of the Commission on Closer Union of the Dependencies, January, 1929. Cmd. 3234. 354 pp. London: H.M. Stationery Office. 6s. 1929. *156.*
A review is in preparation.

EASTERN AFRICA TO-DAY: An Intimate Description of Kenya Colony, Tanganyika Territory, Uganda, Northern Rhodesia, Nyasaland, Zanzibar and British Somaliland, with Notes on the Sudan and Portuguese East Africa. Compiled and edited by F. S. Joelson. xvi+420 pp. London: 91 Great Titchfield Street, W. 5s. 1929. *157.*

DIE SAFWA: Ein Ostafrikanischer Volksstamm in seinem Leben und Denken. 2. Band. Elise Kootz-Kretschmer. Karte. Bilder. x+337 pp. Berlin: Dietrich Reimer. M.15. 1929. *158.*
A review is in preparation.

KIRK ON THE ZAMBESI: A Chapter of African History. R. Coupland. Illus. Maps. viii+286 pp. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 18s. 1928. *159.*
See review, p. 303.

†AFTER SLAVERY IN AFRICA—WHAT? Theodore Burtt. MRW, 1929 (Jan.), 31–6. *160.*

See also *151* (Year Book), *191* (R.C. Uganda Jubilee).

South Africa

(*south of the Cunene and Zambezi rivers*)

PEOPLE'S BANKS: or Use and Value of Co-operative Credit for African Natives. Bernard Huss. (Reprinted from *Umteteli* and *Izindaba Zabantu.*) 124 pp. Mariannhill, Natal: Author. 1928. *161.*
A review is in preparation.

†THE INDIANS IN SOUTH AFRICA. G. Hibbert-Ware. CO, 1929 (Jan.), 34–43. *162.*

†BLACK AND WHITE WORKERS IN SOUTH AFRICA. G. M. Godden. *Contemporary Review*, 1928 (Dec.), 753–60. *163.*

See also *151* (Year Book), *164* (Race).

Madagascar

See *195* (Religion).

America and the West Indies

THE AMERICAN NEGRO. Edited by Donald Young, Ph.D. (The issue for Nov. 1928 of *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science.*) Philadelphia, Pa.: American Academy of Political and Social Science. $2.50. 1929. *164.*
Some forty writers have contributed chapters on different aspects of Negro life. Race relations in other lands are also dealt with.

NABOTH'S VINEYARD. Sumner Welles. 2 vols. New York: Payson & Clarke. $7.50. 1928. *165.*
Probably the best work available on the history of the Domingan Republic.

THE NEW MAP OF SOUTH AMERICA. Herbert A. Gibbons. xiv+400 pp. New York: Century. $3. 1928. *166.*
Gives the essential facts of the geography, history and economic life, together with the present and potential influence of S. American countries on international affairs.

THE RIVER PLATE REPUBLICS: A Survey of the Religious, Economic and Social Conditions in Argentina, Paraguay and Uruguay. Webster E. Browning, Ph.D., F.R.G.S. Maps. Appendices. 139 pp. London: World Dominion Press. 5s. 1928. *166a.*

See also *116* (Missionary History), *182* (Sunday School Convention), *197* (Surinam Religion).

Australasia and Oceania

THE SEXUAL LIFE OF SAVAGES IN NORTH-WESTERN MELANESIA. Bronislaw Malinowski. Pref. by Havelock Ellis. Plates. Figures. Map. xxiv+506 pp. London: Routledge. 42s. 1929. *166b.*
A review is in preparation.

PIONEER DAYS IN HAWAII. O. P. Emerson. xiv+257 pp. Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, Doran. $2. 1928. *167.*
The development of missionary work shown through the life of John S. Emerson.

†THE NATIONALIST SPIRIT IN THE PHILIPPINES: In Relation to Protestant Christianity. E. K. Higdon. IRM, 1929 (Apr.), 208–15. *167a.*

See also *117* (J. Williams and J. Hunt), *169* (Pan-Pacific Women's Conference), *196* (Samoan Religion).

The Jews

THOSE ANCIENT LANDS: Being a Journey to Palestine. 274 pp. New York: Knopf. $4.50. 1928. *168.*
A Zionist's appraisal of the life, manners and customs of pioneers in modern Palestine.

See also *206* (Influence on Christianity).

Fields General

WOMEN OF THE PACIFIC: Being a Record of the Proceedings of the first Pan-Pacific Women's Conference, held in Honolulu from the 9th to the 19th of August, 1928, under the Auspices of the Pan-Pacific Union. 280 pp. Honolulu: Pan-Pacific Union. $1.25. 1928. *169.*

SURVEY OF SERVICE: Organizations represented in the International Convention of the Disciples of Christ. Edited by W. R. Warren. 723 pp. St. Louis: Christian Board of Publication. $1.50. 1928. *170.*
Panorama of both home and foreign work.

†LES MISSIONS CATHOLIQUES FRANÇAISES EN 1900 ET 1928. *Revue d'Histoire des Missions*, 1928 (Déc.), 481–505. *171.*

†DISPERSIONS: ORIENTAL AND AFRICAN. Ruth Rouse. IRM, 1929 (Apr.), 216–30. *172.*

See also *209–13* (International Relations).

V. Works of Reference

See *124–5* (Japanese Year Books), *151* (African Year Book), *204* (Encyclopædia of Islam).

VI. Theory and Principles of Missions

FOREIGN MISSIONS UNDER FIRE: Straight Talks with the Critics of Missions. Cornelius H. Patton. 180 pp. Boston: Pilgrim Press. $1. 1928. *173.*

'ARE FOREIGN MISSIONS DONE FOR?' Robert E. Speer. 152 pp. New York: Privately printed. 1928. *174.*
An attempt to meet some present-day questions through quotations from many sources.

†RETHINKING FOREIGN MISSIONS. Archibald G. Baker. *Religious Education*, 1928 (Dec.), 1025–30. *175.*

†ANGELSÄCHSISCHER UND DEUTSCHER MISSIONSGEIST. Jos. Peters. *Die Katholischen Missionen*, 1928 (Nov.), 339–44. *176.*

VII. Missionary Methods

Evangelistic

See *147* (Central Asia), *152* (Africa).

Christian Education

Japan

See *129a* (Curriculum).

Korea

DEMOCRACY AND MISSION EDUCATION IN KOREA. James E. Fisher, Ph.D. xiv+187 pp. New York: Teachers College, Columbia University. $1.75. 1928. *177.*
A constructive evaluation of fundamental principles underlying missionary education as it faces problems of fluid political and intellectual conditions.

China

†THE PRESENT SITUATION OF CHRISTIAN EDUCATION IN CHINA. H. C. Tsao. *Educational Review*, 1928 (Oct.), 372–80. *178.*

†THE CRISIS IN CHRISTIAN HIGHER EDUCATION. J. Leighton Stuart. CR, 1928 (Oct.), 641–6. *179.*

India

See *144* (Untouchables).

Africa

†THE TRAINING OF VILLAGE TEACHERS IN AFRICA. IRM, 1929 (Apr.), 231–49. *180.*

POULTRY HUSBANDRY: A Textbook for the Use of Native Schools in Africa. CATTLE MANAGEMENT: A Textbook for the Use of Native Schools in Africa. J. R. Fell. Illus. vi+66 pp. and 83 pp. London: Christian Literature Society. Each 1s. 1928. *181.*
A review is in preparation.

Other Fields

See *150* (Turkey), *183* (Levant).

General

THY KINGDOM COME: The Official Book of the World's Tenth Sunday School Convention, held in Los Angeles, California, July 11–18, 1928. Edited by John T. Faris, D.D. Portraits. 388 pp. New York: World's Sunday School Association. $1.25. 1928. *182.*

†AN EASTERN CHALLENGE: Will Western Schools adapt Modern Education to the Needs of the Levant? Bayard Dodge. *Asia*, 1928 (Dec.), 1000–6, 1010–9. *183.*

See also *207* (Missionary Essays).

Medical Missions

†COMMUNICATED TO THE EDITORS: THE CHRISTIAN MESSAGE AND MEDICAL MISSIONS. Hugh H. Weir. IRM, 1929 (Apr.), 273–6. *184.*

Work among Women

See *169* (Pan-Pacific Women's Conference).

IX. The Church in the Mission Field

†THE CHINESE CHURCH OF TO-MORROW. Djang Fang. CR, 1928 (Nov.), 679–87. *185.*

†DE CONFERENTIE VAN DEN NEDERLANDSCH-INDISCHEN ZENDINGSBOND. F. L. Bakker. *De Macedoniër*, 1928 (12), 353–65. *186.*

†DE DOOP AAN VOLWASSENEN. J. Louwerier. MZW, 1928 (4), 343–51. *187.*

†DEVOLUTION: A STUDY IN MISSIONARY PRINCIPLES. Alden H. Clark, D.D. IRM, 1929 (Apr.), 199–207. *188.*

†EXPERIMENTS IN INDIAN EXPRESSION OF CHRISTIAN SERVICE. P. Oomman Philip. IRM, 1929 (Apr.), 188–98. *189.*

ANTHROPOLOGY OF THE SYRIAN CHRISTIANS. Rao Bahadur L. K. Ananthakrishna Ayyar. Introduction by the late Dr William Crooke. xvii+338 pp. Ernakulam: Cochin Government Press. Rs. 10. 1928. *190.*

†DAS NEGERPRIESTERSEMINAR VON KATIGONDO, UGANDA: Zu seinem silbernen Jubiläum. Johannes Paas. *Die Katholischen Missionen*, 1928 (Nov.), 330–9; (Dez.), 361–8. *191.*

See also *132* (China), *153* (African Marriage Customs), *167a* (Philippines), *184* (Medical Missions), *207* (Missionary Essays).

X. Comity, Co-operation and Unity

†JERUSALEM AND CHRISTIAN UNITY. Charles E. Raven. CO, 1929 (Jan.), 12–21. *192.*

†A GERMAN VIEW OF THE JERUSALEM MEETING. M. M. Underhill, B.Litt. IRM, 1929 (Apr.), 266–72. *193.*

†GODSDIENSTIGE OPVOEDING (Rapport op de Conferentie te Jeruzalem, 24 Maart–8 April, 1928). MZW, 1928 (4), 321–42. *194.*

See also *121* (Missionsbund and A.P.–M.V.).

XI. Christianity and the Non-Christian Religions

Religions of Primitive Peoples

PAGANISME: Observations et Notes documentaires. H. Rusillon. Illus. 144 pp. Paris: Société des Missions Evangéliques. 1929. *195.*

Customs noted in a long residence in Madagascar.

†GÖTTER- UND DÄMONENGLAUBE IM ALTEN SAMOA. E. Heider. ZMR, 1928 (12), 353–76. *196.*

†HET PUJAI-GEHEIM DER SURINAAMSCHE CARAÏBEN. A. Ph. Penard. *Bijdragen tot de taal-, land- en volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indië,* 1928 (4), 625–71. *197.*

See also *158* (Safwa), *166b* (Melanesia).

Religions of Japan

See *128* (National Ideals).

Religions of China

See *136* (Social Origins).

Religions of India

THE VEDĀNTA AND MODERN THOUGHT. W. S. Urquhart, D.Litt. (The Religious Quest of India Series.) xvi+256 pp. London: Oxford University Press. 12s. 6d. 1928. *198.*

A review is in preparation.

THE VEDANTA: According to Samkara and Ramanuja. S. Radhakrishnan. 288 pp. London: Allen & Unwin. 10s. 1928. *199.*

A review is in preparation.

RĀMDĀS AND THE RĀMDĀSĪS. Wilbur S. Deming. (Religious Life of India Series.) xii+223 pp. Calcutta: Association Press. Rs. 3. London: Oxford University Press. 6s. 1929. *199a.*

DIE LEBENSANSCHAUUNG DES HINDU. S. Radhakrishnan. Uebersetzt von D. H. W. Schomerus. 75 S. (DARSTELLUNG AUS GESCHICHTE UND KULTUR DES OSTENS. 19. Heft.) Leipzig: Hinrichs. RM. 3. 1928. *200.*

Translation of *The Hindu View of Life,* reviewed in IRM, Jan. 1928.

†RAM MOHUN ROY OG BRAHMO SOMADJ. H. Hansen-Stege. NMT, 1928, 257–67. *201.*

Buddhism

GOTAMA THE MAN. C. A. F. Rhys Davids. 302 pp. London: Luzac. 4s. 1928. *202.*

†DER CHINESISCHE BUDDHISMUS UND DAS EVANGELIUM. W. Oehler. EMM, 1929 (Jan.), 4–18. *203.*

Islam

THE ENCYCLOPÆDIA OF ISLĀM. Edited by A. J. Wensinck, M. Th. Houtsma, T. W. Arnold, W. Heffening and E. Lévi-Provençal. No. 38 Madagascar–Maḥmūd. 65–128 pp. London: Luzac. Leyden: Brill. 5s. 1928. *204.*

†AHMADIYABEVÄGELSEN. H. Christoffersen. NMT, 1928, 173–92; 209–23; 268–82. *205.*

See also *148* (Arabia), *149* (Moslem World), *150* (Turkey).

Judaism

JEWISH INFLUENCE ON CHRISTIAN REFORM MOVEMENTS. Louis Israel Newman. xxvii+707 pp. New York: Columbia University Press. $7.50. London: Macmillan. 37s. 6d. 1925. *206.*

Overlooked at the time of publication. Contents are much wider than the title implies. Of great use to those in contact with Jews or Hebrew Christians.

See also *168* (Palestine).

General

ESSAYS CATHOLIC AND MISSIONARY. Edited by E. R. Morgan. viii+332 pp. London: S.P.C.K. 8s. 6d. 1928. *207.*

A review is in preparation.

WITH AND WITHOUT CHRIST. Sadhu Sundar Singh. Introd. by the Lord Bishop of Winchester. xii+129 pp. London: Cassell's. 3s. 1929. *208.*

The power of Christ to change men, illustrated from the author's own life and observations of the lives of others.

XII. Social and Political Relations of Missions

FAR EASTERN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS. Hosea Ballou Morse and H. F. MacNair. Illus. Maps. xv+1128 pp. Shanghai: Commercial Press. $8 and $10. 1928. *209.*

A review is in preparation.

FOREIGN COLONIAL ADMINISTRATION IN THE FAR EAST. Sir Hesketh Bell, G.C.M.G. xii+307 pp. London: Arnold. 16s. 1928. *210.*

Dutch and French administration in the East Indies and Indo-China.

PROBLÈMES DE RACES ET DE COULEURS: Le Conflit — La Réconciliation. C. Chollet.

Bibliographie. 348 pp. Paris: Société des Missions Evangéliques. Fr. 12.50. 1929. *211.*

A review is in preparation.

PROBLEMS IN INTERNATIONAL UNDERSTANDING. H. H. Gowen, R. D. Mackenzie and Others. viii+199 pp. Seattle: University of Washington Book Store. $1.50. 1928. *212.*

A compilation by members of the faculty of Social Science at the University of Washington.

FORCED LABOUR: Report and Draft Questionnaire (International Labour Conference). 320 pp. Geneva: I.L.O. 6s. 1929. *213.*

CHRISTIANITY AND THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA: An Examination of the Christian Forces at Work in the Administration of India, and of the Mutual Relations of the British Government and Christian Missions, 1600–1920. Arthur Mayhew, C.I.E. xi+260 pp. London: Faber & Gwyer. 12s. 6d. 1929. *214.*

A review is in preparation.

See also *129* (Japan), *130–3*, *135*, *139* (China), *142–3* (India), *156–7*, *160* (Africa), *162–4* (Race), *165* (W. Indies), *166–166a* (S. America).

XIII. Hortatory and Practical

†A MISSIONARY CONFESSION. R. B. Whitaker. CR, 1929 (Jan.), 7–13. *215.*

Concerning missionary standard of living in China.

See also *207* (Missionary Essays).

ABBREVIATION OF MAGAZINE TITLES

CO = *Church Overseas*
CR = *Chinese Recorder*
EMM = *Evangelisches Missions-Magazin*
IRM = *International Review of Missions*
JCQ = *Japan Christian Quarterly*
MRW = *Missionary Review of the World*
MW = *Moslem World*
MZW = *Mededeelingen Tijdschrift voor Zendingswetenschap*
NAMZ = *Neue Allgemeine Missionszeitschrift*
NCCR = *National Christian Council Review*
NMT = *Nordisk Missions-Tidsskrift*
SMT = *Svensk Missionstidskrift*
ZM = *Zeitschrift für Missionswissenschaft*
ZMR = *Zeitschrift für Missionskunde und Religionswissenschaft*

When other magazines are referred to, the full title is given.

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THE
INTERNATIONAL
REVIEW OF MISSIONS

THE CHRISTIAN MESSAGE

A COMPARISON OF THOUGHT IN 1910 AND IN 1928

By D. S. CAIRNS, D.D.

THE Editor of this Review has asked me to write an impression of the situation revealed by the Jerusalem Meeting Report on the Message [1] as compared with the situation revealed by the evidence read by Dr Speer and myself on the same subject for the Edinburgh Conference of 1910. To carry out such a review in anything but a general way in such an article as this would be, of course, an impossibility. In the interval the world has passed through one of the greatest convulsions in history, which has profoundly affected not only every one of the great non-Christian religions, but the whole thought and life of the 'home base.' This change is faithfully mirrored in the Jerusalem volume and could be pointed out in abundant but overwhelming detail. I shall, however, try to give a broad impression of the whole.

[1] *The Christian Life and Message in Relation to Non-Christian Systems of Thought and Life.* Vol. I of the Jerusalem Meeting Report. New York and London: International Missionary Council. $1.50 and 5s. 1928.

The book is one of abounding interest and wealth of suggestion, and should be read by every Christian minister and missionary as part of his day's work, if he desires to get that day's work into its right setting, and to put some living meaning into his prayer that God's kingdom may come and His will be done on earth as it is in heaven.

The method adopted by the executive of the Jerusalem Meeting is somewhat different from that followed by the Edinburgh executive. The latter provided the convener of its Commission on the Missionary Message with more than two hundred papers, written in answer to a searching questionnaire from every one of the five great fields abroad : India, China, Japan and the Moslem and animistic lands. I have always regretted that it was not found possible to publish that evidence in its entirety, for it gave a most vivid panorama of the actual condition of the great religions of the world in the first decade of the twentieth century at a moment of transition. There are, I think, only three or four sets of copies of that voluminous evidence now in existence, and as they contain matter of deep historic interest some or all of them ought to be in the possession of some great public library. I confess that I have never been able to part with my own copy.

All that our Edinburgh Commission could do was to present the material in brief synoptic form. The method adopted at the Jerusalem Meeting has been to choose a highly qualified expert in each field, and to set him to work to depict the enduring spiritual values of each non-Christian religious system as he discerned them emerging from the great tempest. This has given a certain living personal interest to what corresponds to the evidential matter in the Edinburgh Report, which, of course, was more difficult to convey in a synopsis of the evidence of many witnesses. How well the executive chose their experts for their purpose may be discerned when it is said that Dr Macnicol reports on India, Dr Kenneth Saunders and Dr Reischauer for Buddhism, Dr Leighton Stuart for China

and the late Canon Gairdner for Moslem lands. Many of us are already deeply indebted to all these men for such knowledge of the living forces of the non-Christian religions as we possess, and that debt has been increased by their new contributions. Something will be said presently as to what one may call the distinctively new feature in the Jerusalem Report, i.e. its emphasis on the new secularism which is rapidly encroaching on the older religions. It should at this point, however, be said that the long and striking paper dealing with this, which was entrusted to Dr Rufus Jones, is in every way worthy of its fellows.

I regret that considerations of space forbid me to deal with any of these contributions in detail. I have only one minor criticism to make of work which, taken as a whole, is of singular lucidity and insight, and that only applies to one or two papers which I shall leave the reader to discover for himself. Why will experts drop bricks of unintelligible foreign languages into the middle of English exposition, which render whole paragraphs unintelligible to the ordinary reader? The habit seems incurable. I am reminded of the passage in Mark Twain's *A Tramp Abroad* where he lectures his agent, Mr Harris, for adorning a travel report with embellishments from the Esquimaux, Zulu and Choctaw tongues: 'Why should you want to use foreign words anyhow?' 'To adorn my page. They all do it. Anybody has a right that wants to.' Mark Twain deals suitably with this perversity, which of course is here inapplicable, and then proceeds to the relevant point: 'There are men who know a foreign language so well, and have used it so long in their daily life, that they seem to discharge whole volleys of it into their English writing unconsciously. This is a great cruelty to nine out of ten of the man's readers.'

But I must come to the real point of this article, i.e. a comparison with the Edinburgh Report.

The main evidential defect of that earlier Report, its failure through lack of material to deal adequately with the primitive Southern Buddhism, and thereby inferentially

with the Mahayana expanded Buddhism, is here admirably supplied by papers written from different points of view by Professors Kenneth Saunders and A. K. Reischauer. The former of these has already published a very interesting pamphlet supplying the gap in the Edinburgh evidence, as well as some extended studies of exceptional interest, and the latter is a well-known expert on Japanese Buddhism.

The profound interest of the whole subject of the evolution and prospects of Buddhism at the present moment is well brought out in these two papers, and also its tantalizing obscurity. After all the wealth of scholarship which has been expounded upon the subject of Buddhist origins and the personality of the founder it must be confessed that much remains uncertain and obscure. But here at least the general reader is brought up to date in the broad issues, and may hope for further light from continued investigation.

The present Report, like the Edinburgh Report, leaves the question of Jewish missions untouched. This, I understand, was due to the fact that conferences at Warsaw and Buda Pest had already been devoted to this subject, hence it is only once dealt with. In the Council statement which closes and sums up the volume, after a call to adherents of the other non-Christian faiths, the Council adds :

> Especially we make our call to the Jewish people, whose scriptures have become our own, and ' of whom is Christ as concerning the flesh,' that with open heart they turn to that Lord in whom is fulfilled the hope of their nation, its prophetic message and its zeal for holiness. And we call upon our fellow-Christians in all lands to show to Jews that loving-kindness that has too seldom been shown towards them.

Necessary as the omission no doubt was, it leaves a gap in the completeness of the picture at the upper end of the scale as the omission of animistic religions leaves a gap at the lower. It may be added that the hope of international peace and a world-wide kingdom of God can, to speak humanly, hardly be accomplished unless we embrace within them that people which of all others to-day comes nearest being international in its dispersion and influence.

In the Edinburgh Conference the Missionary Message stood fourth in the list of commissions. So far as I know, its presence in the list of topics requiring discussion was a complete novelty. It does not appear at all as a separate topic in either of the reports of previous conferences in my possession (i.e. Liverpool 1860 and London 1888). Now it stands first, and whereas in 1910 its title was ' The Missionary Message,' to-day it stands as ' The Christian Message.' What does all this mean ?

In the earlier stages of the missionary movement, I imagine the Message was taken for granted. Everybody knew or was supposed to know what ' the Gospel ' was, and the main interest of such conferences lay in ' practical ' matters, the securing and training of foreign and ' native ' agents, finances, co-operation and so forth. Corresponding to this was the conception of the religions of the non-Christian peoples as being simply ' false religions.'

We may call this the pioneer view, in the main true and by its sharp antitheses calling for and producing heroic characters, who marked out and began the occupation of the ground, and laid the foundations of the Christian order. But the pioneer period passes into a later stage as the work abroad develops, and as the world contracts and intercourse between non-Christian lands leads on both sides to fuller knowledge.

The earlier missionaries and their successors come to understand the life and thought of those among whom they are working more deeply. They find that each non-Christian religion, Hindu, Buddhist and Moslem, is a deeply rooted and connected whole. It has its own interpretation of the universe, and it has created economic and political forms of life in harmony with this. There is a Hindu, a Moslem and a Buddhist view of the world. As he discovers this, it makes the missionary's own faith more conscious and articulate. He finds he has to think it out, that he may meet the challenge of the rival view all along the line. Moreover, as the resistance of the rival religion hardens and his own work extends,

he has to compass co-operation, and this leads to his passing to the framing of a conception of the essential Christian Message as distinct from what is simply denominational. He becomes, further, more fully aware of the defects of his own civilization, and frames a Christian as distinct from a merely national conception of society. Finally he comes to see that everything depends upon the nature and the truth of the Christian Message, everything at home as well as everything abroad. The Jerusalem Report may be taken to represent this last and most developed stage. The Christian Message has won its way to the very forefront of the whole, and I would venture to predict that in future conferences it is likely to keep that place.

The Editor of this Review writes :

> Incomparably the greatest and most difficult [of our tasks] lies in the realm of the Christian Message. From every point of view there is nothing so sorely needed as a deepening of the grasp of Christians everywhere on the ultimate reasons for the Christian world mission.[1]

The supreme importance of the Message can at once be seen, if we try to imagine some other land sending missionaries of a new faith to our own. If that faith were obviously inferior to our own, if it gave a less reasonable account of the riddle of human life, if it depressed instead of rousing the moral energies, if it had less comfort for sorrow, less light on the life to come, less to say to the wounded conscience, less love, then wise men would have little apprehension though it had every other gift of money, education and organization. We should know that whatever its superficial triumphs might be, all the deepest forces of the spirit and in the end ' the stars in their courses ' would fight against it. I do not say that the shallower, harder, more confused faith might not win ground for a time. But in the end the real soul and strength of any faith lies in its message, and the clear apprehension of this by all concerned at the Jerusalem Meeting is something which of itself makes it memorable.

[1] ' The Jerusalem Meeting—and After.' IRM, 1928 (July), p. 437.

In the Edinburgh Report of Commission IV frequent references were made to the danger in which the ancient faiths of the East were involved in the eager assimilation of the physical science of the West. The whole situation even then was in its elements plain, and it certainly did not require the spirit of prophecy for that Commission to predict what within a decade or two was bound to happen. All the ancient faiths of China and Japan were more or less bound up with certain cosmogonies and beliefs which could not live in the medium of scientific knowledge. I should not except from this the mythology of the Northern Buddhism, in whose appeal lies so great a part of its strength.

Let me illustrate the point : A few years before the war, a Chinese battleship, fully equipped with all the technical appliances of modern engineering science, was launched from one of the Armstrong yards on the Tyne. The foreman told me that the Chinese seamen had a little joss house erected beside the ways, in which paper offerings were burned to propitiate the spirits as the ship took the water. Now that obviously could not last. The spirits were bound to go, and the ironclads to remain. The process was in full swing before the war, but the war and the awakening of nationalism which has followed have immensely increased the speed of its movement. The nationalist movement sees in the rapid assimilation of science its chief hope of making China independent, rich and powerful ; and in Confucianism, and in the reverence of the past implied in ancestor-worship, the main spiritual obstacle to the attainment of its desires.

The Jerusalem Meeting was fully alive to the new and formidable danger to that section of mankind which lies around the eastern shores of the Pacific from Korea to Singapore, and in the Island Empire, comprising not far from a half of the human race, a danger which impends also over Africa and the Near East as well. The peril is the substitution of a purely secular culture in which the older faiths will simply slowly wither and die. The full recognition of this new situation and its full and generous appreciation of

the better side of this secular culture, as well as discussion of its insufficiency, are perhaps the most striking contribution of the whole volume. Mr Paton, who thinks that possibly the decadence of the older faiths was exaggerated at the meeting, none the less bears impressive testimony to the far-reaching changes that are in process throughout the non-Christian world.

> Nothing remains more clearly in the mind, out of all the discussions that went on in those crowded days, than the emergence of secularism as the great antagonist of Christianity. . . . There was borne in upon the meeting the sense that in a new fashion the tasks ' at home ' and ' abroad ' were one, and that it would not be an untrue simplification to say that the world conflict is between Christianity and secularism, with the issues complicated by the survival in certain areas of ancient but dying faiths.
>
> It is not suggested that the members were forgetful of the fact that . . . of the great rural masses in Asia, as of most of the women, [these propositions] are not true. What remained as a permanent conviction was the fact that this world of secularist thought has come to stay, at least in the sense that it is abundantly clear that the ethnic religions cannot withstand it ; it destroys them inevitably as they come into contact with it.[1]

Even since 1910 there has been a great advance in the general sense that the Christian Message has to do not only with individual men and women but with the whole social and international life of mankind. I can well remember the somewhat mixed impression which was made at the Edinburgh Conference by Dr Coffin's powerful appeal for a Christendom more worthy of the name :

> Unthinking people at home, and hostile critics abroad, speak frequently of ' Christian civilization.' It is almost always a misnomer. . . . ' Modern civilization ' is probably the greatest hindrance to-day to the proclamation of the Christian Gospel. The more earnest the Church is in world-wide evangelism, the more insistently will it be forced to attack the inconsistencies in the practice of Christendom. The more vigorously the Church pushes its extensive campaign the more thoroughly must it do its intensive work, and make Christianity no mere veneer, but an all-pervasive leaven in our society.[2]

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[1] ' The Jerusalem Meeting—and After.' IRM, 1928 (July), pp. 439–40.
[2] Edinburgh Report, Vol. IX, p. 166.

There was a true 'presentiment of the eve' in these words. Here, too, the war has greatly accelerated a movement already in process, and this in at least two ways. It has revealed to Christendom that there was something deeply wrong with its complacent and opulent civilization, something which lay much deeper than the ambitions of this or that nation, or the weaknesses of this or that statesman or monarch. Christendom has passed through a terrifying experience, and behind all the policies of all the western peoples there lies cold fear. It has come to the very edge of social disintegration, has looked into the black abyss and has recoiled. Its best minds and natures are asking the question : 'What sins have wrought this death ?'

The other great reaction of the war has been the awakening of the spirit of nationality in the missionary lands. This, while a true step in advance, has brought a new critical leaven of bitterness into the world, and in particular has led to a trenchant criticism of the social, economic and political life of the Christian peoples, which while often unfair has, for those at least who labour in eastern lands, exposed many weak places and quickened the consciences of leaders of spiritual thought. There are many signs of this in the Jerusalem Report and the most thoroughgoing recognition that the Christian standard must be applied all round.

There remains little space to refer to the recurrence at the Jerusalem Meeting of the perennial controversy which, also, divided the Edinburgh Conference : as to whether the true line of missionary advance is generously to estimate the non-Christian religions at their highest and preach Christ as their fulfiller, or to emphasize their evils, and the divine novelty of the faith. It fell to Dr Speer, as it did at Edinburgh, to speak the mediating words, and no man could have done it better as no man is more deeply trusted. For the series of propositions in which he developed his argument the reader must be referred to the Report. Not the least notable of these propositions was that with which he closed

his paper: that, just as early Christianity in the end preserved the best of Greek and Latin civilization, so the signs to-day were that the greatest values of the non-Christian faiths would only survive as they became baptized into Christ, a suggestion which is really involved in all that had been already said about the decadence of those faiths in the climate of modern secular civilization.

Almost everything in the power of the Christian mission, in fact, depends on the finality and absoluteness of the Christian salvation. Jesus Christ is something much more than the greatest of the prophets. He is God 'manifest in the flesh.' This deep distinction is brought clearly out in the two closing papers on evangelization by Dr Mackay of Peru, and by the Archbishop of York. Were I reviewing the report generally I should say more of Dr Mackay's fine paper, but content myself with noting simply one passage in which he expresses a central lesson of the entire volume:

> The missionary movement must become more theological, not primarily for those to whom missionaries go, but for the Church herself and the missionaries who represent her. The strength and success of these will depend to a very great extent on their clear apprehension of the relation between the Jesus of history and His teachings and the Living God.[1]

Dr Temple's compact and brilliant paper puts the whole case with a lucidity which could not be bettered:

> How are we to proceed from the assertion of the uniqueness of Christ to its demonstration, unless there is instituted a comparison between the Gospel and other religions at their best? Moreover, uniqueness is not the only attribute of the Gospel; universality is another. And how are we to present Christ as the fulfilment and more than the fulfilment of the highest aspirations of the many races of mankind, unless we know sympathetically what those highest aspirations are? [2]

The Christian Church must by the very nature of its Gospel go out into all the world to win it for its Lord. It must do so because He is the unchanging truth of God, and truth is intolerant of what is not true. This is the final and

[1] American edition, p. 390; British edition, p. 450.
[2] American edition, p. 371; British edition, p. 463.

absolute element in the Christian faith. Yet it is the faith of endless unfolding and progress, because it is the religion of the spirit. All other religions to-day seem crumbling before the advance of the secular spirit. But the secular spirit must itself succumb to Christianity and be transformed by it, for Christianity alone can guarantee what the best secular civilization demands : continual progress, constancy of direction and the sacredness of human personality, without which there can be no freedom. Democracy, in the end, can only be sustained and developed by faith, ' belief in human brotherhood under God's Fatherhood.'

Into the closing statement of the substance of the Christian Message with which the volume closes I need not go, as its matter has already come before the general public. To compare the two reports of 1910 and 1928 is to have one's conviction deepened that the missionary expansion of the Christian Church is in the mid-stream of human history and human thought.

D. S. CAIRNS

THE ECUMENICAL SPIRIT AND THE RECOGNITION OF CHRIST

By JOHN A. MACKAY, D.Litt.

WE are at the beginning of a universalistic age. The world has become, to use Count Keyserling's phrase, an ecumenical organism. Physically speaking, this fact is so obvious as to require little elucidation. Present-day modes of travel and of news transmission have all but abolished distance and girt the earth into a compact physical unity. Motoring over the post-war roads of Palestine and Syria, it is possible to have breakfast in Jerusalem, lunch in Nazareth and supper in Damascus, all within the space of ten hours. Aeroplanes soar over the Khyber Pass and the dread Afghan mountains on their way to succour women and children from Kabul. Newspaper readers in the world's great capitals sit down to the same daily cables. A political address can be heard over the radio at millions of firesides, and friends listen to each other's voices across the Atlantic Ocean.

The physical unity of the world is not, however, its most significant feature. Far more significant is the increasing tendency towards universalization that characterizes modern movements, types and ideas. The advance of the ecumenical spirit has created innumerable international organizations, all designed to universalize some particular tendency or interest. When Bolivia and Paraguay began to skirmish recently over the question of territorial boundaries, simultaneous efforts were made to restore peace by international arbitration commissions in Geneva, Washington and Montevideo. In its irresistible course this current has crossed the frontiers of nationality, race and religion and penetrated every stratum of human society. It has per-

meated the East with western commercialism and culture. It is permeating the West with the spirit and lore of the Orient. If in Juvenal's day the Orontes poured its waters into the Tiber, in ours the Ganges begins to flow into the Rhine and the Thames, the Mississippi and the River Plate. The figures of Gandhi, Tagore and Krishnamurti symbolize oriental influences in the western world, as the names of Herbert Spencer, Karl Marx and Bertrand Russell symbolize western influence in the Orient.

This increasing interpenetration of East and West is one of the most interesting, and is destined, undoubtedly, to become one of the most influential products of the ecumenical spirit. In spite of all prognostications to the contrary, these twain are now meeting in a movement full of light and shade, laden with possibilities for reciprocal good and harm. A writer like Henri Massis views with infinite concern the increasing popularity of oriental writers and ideas in Europe. The growth of this influence, especially in Germany, will one day threaten, he thinks, the structure of European civilization, which he closely identifies with Latin Christianity. On the other hand, Count Keyserling, himself imbued with the oriental spirit, proclaims that the West needs the eastern idea of perfection to counteract the baneful effects of its own exclusive emphasis on progress. He considers, at the same time, that western materialism is going to convert the so-called spiritual East into the greatest future menace to all spirituality. It is his opinion that, in spite of the increasing interest in religion in educated circles in the West, the world as a whole is about to enter upon one of the most irreligious and anti-religious epochs in history. This judgment he bases upon the impact of secularism and, in particular, of the spirit of Soviet Russia upon the awakening millions of the Orient.[1] To quote his own words :

> The development of the intellect in the masses is bound to begin with the victory of a materialistic conception of life. . . . At the time when

[1] In *The World that is being born* (Spanish edition), p. 58.

the cultured have got beyond materialism, the masses are just reaching it. . . . The Orient hails materialism as a Gospel. Its acceptance by the East has the same significance as the acceptance of the Christian impulse by the Mediterranean pagan world. . . . There is nothing to be hoped for from the East. . . . From now onwards the Orient will be the bearer and symbol of materialism, however deeply spiritual may continue to be the minorities within it.

The consciousness that secularism is the chief foe of Christianity is without doubt one of the potent factors tending towards Christian ecumenicalism with its ideal of a united Christendom. It was, moreover, the consciousness that the secularistic spirit of the age tends to undermine faith in all spiritual values that led the Jerusalem meeting of the International Missionary Council to address itself to the members of other religions in the following significant terms :

> We call on the followers of non-Christian religions . . . to hold fast to faith in the unseen and eternal in face of the growing materialism of the world ; to co-operate with us against all the evils of secularism.

This is equivalent to a plea for ecumenical solidarity among the spiritual forces of the world.

There are two phenomena in particular in our contemporary world situation which are beginning to take on all the marks of universality and which, in consequence, are destined to have a profound bearing upon the progress of the Christian missionary movement. One is the renaissance of the metaphysical consciousness ; the other the emergence of a new ecumenical type. They who would deliver the Everlasting Gospel to this age dare not ignore the significance of these two challenging realities.

A great change has passed over the world of culture since a witty positivist made the remark that the metaphysician is a blind man in a dark room searching for a black cat that does not exist. In the face of the growing complexity of the universe and of increasing evidence for the existence of different spheres of reality, each sphere of which is governed by its own laws, science has come to

recognize the limitations of its own methods and leaves to metaphysics the problem of ultimates. Some great scientists of our time make metaphysics their hobby and some, as Professor Whitehead, have left science for philosophy. If it is true, as Pascal said, that the heart has its reasons, it is none the less true that the intellect has its feelings. A particular intellectual feeling tone is real and potent in our day. There is a new craving to know the objectively real and ultimate. Interest in the nature of being begins to take precedence over interest in the theory of knowledge. Thought strives to get beyond Kant and, on the wings of intuition, seeks to penetrate beyond the realm where the categories rule. It wants to know the ultimate as substantive and not simply as regulative. What is the nature of God? What is a soul? What is matter? What is the meaning of the world? These are questions that some of the profoundest lay minds are asking and trying to solve. The earnest quest for knowledge on these subjects leads many seekers, and among them some eminent men, into a sympathetic study of the occult sciences and the practice of *yoga*.

The contemporary hunger for knowledge regarding ultimate reality, with its corresponding weariness of subjectivity, has begun to manifest itself within the Christian Church. A neo-scholastic movement, consisting in a return to the *Summa Theologiæ* of Thomas Aquinas as the best point of departure for a Christian world view, is sweeping the *élite* of French Catholicism. It was the glory of Aquinas that he believed that 'God had designed man to become His fellow-thinker.' In Germany, Karl Barth, starting from Calvin, challenges the validity of the theory of religious subjectivism formulated by Schleiermacher and developed by Ritschl, and points the way back to the transcendent God and His revelation of Himself. Mr John Macmurray strikes the note of objectivity in an admirable paper entitled 'Objectivity in Religion,' which appears in *Adventure*, the most recent symposium of the Cumnor group in England.

Some months ago a writer in the American *Christian Century* voiced the need of a 'Protestant scholasticism' if Protestant Christianity were to win its way in the next generation as an intellectually respectable system. More than once was the note struck at the Jerusalem meeting that one of our greatest needs is a Christian philosophy of life.

The new consciousness, or rather we should say the returning consciousness, that Christianity is a way of thought as well as a way of life, is accompanied by the recognition that the progress of our religion, and even its very existence, is dependent upon a fresh vision of fundamental truth and a new proclamation of saving doctrine. We must understand our religion and so propagate it, for, as it has been said, only truth that is understood becomes altogether productive. Hence the Pauline emphasis on understanding. A foothold must be found for our faith and hope in the eternal order. We have need to learn afresh that religion is light as well as right action and mystic feeling. A true 'sum of saving knowledge' is an indispensable asset of Christian propaganda. Two recent writers have laid great stress upon the supreme value for religion of a statement of doctrine. Says Professor A. N. Whitehead in his thoughtful book, *Religion in the Making*:

> Religion requires a metaphysical backing. When religion ceases to seek for penetration and clarity, it is sinking back into its lower forms. The ages of faith are the ages of rationalism (p. 71).

In his able Gifford Lectures on the *Nature of Religion*, Professor W. P. Paterson expresses himself thus:

> It is a lesson of history that the life and power of the Church are dependent upon its possession of knowledge about the greatest things and on its being persuaded that it is real knowledge. . . . Every great spiritual movement of the past which took form in the founding or the reformation of a religion was bound up with a religious doctrine which led captive the mind of a nation or an age (p. 335).

If we do not penetrate into the meaning of our religion as a way of thought, there is grave danger that propagandists

of other religions with a keener metaphysical sense than ours will win ground from our contemporary Christianity. No one who is aware of the steady advance of theosophy will be ready to deny this possibility. Theosophy is nothing more nor less than a system of applied metaphysics. Only a short time ago the Indian theosophist, Dr Jinarajadasa, a doctor in philosophy of Cambridge, lectured to crowded audiences in one of the largest theatres of Buenos Aires. His tour through South America had all the appearance of a triumphal march. The great bulk of those who attended his lectures belonged to the cultured class. South America's reaction from positivism and its search for a new world view makes the theosophical approach eminently attractive.

For this and the other reasons mentioned, contemporary Christianity at home and abroad must regain a foothold in the eternal order. The Church must above all things obtain a fresh vision of the significance of her Lord as the wisdom of God, the only clue to the mystery of reality.

The second significant phenomenon in our present world situation is the emergence of a new ecumenical type. Probably for the first time in history has a fully universal type appeared upon the human stage. Count Hermann Keyserling, to whose ideas we have already referred in the course of this paper, denominates this representative type of contemporary civilization 'the chauffeur.' 'The chauffeur,' he says in one of his recent books,[1] is the representative type of the modern multitudes, as the priest and the gentleman were of the multitudes of ages past. 'The chauffeur,' it might be said, is the symbol of speed, efficiency, organization. His watchword is success, by which he means the triumph of thought and will over every obstacle. He is, in Keyserling's phrase, the 'barbarian technified,' who pursues objective progress without giving a thought to personal perfection.

'The chauffeur' as a concrete personality is ubiquitous. His 'sound has gone through all the earth.' We find him

[1] *The World that is being born* (Spanish edition), p. 38.

in the world's deserts and primeval forests as we do in its capital cities. His spirit is equally ubiquitous. It largely dominates in modern politics, commerce and church life. In the first it produces dictatorships, in the second trusts, and in the last organizations that tend to mechanize their promoters by increasing their sense of efficiency at the expense of their growth in holiness. ' The chauffeur ' in all his forms possesses the machine sense of existence and his religion is mechanolatry.

The extreme and most menacing expression of the ' chauffeur ' spirit is the Bolshevist. He is the most potent living type, for the simple reason that he incarnates values which the masses can appreciate, and is stirred by a messianic passion which he learned from Karl Marx and his Russian disciples. For the basic idea of the founder of Marxism was a great metaphysical conception, none other than the sacred idea of redemption. The most burning problem of our time becomes, therefore, how can the great masses of the world be won for the spiritual as they are being won for the material ? The world needs the appearance of a spiritual type superior in passion and potency to the Marxian communist. Members of the Christian Church must be converted into men and women of spiritual power who not only do good to others but transform others into doers of good. Our thoughts go back instinctively to Christ and the Christ type. We believe that Jesus Christ alone can successfully meet ' the chauffeur ' and transform him into a centre of spiritual energy. But in order to be able to do so He must be known in some such way as Paul knew Him. He must be apprehended as the wisdom and experienced as the power of God. The human personality in its entirety must respond to Him, absorb Him and be absorbed by Him. Christ our life and master-light can transform men and save them from things and self and the tyranny of the machine.

The present ecumenical situation, therefore, with its two antithetical tendencies—on the one hand, a widespread

desire to get into touch with and understand the spiritually ultimate, and, on the other, a passion still more widespread to possess and dominate the materially immediate—demands that we concentrate attention upon our Lord Jesus Christ. He is the wisdom of God to light up the world's meaning; He is the power of God to people it with men and women like unto Himself. Spiritual recognition of Christ must include three main facets of Him. We must know Him as the most significant personality in history; as a living and creative presence; and as the mediator of a cosmic purpose. Let us in the briefest and most synthetic form offer a few reflections on each of these fundamental aspects of our Lord.

Jesus Christ is the most significant personality in history. Unlike other historical figures He becomes more wonderful the more He is studied and followed. Unlike other founders of religions the most wonderful thing about Him is not His teaching but Himself. The Buddha, it has been said, gave his doctrine to enlighten the world; Christ gave His life. His thoughts were steeped in the great prophets of His people, but, unlike them, He felt no chasm between His consciousness of God's perfection and His consciousness of His own spiritual state. With the same fullness that He knew God, He knew Himself and was completely aware of His significance as arbiter of the world's destiny. He stands before us in the gospel pages as one who knew He was the spiritual ruler of mankind and the creative focus of human redemption. Others before Him had thought of God as Father, but He was the first to experience sonship and to teach others how to become God's sons. Moved by an adventurous faith in God and His eternal righteousness, and an overflowing love to men, He went to the cross, from which He has reigned redemptively ever since.

The most recent recognition of the unique spiritual grandeur of Christ is that of the eminent thinker who has already been mentioned several times in the course of this paper, Count Hermann Keyserling. In his latest book,

Symbolical Figures, Keyserling devotes a special study to Christ as the supreme figure of history. He calls him 'Jesus the Magus.' 'Magus' is the term he uses to denote one who is, who knows, and who can transform souls. In the personality of Jesus, says Keyserling, we have no mere becoming, but full realization; He was not a seeker of truth but its possessor; His knowledge was not that of the savant but of the spiritual creator. He was the absolutely perfect One in whom appearance was transfused by its extreme significance. Pursuing the aim of fertilizing human spirits Jesus communicated to the world a new 'sense,' which, in Keyserling's terminology, means a new fundamental attitude towards reality. His influence has been so pervasive and He occupies so undisputed a pedestal that He has become the destiny of the whole world. 'Even Bolshevism,' says this German thinker, 'the first great movement which has radically denied Jesus, comes in direct line of succession from Him. Without Him who proclaimed the infinite value of the human soul and gave priority to the miserable and afflicted it would be impossible to conceive Bolshevism.' [1]

But if Jesus Christ was the beginning of the Bolshevist revolution He shall also be its end. Only who can tell when that end will be, or how many years or generations of the fellowship of His sufferings may lie between us and then? The present ecumenical situation must needs destroy false optimism in any open-eyed observer, but even if Christ were known only 'after the flesh' we could still believe that sooner or later He would be crowned King in the disillusioned hearts of men.

Jesus Christ is to be known, however, 'after the spirit' as well as 'after the flesh.' He continues to live on as a concrete creative presence unfettered by the limitations of His earthly life. It was the conviction that the crucified Jesus was alive again, coupled with an intense experience of the Real Presence, that gave to the early Christians their joy and power and propagandist enthusiasm. Whenever

[1] *Menschen als Sinnbilder* (French edition), p. 219.

and wherever the fact of the Risen Christ has been reduced to a legend or sublimated into a myth Christianity has been weak and uncreative.

Apart, however, from the firm basis in history and experience of the Christian doctrine of the Risen Christ, we believe that it is an immanent and constitutive necessity of human nature to believe in and seek contact with some concrete and helpful personality belonging to the supernatural order. H. G. Wells, that representative and ecumenical spirit of our time, has put forward the thesis [1] of the existence in the universe of a young fighting God, distinct from the incomprehensible Absolute, who is the personal leader of the forces of righteousness in the titanic struggle with evil. Sir Oliver Lodge declares categorically that human beings enjoy the aid of supermundane 'helpers.' In Roman Catholicism this necessity appears in the recourse of worshippers to the Virgin and the saints. In theosophy it takes the form of belief in the existence of 'Mahatmas' or 'Masters' who give guidance and help to men. Christian fellowship with the Risen One gives the completest objective satisfaction to this instinctive need.

Part of the significance of the Sadhu Sundar Singh for modern Christianity is his life of communion with the Living Christ. A few sentences from his biography by Friedrich Heiler will suffice to introduce us to the kernel of the Sadhu's religious experience. 'Before my conversion I loved His teaching; it is beautiful. But my doubts were not satisfied till I was inwardly sure that Christ lives.' [2] It was this inner certainty that made him a Christian and convinced him of Christ's deity. 'We Indians,' the Sadhu says, 'want no mere doctrine, no mere religious teacher, we are tired of teachers. We need the Living Christ.' This Living Christ must become incarnate, moreover, in human lives. 'Indians,' he says, 'want workers who represent Jesus Christ in their life and conduct.' [3]

[1] In *God the Invisible King*.
[2] *Ein Apostel des Ostens und Westens*, p. 142.
[3] *Ibid.* p. 246.

Our thoughts go back to Paul of Tarsus, who more than a 'Christologue' was, as Dr Deissman calls him, a great 'Christophore,' that is, a 'bearer of Christ.' He lived in Christ, Christ lived in him. Through Christ who strengthened him he could do all things. The increasing interest in Paul and his Christ-mysticism is a healthy symptom of our time. It will serve to supplement the one-sidedness of the 'back to Jesus' movement. What we now need is to carry forward all the values of the latter into an experience of unbroken fellowship with Him who can give us strength to realize the lofty ideals He bequeathed us and power to achieve the ends for which He died.

There is still a third facet of Christ's reality. He must be known too as the mediator of a cosmic purpose. What do we mean by saying that Jesus Christ has a cosmic significance? What light does He throw upon the meaning and purpose of the universe? When Professor Whitehead makes the remark that 'Christianity has always been a religion seeking a metaphysic,'[1] his statement is only relatively true. It is most certainly the glory and strength of the Christian religion that it has started from the 'elucidating facts,' facts the full meaning of which can never be stated exhaustively. At the same time, these facts constitute in the temporal order an integral, and, we dare say, the most important stage in the realization of a cosmic plan, which they also interpret to us. The Christian scriptures reveal an absolutely unique world of reality, which takes the form of an historic drama, the hero of which is God Himself. The chief act in that drama was God's incarnation in human form in the person of Jesus Christ. In the case of Christ this incarnation was absolutely unique. It was also, however, symbolic of an inherent creative tendency in God to give Himself to and for the world, as well as a pledge that in the course of the ages He would bring to completion a perfect moral order, continuous with the material, to be in the realm of human finitude a concrete expression of His character.

[1] *Religion in the Making*, p. 40.

A German writer, Leopold Ziegler, in an article published in the Spanish review *La Revista del Occidente*,[1] thus expresses the sublime idea that lies immanent in the Christian 'facts.' Referring to the theological perception of the early Christians, he says :

> They began to understand how much it costs God to achieve, in a world which is subject not merely in a physical sense to the law of inertia, a plan of salvation which, as to its essence and origin, is ' not of this world.' It becomes necessary for God, as for all authentic initiators, to offer Himself in sacrifice if He wishes to guarantee to His community the Church the victory of the divine idea.

This is the divine, creative idea : God in Christ suffered and continues to suffer that a new spiritual world may come to the birth. To believe this is to overcome the world ; to proclaim it is to prepare the way of the suffering King. The Cross was and is and shall be until the kingdoms of this world have become the kingdom of God and of His Christ.

If the nature of God and the terrible moral inertia of a sinful world explain why the Incarnation and the Cross were necessary in the realization of a creative cosmic purpose, an illuminating idea in the Fourth Gospel throws light upon Jesus Christ as the mediatorial organ of this plan The Logos of God became flesh. The personal creative principle, immanent in the Godhead and the universe, took human form.

In spite of the opinion of some, that the Logos idea in Christianity represents a now outworn and meaningless category of thought, we believe it is at the present hour as fresh and suggestive as ever. That the divine wisdom became incarnate in Christ is an hypothesis which more than any other lights up the present and the past and points the way for Christian thought and action in the future.

As to the central place which the personality and influence of Jesus occupy in human history from the first

[1] July 1928.

century to this, no testimony could be more striking than that of Keyserling already referred to. But going beyond that particular series of historical facts and events in which can be traced the direct influence of Jesus, and entering the wider sphere of human life as a whole, we believe that this sublime figure offers a luminous focal centre for a true philosophy of history. Mr John Macmurray asks :

> Is it unreasonable to suggest that a wider view of history as a whole, working with a truer and more developed conception of personality and its place in the historical pageant, may discover that the life of Jesus is the clue to the significance of all the movements of historic civilization prior to the impact of this personality upon them ? [1]

The ' light which lightens every man ' was immanently present in human thought and action prior to its full shining in the world. Its concentration in a human personality, Jesus of Nazareth, made Him the light of the world in a wholly new sense. And now the Logos Incarnate continues, in a higher plane and in a sublimer manner, to direct human life within Christendom and beyond it, until at length it finds its satisfaction and fulfilment in Himself.

God speaks still, and everywhere, through the Word. If He were to cease from speaking the Word even for a moment, said Augustine, heaven and earth would pass away. In the shadowy personages of oriental religions and the ardent longings of their adherents we may trace the inspirations of the Eternal Christ. A great Christian like the Sadhu Sundar Singh recognizes that the religions of his people have been a preparation for the full revelation of life and light in Christ. ' We in India knew already that God is good, but we suspected not that He was so good that Christ should die for us.' ' The Vedas reveal to us the necessity of a Saviour from sin, but where is the Saviour ? The *Prajapata* of whom the Vedas speak is Christ who gave up His life as a Saviour for sinners.' ' Hinduism and Buddhism have dug canals, but they possess no living water to pass through them. Christ is the living water which shall

[1] *Adventure*, p. 211.

flow through these canals. In this way was I prepared to receive the living water through Christ. Christianity is the fulfilling of Hinduism.' [1]

We conclude this most imperfect survey of our age and the significance of our Lord by a simple reiteration of what we consider to be the two great needs of Christianity, as it faces the present ecumenical situation. The first is a bold and comprehensive world view centring in Christ which shall make the same contribution to the Christianization of the world of to-day as did early Christian theology, especially the Alexandrian, to the winning of the Græco-Roman world. The unity of the world and the dawning metaphysical consciousness of our time make this an urgent necessity and a glorious possibility.

The second need is that Christians everywhere should not only believe on Christ and live in accordance with His teaching, but should sound the Pauline depths of experience through creative communion with the Living Lord. The approaching menace of a ruthless ' chauffeur ' type of world citizen, who is much more potent and aggressive than the average Christian, makes us ask one another in earnest trembling : ' Have you received the Holy Ghost since you believed ? ' . . . ' Now the Lord is the Spirit.'

JOHN A. MACKAY

[1] *Ein Apostel des Ostens und Westens*, p. 204.

WHAT IS SECULARISM?

By WILLIAM PATON

A FRIEND of mine told me recently that a member of his congregation had come up to him and plaintively enquired: 'What is this "Secularism" that everybody talks about now?' There are indeed signs that 'the menace of secularism' is becoming, in an age of catchwords and captions, the latest missionary 'gag'; a deplorable event, for there is no surer way of preventing thought than by insulating an idea in a half-understood catchword. Probably those of us who realized at the Jerusalem Meeting the world-wide similarity of condition which gave birth to the phrase are responsible for launching this new and less blessed 'Mesopotamia' on its career. Yet the facts are there. To realize them and to understand their meaning is of the first importance for the Church of Christ.

It was my great privilege to visit during the recent winter Egypt, Turkey, Syria and Iraq as well as India, and to gather at first-hand some impressions of the struggle between religion and the secular view of life as it is being waged all over the Near and Middle East. Such an experience is profoundly moving; one is provoked not only to speculation but to compassion, not only to a study of causes and origins but to pity, dread and admiration as the realities that are battling on that great and varied stage unfold themselves. If what follows is necessarily an abstraction from reality and full of generalization we must endeavour not to forget the living people, Christians, Moslems and Hindus, whose bewilderment and groping it is sought to interpret and in whose hearts and minds alone these abstractions come to life.

Let us first look at some facts taken at random from a

wide area in illustration of the trend away from religious views of life.

In India it has long been the case that some of those most prominent in the social reform movement are apathetic towards religion. Of no group is this truer than of the Servants of India Society—a body of men whose unselfish service compels us to distinguish sharply between 'secularism' and 'materialism.' To several of them (though not to all) religion appears a somewhat futile thing, associated with social tyranny and obscurantism, and opposed to the causes for which they labour. It seemed to me, after an absence of less than two years, that no change was plainer in India than the wider extension of this outlook. A new periodical has been started in southern India called *Revolt*, dedicated to the twin causes of the promotion of social reform and the abolition of religion. To do away with 'that baneful thing called God,' as Dr Macnicol said in this Review,[1] is now the ambition of some who care deeply about social progress. The strength of the insistence at the Indian National Congress in Calcutta last December, on the need to separate absolutely between political life and religion, marks a new line of development. The majority of the speakers who represented Hinduism and Islam at the recent World's Student Christian Federation meeting in India revealed very frankly the predominantly secular trend of educated life in all parts of the country. The men who are typical of the new trend in public life are not the older leaders like Mr Gandhi or Pandit Motilal Nehru, but younger men like Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and Mr Subash Bose—hard-headed people whose 'independence' propaganda is wholly devoid of the mystical air with which Mr Gandhi's 'non-violent non-co-operation' was invested.

The tide, it is true, is not flowing all one way. The Ramkrishna Mission evinces an undoubted social enthusiasm, based apparently on a revivified orthodoxy. A tried worker like Mr Natarajan of the *Indian Social Reformer* urges that

[1] IRM, 1929 (Jan.), p. 66.

Hindu orthodoxy, in the teaching that I am identical with my neighbour, supplies at least as good a basis for social service as the Christian injunction that I am to love my neighbour as myself. But it seems that on the whole those who are foremost in education, social reform, the emancipation of women and kindred movements look on religion with indifference and even hostility.

There is no part of the world in which the struggle between religion and the modern secular outlook is more obvious than in the lands of the Near East: Iraq, Syria, Egypt and, most of all, Turkey. Every recent observer of the life of Cairo and Alexandria notices the drifting away from religion on the part of educated classes, shown in many ways. The dramatic drop in the number of students attending the Azhar University and the pre-occupation of the younger educated men, so far as they have time to spare from nationalism, with the issues raised by science are among the most obvious proofs of this. The operation of these forces upon Islam is best seen in its indirect effects. Elsewhere in this issue of the Review Mr Jeffery shows how the historical Mohammed tends to be replaced by an idealized figure, created under the stress of the world criticism to which a figure claiming world allegiance must be subjected. On the other hand, the plans for the modernization of the Azhar curriculum include the introduction of the comparative method into the study of Islam: 'Other religions must be studied that their doctrines and methods of worship may be compared with those of Islam, and that Islam's adaptability and holiness and superiority over other religions may appear. . . .'[1] The Koran is to be studied from the point of view 'of the laws of science and learning,' and 'we must in commenting on it avoid everything which learning has shown to be false.'[1] The western world has ample experience of the inevitable goal to which a comparative and scientific study must lead the sincere mind. If thoughtful educated

[1] Statement by the Rector of Al Azhar University defending the proposed reforms, quoted in *The Moslem World*, 1929 (Apr.), pp. 186–7.

men are driven from religion because of its incompatibility with the best in which they believe, they will not be recalled to it by a mythical reconstruction.

Iraq is to some extent withdrawn from the more powerful currents which are moving in the modern Mohammedan world, and its strong Shi'ah population is fanatical and conservative. In Baghdad, however, just as in Cairo or Beirut, I was told by leading Moslems that the younger men are no longer interested in Islam as a religion, and when I asked my informants for the causes of this drifting away, they surprised me by the emphasis with which they said that it was due to the ignorant and superstitious teaching usually given by the religious teachers.

Beirut is a great centre of communication, and even apart from the influences brought in by the French administration is a place where cosmopolitan influences unite to create a secular outlook. It is the general testimony of those who are working among the educated younger people that they have little religious hold on Islam. Sheikhs are now saying that there is no help any more to be found in Islam and that the foundation of society can only be restored by some new religion. While a great port such as Beirut, full of modern influences, looks with much sympathy to the Turkish reforms, Aleppo, less in touch with western commerce and close to the Turkish boundary, shows many signs of reaction from the drastic changes in Turkey, and reformers seek to separate clearly between social reform and religious reconstruction.

To anyone journeying across the Near East it becomes obvious that the Turkish reforms have, as is to be expected, attracted the most earnest attention among thinking Moslems everywhere. The extent to which modern Turkey has broken with Islam ought to be fully understood. The Turks have abolished the Caliph. On this I would remark that there seems to be among Moslems generally an almost universal acceptance of the permanent disappearance of the Caliphate. Little is heard of the Caliphate cry in India,

where only a few years ago it was so powerful, and I do not recollect hearing the Caliphate mentioned in conversation with anyone, Moslem or other, in the countries I have mentioned, except for a reference by a leading American missionary in Beirut. He said that the older Moslems felt the loss of the Caliphate a great blow to Islamic prestige, but added that they had no hope whatever that the institution could be restored.

The fez has gone, not apparently because it is a religious ornament but because it is associated in Kemal's mind with that picturesque, curious, old-fashioned Turkey which he wishes to change in order that it may no longer be patronized by the superior West. The veil has gone. The Arabic script has gone and the Latin script taken its place, in spite of the intimate association of the Arabic script with the Moslem religion. Most important of all, the *Shari'at* has gone, and in its place have come the Swiss civil code, the German commercial code and the Italian criminal code. The *Hojas* continue in limited numbers and they carry on the worship in the mosques. But the mosques in Constantinople are empty, and one is told that throughout Turkey they attract far smaller numbers than formerly, while the schools are all controlled by the State, and the Mohammedan *Hoja*, like the Greek or Armenian priest, has no control over them.

In the University of Stamboul the dominant intellectual tone is non-religious or anti-religious ; religion is regarded merely as a social product, and the psychology of Durkheim is apparently accepted as the final truth of the western learning. A committee of university men was appointed to advise on the reform of religion, and in addition to a preposterous suggestion that boots, pews and organs should be introduced in the mosques (not presumably for their religious value, but in obedience to the western manner) it was proposed that some arrangement should be made to base moral teaching in the schools on the more eligible parts of the Koran. Nothing has come of this, and educated

Turks talk about some new religion being adopted, or some form of Christianity, realizing that a spiritual basis for education is needed. A prominent man said to me that it was the opinion of himself and his friends that the reason for the backwardness of the old Turkey had been the adoption of Islam as a religion. Pan-Islam has gone, and Ghazi Mustapha Kemal Pasha, with an energy and determination of purpose which are truly amazing, has set out to make his country a strong national state.

In view of the strong emphasis upon the unity of the Turkish race and nation, it is not without significance that on the new five-lira paper notes there appears engraved the White Wolf—a Turanian deity of the pre-Islamic period. The White Wolf may mean no more than the British Lion, but it makes its appearance at an interesting time.

Does this medley of instances help us at all to understand the meaning of this thing vaguely called secularism? The first thing to be noticed is that many of the elements in the secular movement are perfectly good in themselves—education, for instance, is a good thing; so is the emancipation of women; so is social progress in the different forms in which it is being advanced throughout this whole great area; so is the study of natural science. It is, surely, a point of first-class importance that many of the leaders of the secular movement of the East are men and women devoted to such objects as these. I do not pretend, of course, that secularism in India or Egypt or Turkey is not aided, as secularism in Germany or England or America is aided, by the natural man's antagonism to God, the attraction of the world, the flesh and the devil. We shall, however, make a great mistake if we are content merely to denounce the secular movement and do not realize that its strength lies in its positive assertion of some things that are good in themselves.

Good in themselves—but as parts which belong together in a whole. Education, economic relations, social progress or the study of science are each legitimate departments of

life, but they are only departments. Canon Quick has recently pointed out that a noticeable tendency in the modern world is the success of the movement towards specialization :

> The Christianity of the reformed churches has not succeeded in interpreting the great central doctrines of the Incarnation and the Atonement in such a way as to make men find in Christ Himself a unifying authority over all life which may provide a common goal and a common law for all the manifold activities of the human mind and spirit. Each activity pursues its own peculiar line of study, knowledge and creation. Each claims its own autonomy and refuses to accept standards of good and bad, right and wrong, from any authority outside itself. 'Business is business,' say some, meaning thereby that industrial activities cannot submit to standards of conduct intended to apply equally to all dealings of men with one another. 'Art for art's sake' is by now an older-fashioned slogan, which has declared the right and duty of the artist alone to fix the canons by which his creations are to be judged. Each separate science pursues its own road to truth. . . .[1]

Any man who understands the meaning of religion must insist that it is the inspiration of the whole of life, the centre to which all the parts belong. The essence of secularism is simply this, that things which belong to one another have become separate and self-dependent. This, it seems to me, is the true analysis of what is happening now in the East. Men who are keen about social progress and who want to see their countries no longer looked down upon by western people as picturesquely backward, are not prepared to consider religion if religion means to them simply the ancient bondage. Faced by a figure like Mohammed, they must find it difficult to escape from the sense that while historically he will take a high place in world history as an Arab leader, there are grave objections to accepting him as a guide for all humanity. Either, therefore, they will idealize him (a stage probably, as we have seen, doomed to be only temporary), or they will dismiss religion, probably in silence, as irrelevant to the causes for which they care.

In India also this process is going on. It is probable

[1] *Church Overseas*, 1929 (Apr.), 102–3.

that the revulsion from religion which we have sketched is not caused only by the cruder abuses which undoubtedly characterize Hinduism but equally are deplored by thoughtful Hindus. The trouble lies deeper. As Dr Macnicol told the Jerusalem Meeting:

> The absolute unity of *advaita* (the Hindu doctrine of non-duality or absolute unity) leaves no room for the spirit of man to breathe. . . . Its fatal defect is that it does not make men. . . . Nothing so much occupies the thoughts of earnest lovers of the Indian people as the question of how they can recover self-respect, manliness, the heroic qualities of their inheritance. As Dr Rabindranath Tagore describes it, they have to rid themselves of the *Sudra Dharma*;[1] their personality has to recover energy and initiative. This the *advaita* doctrine will not achieve for them, for it gives a wholly secondary place to the moral life and its claims.[2]

There is a sense in which the nationalist and social reform movement in India is in its fundamental nature alien to the principles of Hinduism. It is meaningless if personality is meaningless, if moral effort is in the last resort illusion, if there exists nothing but an Absolute Being, remote from all the moral immediacies of our struggling world. If this analysis be true and not fancy, it will take more than the removal of the kind of abuses which excite the notice of Miss Mayo to reconstitute Hinduism as the energizing centre of a living India.

Let it be noted, however, that these great religions have been and still claim to be Religions in the full sense in which we are using that great word. They have claimed not only to supply consolation for individual souls, but also to furnish the needed synthesis of all experience. It was the boast of Islam that it provided a better synthesis between the claims of individual and social morality than did Christianity. It was the boast of Hinduism that it so impregnated the whole of life as to make society a religious organism. We now behold through the operation of these great forces of the

[1] The 'servant habit of mind.'

[2] Jerusalem Meeting Report, vol. I. pp. 42–3 (British edition); p. 35 (American edition).

modern world — science, education, the development of industry, the emancipation of women and so on—the emergence of forces which will not fit into this synthesis ; these powerful tendencies belong, it appears, to another world. They are not inherently anti-religious, but they are alien to religion as they meet it.

I have no doubt that any thoughtful man who is acquainted with the educated or semi-educated life of Europe and America would give a somewhat similar verdict. Crowds of thoughtful and serious people in practice write Christianity off as negligible. They regard it as lower, not higher, than the causes they care about. Consequently those causes virtually take the place of religion. We need to comprehend this movement. We have not only to condemn and seek to overcome the lust, greed and sloth which war against the soul, but to examine humbly the criticism of religion made by the movement of God's Spirit. In so far as even the Christian religion has become tied up with ideals that are alien to its truth and simplicity, has become legalized or superstitious, loading on men's backs burdens that are no part of the yoke of Christ, we may look with certainty to see the secular movement eating into it in just the same way as it has eaten into the ancient religions of the East.

This then is secularism—the separation of the departments of life from the centre to which they belong, so that they become kingdoms in their own right, self-dependent, acknowledging no common suzerainty. Business then will be business ; art will be for art's sake ; education will solve the mystery of human life in its own strength ; the chemist's crucible will be a sufficient test of all reality. And then religion becomes also a little department of life with its own petty interests, its own peculiarly odious separatisms, its own professional jargon. The heart of secularism is the divorce of religion from its proper task, and it is here that some of us have come to look for the centre of the world's evil.

I have perhaps suggested that in the separation of religion

from life it is only religion that suffers, and that the departments of life which are becoming self-dependent worlds of their own may get along not so badly. But this is the opposite of the truth. The noblest elements in these great 'secular' movements need to be integrated into a religious interpretation of the world if they are to survive at all. Only the most incurable optimism about human nature can bring us to believe that that reverence for the child which is the noblest thing in educational thought, and by preserving mystery keeps education from being a merely efficient mechanism, can survive without relation to a spiritually-conceived universe; or that the service *motif* in the economic world can survive the fading out of religion. I have purposely looked at the phenomenon of secularism from the most favourable angle, and seen in it an effect, in part at least, of religious failure. But let no one imagine that a secularized world would be nothing worse than a world deprived both of the beauty and passion but also of the superstition and tyranny of religion. It would be a world of unredeemed confusion, where the higher values are starved out, and disillusionment reigns with moral lassitude. Matthew Arnold pictured the pagan Roman world, on which

> disgust
> And secret loathing fell:
> Deep weariness and sated lust
> Made human life a hell.

These considerations add great weight to the claims of those who at Jerusalem pled the need of a truly Christian world-view. On our analysis 'secularism' is not just a new 'enemy' which has appeared from nowhere. It is the result of the failure of religion to integrate the life of man, to integrate it by mastering and redeeming it. And that failure is, so we believe, for some religions final. The centre of reality is never again going to be found in Mohammed, or in Buddha, or in the kaleidoscopic pantheon of Hinduism. Not that the religions may not retain great power for many

years; the communal sense is closely akin to some kinds of religion, and national patriotism and the sense of injustice may well give the appearance of passion and power to a national cult. But nothing more eloquently speaks of the pressure of world criticism upon the ancient ethnic faiths than the shift away from the historic Mohammed and the historic Buddha; it is as if foundations were being changed that the house might better stand.

What of Christianity? Are we self-deceived, mere partisans mouthing the phrases of a fond delusion, if we hold that the Christian faith in God through Jesus Christ is the truth for which the world's bewilderment is asking and the only centre in which its life can be united and sustained? Some look back to the mediæval world in which there was an unquestioned unity of Christian conviction, and nobody dreamt of claiming that economics, for instance, could contract out of the sphere of the Christian ethic. But we live in a more complicated world, and the answer to our modern question is never to be found by a mere return upon the past. Every kind of Christian has his task, and for those to whom thought, and not thought alone but the wedding of thought to action, falls as their task, there is in this generation the work of formulating a Christian world-view. This is not the place, and (much more) I have not the power, to outline what that means. It involves in the realm of thought an explanation of the Christian view of God and the world, so that that view is shown not only to be compatible with (for instance) biological fact, but to be the inner truth on which ultimately the other depends. It involves in the realm of action a conquering of life for Christ, showing by the test of recklessly bold experiment and sacrifice that the Life and Lord of men is Christ.

It may, however, in conclusion be suggested that we have in the Christian gospel three elements which are essential to the religious synthesis the world wants. We have a conception of God in which personality has a true place—neither a misty immanence nor a bare transcendence. We

have a thought of the Spirit of God, dwelling in men, so that external law can be transformed into indwelling love, and the continual adaptation of moral principle to changing and developing need can spring from the richness of an inward possession, the only safeguard against legalism. We have, last and greatest, the historic Person of Christ, to whom more and more Christians return, poring over every detail of His earthly life, seeking to review their own faulty achievement by reference to that standard. Where others fade and change He stands out ever more clearly, the only One, of all who have appeared in our humanity, who arrests the seeking soul in every age with the sense of God present in judgment and love.

WILLIAM PATON

THE PLACE OF RELIGION IN INDIAN EDUCATION

By ELEANOR McDOUGALL, Litt.D.

IT is just over a year now since the International Missionary Council held its session on the Mount of Olives, and much that was said there has been eagerly discussed in many parts of the world. But the subjects with which the Council dealt were so numerous and so important that not all could receive immediate attention from missions and Churches ; and as those which seemed to call for speedy and definite action have naturally eclipsed others which rather concerned general principles, there is a danger that some things of value may fade away from recollection without attracting the attention of a preoccupied Christendom. Here in India the Council report which has naturally and rightly aroused the greatest interest has been the volume concerning the relation of missions and Churches, for the Christian Church in India has just reached that stage of growth where such a problem becomes vital. The emphasis laid by the Jerusalem Council on rural problems has also been welcomed in India, and the National Christian Council at its meeting in Madras in January concentrated its attention chiefly on these two urgent questions.

Among the subjects which as yet have received little attention in India is the report of the Council on religious education. Yet something momentous is recommended in that report, and in the abstract we should all agree that no topic can be more important than this which combines the two greatest influences in our lives, namely, religion and education. The deliberations of the Council on this subject were long and anxious, and no resolutions perhaps were more difficult to draft. It was with no light heart but with

a deep sense of responsibility that the Council finally passed a resolution which if understood and adopted may lead to results which we can only conjecture. The difficulties and dangers which the course recommended will certainly involve were steadily and seriously regarded, but if the Council was right in its emphatic declaration of the essential place of religion in education, some such resolution was inevitable. I should like to remind the readers of this Review how serious the matter is, limiting the issue to India and, for the sake of clearness, to the question of Hinduism only.

The sentences which embody this new recommendation can be found in the ' Messages and Recommendations ' which are published under the title : *The World Mission of Christianity*, on pages 21, 22 and 23, and run as follows :

> Religion, when worthy of the name, incorporates man's response to the eternal values of life. As such it is essential to education. Without it education will not be merely incomplete : it is almost a contradiction in terms. . . .
>
> While we would not deny the elements of worth existing in other religions, we are convinced that Christianity alone can supply what education requires. . . .
>
> It is a function of governments to see that suitable educational facilities are provided for all their citizens, and we desire to co-operate in the fullest measure with them in the performance of this task. If we are right in insisting upon the essential place of religion in education their provision for education will not be complete if it affords no place or opportunity for the moral and spiritual values of religious education. . . .
>
> For all national educational systems we covet the influences of the Christian religion ; but, except where a religious system can be shown to be morally detrimental in its influence, we believe that it is preferable that education be based upon some religious belief than that it should be based upon none.

To carry out this recommendation in the case of India would mean that missionaries and other Christian people should give every encouragement to the teaching of Hinduism to the children of Hindus in the schools which are under public control. It does not of course mean that such teaching should be given in schools which are under the

control of missions, churches or other 'private agencies.' But it does mean that in the opinion of those who met and conferred at Jerusalem the teaching of Hinduism to children at school is more profitable for them than the silence about religion which is at present maintained in schools under public management and control.

This view is at variance with the traditional policy in education hitherto followed by the Government of India. That this policy, which excluded religion from the teaching and practice of schools carried on by Government, has had deplorable results few would now deny. It is useless and also it is unjust to blame the Indian and British framers of that policy. It was probably the only policy possible in the middle of the nineteenth century, and it was not so unsuitable to that age as it is to this. The policy was briefly as follows: Government recognized that education should be connected with religion, and therefore, feeling the difficulty of teaching Hinduism and being unwilling to use its position of authority for teaching Christianity, Government frankly expressed its desire that the education of India should be carried on chiefly by 'private agencies' assisted by grants of public money. Private schools would teach the religion of those who instituted them, and Government would in no way interfere with such teaching; it would not even enquire about it. Government did not wish or intend the education of India to be unreligious; it looked forward to the establishment of large numbers of Hindu, Moslem and Christian schools, and intended to set up schools and colleges of its own only in places where otherwise there would be no education at all.

The expectation of Government was unfulfilled. Very few Hindu schools were established by 'private agencies.' Rather more Moslem schools were set up. But only Christian missions took up seriously the government offer, and for a long time were the chief recipients of the promised grants-in-aid. The reasons for this were partly, though not wholly, financial. Though Government was willing to pay half the expenses

of every school which attained to a reasonable standard of efficiency, there was the other half to think of. The fees of pupils must be kept low. The spread of education did not appeal strongly to the imagination of the rich men of India, and their liberality, often great, flowed in other directions. The mission schools had the advantage of financial resources derived from elsewhere, and also they had the inspiration of a compelling motive.

So Government was forced to promote education by setting up its own schools and colleges from which religion was entirely absent. Its contribution inevitably grew larger and larger, and is now predominant. There can be no doubt that it will become more and more so. The increased cost of education caused by the steadily rising standard of efficiency set up by Government is becoming a serious problem for 'private agencies,' and now that compulsory free education of an elementary kind has been instituted in some parts of India, and will in time be instituted in all parts of India, it is obvious that Government must be the chief educating agency of the country. This is perhaps a right and natural development, but if it is to mean that the vast majority of the children of India will have an education in which religion has no place, it is surely time to reconsider the whole position.

We must also realize another great change that has arisen since the educational policy of Government was framed. At that time school claimed a comparatively small part of the time and the life of the child. In school hours a certain amount of instruction, chiefly of a literary character, was given, and regular attendance and a certain degree of progress were expected. But the rest of the time belonged to the home, and the parents were responsible for the morals and manners of the child, his health, recreations and social intercourse, his general outlook on life and his religion. But by slow degrees, for good reasons and bad, the school has assumed control and responsibility for nearly all these things. Compulsory medical inspection, compulsory games, compulsory domestic training for girls, school projects and

excursions, organizations such as the Boy Scout and the Girl Guide Movements, have indeed left little responsibility to the parents, and as these feel themselves at a great disadvantage in comparison with the more expert and alert professional men and women who are at work upon their children, they are shy and diffident about the teaching of religion, the one sphere ignored by the school. A Hindu lady of high position lamented the other day in a public speech the disuse of family worship in educated Indian homes, and strongly advocated that schools should inculcate the habit of prayer. Moreover, the time of the child is so entirely occupied by the activities and interests of school, and all that he does there is so fully organized, that everything for which school does not make a place is crowded out. Life seems complete and full without any spiritual interest at all.

It was fully realized at Jerusalem that this unreligious system of education, whether suitable or not to former conditions, is full of evil and danger for the children of our present day. Those concerned with education found themselves in complete accord with those who were preparing the report on the Christian Message, in the conviction that the greatest enemy of the cause of Christ throughout the world is not Hinduism or any other religion but rather the indifference of men to spiritual things, their immersion in material concerns, and the godless view of life which distorts the whole outlook of the soul. All religions testify to the reality of the Unseen and in so far prepare the way of the Lord. But the education which ignores religion while it claims completeness, and which by implication relegates the spiritual to the class of things unimportant, disparages religion far more effectively than atheistic propaganda could, and insensibly undermines the Indian conception of human life as the arena of spiritual forces. It is quite true that such an education frees the soul from many crude superstitions, such as terror during an eclipse, but that is a small gain compared with the loss of all interest in the

things of the spirit. This danger grows more and more great and subtle as Indian boys and girls enter on the rich and complex life of these days. It is the very success of the school, its provision of many new interests and activities, that result not only in the gradual banishment of vicious and malicious occupations but also, alas, in the banishment of the leisure and solitude in which the things of God, even though not fostered by the school, might yet find entrance. School has now occupied the whole time and filled the whole horizon of the child, and serious is its responsibility if by the silent implication of the unreality and needlessness of anything beyond the material and intellectual interests with which it crowds his days and thoughts it builds up a barrier between the child and God.

Such considerations led the Council to state its opinion that even in schools in which, by the nature of the case, the Christian faith could not be taught, the education given should be based on religion. It is easy to see that if the Legislative Councils which now control the education of India should adopt this view and act on it, the situation would be fraught with difficulty and danger for the Christian cause, and it is well to examine some of these, only bearing in mind the almost overwhelming difficulty and danger in which the present system even more painfully involves us.

First, the Hindu parent of the best type is anxious about the neglect of religion which he observes in the rising generation. While he is far from wishing his children to become Christians he yet covets for them a spiritual outlook and an authoritative rule of conduct which shall be their guide in the growing perplexities of our modern world. Failing to find these in government education he sends his boys and girls to Christian schools and colleges, and is often grateful for what they learn there. Coming as they do from homes where religion is valued, these young people are most responsive to the spiritual influences of the Christian school, they are lovable and delightful, their companionship is valuable in many ways to the Christian pupils, and the

friendships which spring up there are profitable to both and do something to check communal dislike and distrust. If religion is taught in government schools we must expect that many of such children will be withdrawn from Christian schools and sent to schools where Hinduism is taught.

Secondly, the practical difficulties are enormous. It would clearly defeat the very purpose of the change if the religious teaching given was so vague and lifeless that it failed to interest the children. The first essential for all successful teaching is the teacher's own knowledge and conviction, and moreover, as he is dealing with young people, he must have something quite definite to say. Before the control of the Department of Education passed into Indian hands, British Directors of Public Instruction occasionally made tentative proposals about the teaching of Hinduism in school buildings outside school hours, but found little response when they asked for information about suitable teaching or teachers. It would be difficult to solidify the vast and vague conceptions of Hinduism into a possible syllabus for schools.

Again, it cannot be denied, and Hindus of earnest mind would be the last to deny, that there is much in Hindu legends and mythology which is unsuitable for children to study. There are many stories of successful trickery and of petty and puerile acts on the part of gods, not to speak of the graver shadows of sexual sin. And it may be urged that the fundamental conceptions of polytheism and anthropomorphic mythology are so completely out of line with modern thought that they should not be taught to children at all.

In the fourth place, it is a new thing for Christian missionaries to encourage Government to provide for the teaching of Hinduism, and this change of attitude is full of danger both for our Hindu friends and for ourselves. This pronouncement concerning education is in a line with a development of Christian thought which was manifest in the Edinburgh Conference of 1910 and extremely conspicuous

in the Council at Jerusalem. In reaction from the ancient belief that non-Christian religions were false and misleading, and that the conflict lay between Christ and them, we have come to think that much true and worthy teaching about the Divine is contained in these religions and that by them God has been training men and women to receive the perfect revelation of Himself in Christ. We used to rejoice in every evidence that such religions were losing their hold on the people, but now we do not feel that the neglect or disparagement of these ancient faiths is a matter for unmixed congratulation. Far more people forsake Hinduism than accept Christ, and if the traditional religion is replaced by blank negation it is a loss indeed.

That of course is the consideration which led to the opinion of the Council at Jerusalem that religion is an essential factor in education. But in saying this we run the risk of conveying a most misleading impression. In saying that there is value in all religions we are thought to say that all religions are of equal value. We seem to be adopting a view which is now prevalent among our Hindu friends, that religion is a matter of destiny much as nationality is ; that just as a Scot must remain a Scot, not because it is necessarily the best or happiest thing to be but because being so born he must so remain and make the best of it, so a Parsee, for instance, must remain a Parsee, not because that is necessarily the best or happiest faith but because being so born he must so remain and make the best of it ; that all conversions are wrong, and that it is arrogant for any religion to claim universality. A few days ago in a public meeting I heard an aged Hindu judge, after many kindly words about missionaries, congratulate his hearers that these had now ceased to urge the supreme claims of Christianity and were acknowledging it to be one of several good religions. This was of course a misunderstanding, but we must realize that the proposed change, if advocated by missionaries, will probably deepen the impression that Christian people no longer desire that Hinduism should be

replaced by the faith of Christ ; and that is a serious thing to face.

Also for ourselves there is a subtle danger. We, like all other human beings, are constantly being lured along the path of least resistance. In advocating the teaching of Hinduism in government schools we shall win a reputation for breadth of mind and catholicity of sympathy. It is much more easy and pleasant to dwell on the nobler doctrines of Hinduism than to urge the strict and solemn claims of Christ. We have all grown sensitive to the charge of imperialism and boastfulness. Perhaps we used to deserve this charge, but nowadays the temper of most of us inclines us to go so far out of the way of offence that we almost forsake the path of sincerity. It is so easy to win the affection, at least for a time, of those with whom we have to do by delicate flattery and exaggerated agreement, that we shrink from any jarring note of discord.

And there is another danger which must arouse even greater misgivings. Probably we all know by bitter experience that the most potent enemy of Christ in the soul is spiritual pride. Are we perhaps fostering that most dangerous tendency in our Indian friends by our continual emphasis on their spirituality as distinguishing them from our compatriots ? There can hardly be an attitude of soul more perilous than a complacent conviction of superior spirituality, and yet it is almost a convention nowadays that every foreigner speaking in India should assure his audience of his admiration of their superior spiritual endowment. Of course we mean it as a gesture of sincere friendliness, but is there not also a subconscious wish to commend our broadmindedness and freedom from prejudice, and to show how different we are from the intolerant missionaries of a former day, to whom, after all, the Christian Church in India owes its knowledge of the Gospel ? If this is our danger, will it not be increased by our advocacy of the teaching of the Hindu religion in government schools ?

All these things are true and all these difficulties and

dangers were in the minds of the delegates at the Jerusalem Council whose special task was to consider religious education. It was with no easy or casual confidence that we emerged from the long hours of discussion with this resolution, but with a deep sense that the wrong done to India and other lands by the present system is so great that even dangerous and difficult ways must be attempted in the hope of averting yet greater wrong by its continuance, and with a sincere belief that this is a venture of faith to which we are called by God. Each of these dangers makes a strong demand on faith; but by faith, as we know, some out of weakness have been made strong. In this light we may review the dangers which we have seen.

First, if we sincerely believe in the supremacy of the Gospel of Christ we may have faith to see that it will be a positive gain if that Gospel stands on its own merits, and not as the only available source of general spiritual ideas. As things are now it is a distinct inhibition in our teaching of the Bible to be conscious that many of the children are sent to us in order to gain what is not the message that we are trying to give. The good news of Christ is not the same thing as a general statement of the Fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man. It is more than a moral code or a system of doctrine. It is the establishment of a personal relation with a living Person. This is the asset and this is the attraction of the Christian religion. We must believe that this will still attract, and that though for a time many Hindu children may be withdrawn from our schools yet if the Gospel is truly taught they will return with an unsatisfied desire, while to the teacher the change will bring a liberation and enlargement of spirit which will inspire his teaching.

Again, the practical difficulties will in time solve themselves. There has never been a great reform that has not involved enormous practical difficulties. If Hinduism cannot, after a due period for deliberation, provide teachers and teaching for its children, it stands condemned. But it is only right that at least the attempt should be made, and

that all who care for spiritual values should watch it with respectful sympathy.

Again, about the dark and evil side of Hinduism we must have faith. Our Lord said that we can count on men, though evil, knowing how to give good gifts to their children. If the task is laid on the responsible leaders of Hinduism to decide what shall be taught to their own children, we must believe that the baser aspects of Hinduism, its connivance at deceit and vice, will be banished from the lessons of the schoolroom. Here again a little child may lead them, and the result may be a great purification of Hinduism. This in itself would be a positive gain, and, as a Brahman convert impressively reminded us at Jerusalem, it may lead to a recognition of needs which Hinduism cannot supply. In any case it is not for Christians to dread any good thing or any impulse or inducement towards a purification of Hinduism.

The fourth danger, that of obscuring the supremacy of Christ and all men's need of Him, is by far the most serious, and it is intensified by some strong allies—national pride, the human dislike of a very high standard, the inertia of the soul to which we are all prone, which makes us easily content with half-good things. But here again we must have faith. Dim and difficult as is the way, yet if God has called us to it, we must believe that it leads to His City. It may be thought that we are forgetting the errand on which we came to India if we advise the teaching of Hinduism in schools. But we must exalt Christ by other means than by ignoring or disparaging the feeling after God and the finding of Him who is not far from every one of us, which the best Hindu thought records. Christ is neither our product nor our property, but we shall wish to be so completely His product and His property that men shall see His handiwork in us, and realize that such an experience can be neither a legacy from parents nor a privilege of a community but a gift offered by God to all men in Christ. It is sadly true that the good is the enemy of the best, but we must have faith to believe that all good is of God, and

that He who has begun a good work will perform it unto the day of Jesus Christ.

India will of course do as it likes in this matter. Education is a 'transferred department' and is under Indian control. Yet the attitude of Christian people in India will make a great difference when the question arises. It is not expected that any legislation on the provision of religious teaching in government schools will be brought forward during the next year or two. Yet it is only a matter of time. There is a strong body of opinion among educated Hindus that the present silence on religion in government schools must cease. Year by year the Women's Educational Conference declares its view that education must be based on religion, and urges Government to arrange for the provision of such teaching. On the other hand, there are educated Hindus, who definitely oppose religion as a divisive force which hinders Indian unity and as a stronghold of the conservatism which shelters ancient abuses. There is much truth in both these charges, yet the wiser and deeper mind of India insists, and I think always will insist, that life without religion is no life and that the greatest need of India is a rebirth of its ancient spirit of reverent awe before the Unseen and of stringent moral obligation. We know that in Christ alone will India find the God and the Lord for whom she is seeking, and such religious teaching as fosters the sense of need and rescues the soul from being drowned in the restless whirlpool of modern life must aid her search.

Education is not salvation. The ultimate conflict must lie between Christ and the antagonism of every human soul to His holy love. But education can prepare the way of the Lord or it can obstruct that path. The resolution passed at Jerusalem expresses the conviction that in spite of all difficulties and dangers the presence of religion in schools will help to 'make straight in the desert a highway for our God.'

ELEANOR MCDOUGALL

A HINDU VILLAGE HOME IN NORTH INDIA

By CHARLOTTE VIALL WISER

AS one walks down our main village lane, he sees a long line of high irregular mud walls on either side, with only an occasional break for a by-lane. It is almost impossible to tell where one house ends and another begins, except that for a space the wall line may be a few inches higher, or another bit may have crumbled lower, than its neighbours. If he should pause before the door of Prem Charan's house it would simply be to look at the two pairs of clay jars set up over the doorway—sign of a recent wedding—or at the blurred white pattern traced in rice flour beside the door. Even these do not distinguish the doorway. Many others in the village are more elaborately ornamented.

It is only after one passes through the cattle room, long, narrow, filled with animal odours, and goes on into the family courtyard beyond that the difference between this house and others is felt. The confusion and muddy clutter of most courtyards are replaced by order here, the order of wisely directed industry. The court is not unusually large—about twenty by twenty square feet. And in it five or six women are always busily engaged, with at least ten children romping under foot. But the animals are never allowed to enter, as in most village houses. It is always freshly swept, and the few furnishings are those needed in daily tasks. Whatever congestion might arise is relieved by the combined store and living rooms on two sides. The nearest corner is shady in the afternoon and is used for spinning or other activities of that leisure hour. The corner opposite is separated from the rest by a two-foot

wall. It is here the cooking is done. And only she enters this space whose turn it is to cook for the day, and then not until she has bathed and draped herself in a freshly washed garment. It has been washed in a bucket of cold water from the well (fuel is too precious to waste on water), so it may be dingy but it is ceremonially clean.

The first duty of the cook for the day is to plaster with fresh clay the little mud stove and all the floor behind the low protecting wall, thus making it, too, ceremonially clean. Others may sit anywhere on the courtyard floor to cut up the vegetables with small sickles braced with be-ringed toes. And one or two others may grind the grain—wheat, barley, maize or millet—between the heavy, round, hand mill-stones. But when the vegetables are ready for frying and the flour ready for kneading they are carried behind the little wall, and after that are touched by her only who has bathed and dressed for her task. When there are guests—which is often in this household—or when there are extra helpers in the fields, one woman cooks vegetables and pulses behind the wall, and another the thin unleavened cakes on a mud-washed stove just outside it. No matter how large the crowd being entertained, the cooking must be done by women of the household. Hired helpers may be brought in to grind or chop, and bring water, but never to share in the cooking ceremony.

Beside the cooking corner is the space where the men sit for their meals. A marked-off square sometimes suffices, but in this orthodox household the master of the house has a small oblong of wood just large enough to rest his feet on as he squats over his tray. The men ordinarily dine singly. But if two happen to come in together they eat as silently and exclusively as though alone. The women and children may eat anywhere and at any time, usually after the men have been fed.

One can tell the relationship between the various women and the man who enters the court, by the varying degrees of subserviency. When Prem Charan, master of the house,

comes in, his wife rises quickly to do his bidding. If it is food he wants he sits down in his corner. She washes and, with head bowed and draped so that she can scarcely see, brings the vegetables and pulses and serves a portion of each on his tray, taking care not to touch him as she does so. She brings the unleavened cakes and drops them before him, from a safe distance. Then she either stands and waits, or goes to other tasks, head still bowed, always on the alert for further orders. The other women stop their chatter and work in silence or speak in whispers. His sister and two daughters are the only ones who go about freely while he is in the house. Wife, sisters-in-law, daughters-in-law and nieces-in-law must all be veiled in his presence. If Prem Charan's younger brother comes in the muffling of voices and activities is less pronounced. His wife sets her baby down on the floor or hands it to one of the girls, and with head down hurries to obey his curt commands. When Prem Charan's grown son appears, his mother and aunts-in-law pay little attention, and laughingly shoo his timid young wife to do his bidding. To them he is still a child though doing the work of a man.

Much more than cooking and sewing go on in this clean, sunny courtyard. The men bring their harvested crops from the fields, and turn them over to the women. Here they must be cleaned—tossed up and twisted and shaken skilfully in reed baskets until all dirt and foreign particles have been removed. The pulses must be split in a special hand mill. The different grains must be dried on the family rope cots in the sun, and stored in tall jars made of clay by the women. The larger stores for lending are cared for in special storehouses. The women seed the cotton, and after the carder has whipped it up they spin it, saving some to fill their quilts for the cold season. They churn the milk and clarify the butter to make ghee, in which all frying is done. They collect dung from the cattle room, mix it with scraps of chopped grain stalks and pat it into cakes for fuel. Every morning they grind the grain for the day's

bread, and grind fresh spices, that flavours may be strong. So that, although there are only a few brass utensils to wash, no silver to polish, no windows to clean or furniture to dust, their days are filled with industry.

Prem Charan's wife shares in the work while she directs it. Like every village woman, she looks forward to the time when she will have enough daughters-in-law to relieve her of her household burdens. She can only count on her daughters until their early marriage. There have been seven girls in this family. Two have died. The others, except Sharmani of ten and the new baby girl, have been married and now belong to their husbands' families in other villages. It is usually when one of them is ill or needs a rest from her husband that she comes home for a visit of months, rather to be cared for than to help. They all make an effort to return when there is a wedding in the house, to welcome the new little bride, or to weep over the younger sister who departs alone for her husband's village. Sons are the greatest blessing of the gods, for sons stay in the father's house, bringing home their wives and producing more sons to carry on the family chain. Prem Charan has had five sons, three of whom are living. The eldest is married, and his wife takes her share of the household tasks and longs for sons. She has had two babies, both premature and both living but a few hours. We have tried to explain that a little special care would spare her a repetition of the tragedy. But the womenfolk cling to their conviction that an evil spirit possesses her. All the spirit-charmers of their wide acquaintance have been summoned, and each for a while has seemed to succeed. The girl has been carried over miles of rough roads in a bullock cart, to the Ganges canal or to some reputed temple, on every occasion that might prove auspicious. Her own parents are dead, so all her ties are here, and it is to her mother-in-law that she confides all her joys and disappointments, and it is to her she looks for guidance exactly as does the ten-year-old daughter of the house. (A kindly mother-in-law

is an important asset when a father is considering a husband for his child. If possible he avoids marrying her into a household without a mother- or sisters-in-law. There are so many things which caste rules forbid unrelated neighbours to do, that a young wife is very much alone in her illnesses and problems unless there are other women in the family.)

The second son, still in school, is also married. His little bride has been here once for a visit since the wedding, and then was treated like an honoured guest. It will be another year before she comes to take her place as part of the family, and to do her share in maintaining the sacred line.

The places later to be taken by daughters-in-law in this household are now filled by sisters and sisters-in-law of the master of the house—never by any chance those of his wife. None of her women relatives would think of coming to visit her; and to have to live in her husband's house would be a disgrace they could not endure, unless, as sometimes happens, her husband's brother should be married to her sister, and the sisters live together as sisters-in-law. Her brother, a dignified controller of spirits, comes occasionally to take her home for a visit. Otherwise, her blood family dropped from her life when she came here to live.

Prem Charan has a grown sister living in his house. This only happens if the husband's family has died out. She seems to have been a widow always, and has no attachments outside this village. Having been brought up here she is comparatively free to move about, leaving the family courtyard to cross the road and help in her brother's storehouse. Her hair is never combed and hangs loosely about her scarcely veiled face, like that of some low caste woman. Her clothes are always dirty and torn. In contrast are the two widowed sisters-in-law who keep themselves clean, and are strictly watched, only leaving the house to climb stealthily over walls to a neighbouring Brahman courtyard. On them one does not see the traditional marks of widowhood.

In our village widows do not shave their heads nor give up silver jewellery, though coloured glass bangles they eschew. The wife of Prem Charan's younger brother is as much under the direction of Prem Charan's wife as are the widows and girls. The day may come when she will step into the position of mistress of the household. But should her husband die before that time, she will be kept on as the proverbial paternal aunt, whose voice is never heeded although she herself may be greatly loved.

In this household of womenfolk, living together because of custom not by choice, with only one courtyard to live and work in, and only the roof and stuffy storerooms to which to escape, there are bound to be bickerings and agitated moments. The wonder is that the strain is not worse, especially on hot, fly-pestered days. In keeping peace, the mistress of the household has two strong allies—one, her delightful sense of humour ; the other, the custom which sends those dependent on her when still young enough to be shaped to fit the new régime, and with motherly warnings to obey. As a hostess she is as gracious as my sophisticated friends in town. She knows well who may enter her courtyard and these she welcomes. Women of lower castes, who know that they belong outside but who thrust an arm or leg over the threshold quickly withdraw when she lifts her brows. When there is a night of singing in her courtyard she looks up at the roof and beckons to those whom she feels should join her, and they come down. Others she simply does not see.

In the limited circle in which she is dictator she acknowledges one master—her husband. Before him she is all humility, humility expressive of trembling fear. Some men beat their wives with or without good reason, just to remind their neighbours, their women and themselves of their power. But I doubt if Prem Charan has ever struck his wife. It is not physical fear which makes her cringe, but the code according to which she has lived—his unquestioned right to do with her and all his household as he

pleases. In manner he scorns her, and yet he must respect her ability in managing her share of his affairs. He only addresses her when necessary, and then with no thought of reply beyond monosyllables. He never uses her name when he addresses her. And when he mentions her to others he refers to her as 'the mother of Biddu,' or simply as 'of my house.' A refusal on her part, or even a murmured objection, would be unforgivable; she might pout and complain later, but silence in his presence is the rule. Their lives apparently meet only in the giving and taking of orders or food, and in the conceiving of children. But there must be a unity, deep though unexpressed, of purpose and responsibility. Together they must guide the family wisely, even as their fathers with their wives have done, and as they hope their sons with their wives will do. A high family reputation stands them in good stead when they seek mates for their children. They feel little responsibility beyond their family, but within its limits the line extends far ahead and far behind, and their part must in every way be worthy of the whole.

During our years in the village we have been drawn into closer friendship with Prem Charan than with any other man. As we have watched him, consulted with him, worked with him, we have found qualities which would attract us to him had we met him anywhere. He acts as priest for a few families in the village, but it is not this office which has given him his influence. Industry in farming and careful lending of money and seed grain have brought him his comparative wealth, and these with a sympathetic attitude toward less-favoured members of the village have given him power. Most men to whom circumstances have given authority in any degree have terrorized our village folk. But Prem Charan has not stooped to their methods. Men come to him for money and know that the interest will be fair. They return borrowed grain with interest, and know that he will record the transaction and not dig it out years hence, with accumulated interest. Across the lane from the

house where he keeps his animals and his women he lives apart, with his stores of grain and his records. Others less prosperous must share the front room with their cattle. On a broad platform he does his measuring and weighing, and in the small, unfurnished room beyond he keeps his books. Here he may be found at night bending over a great volume, some sacred book, from which he reads aloud by the light of a cotton wick dipped in oil. His neighbours sit outside on his mud platform, around a fire on cold nights, or waiting for a breeze when nights are hot, smoking and gossiping or listening to the chanting voice from the small room.

In his religious observances he is as thorough as in his farming. He would not think of beginning the day without purification. Early every morning, with small brass bowl in his hand and his Brahmanical cord looped over his right ear, he goes out to the fields, soon to return with defilement passed from him. When he has bathed at the well he lets the cord drop to his shoulder and repeats a prayer before touching food. While we have lived here, he has financed and supervised the digging of two good wells to be used for fields of the village, a task which demands constant labour and watching, money, and the right to call upon crowds of men at certain stages. This he has done as an act of religious merit. When last year the priest who has always lighted the Holi fire for the village refused, it was Prem Charan who brought the necessary social pressure to bear. And the fire was lighted and the standing of the village preserved.

It sometimes seems as though the whole village leans on him. Most of all do the men of his own family depend on him. His younger brother who might be capable if left to his own resources, away from the joint family, looks to him for direction. His cousin-brother who has a separate household depends on him in matters of land and finance. And when this cousin's daughter was married last year it was Prem Charan who made all the arrangements and paid all the bills. The married son goes wherever and performs

whatever task the father orders. He sometimes revolts and runs away for a period, but is always glad to return to paternal food and protection. Weak morally, he is the prey of clever gamblers. When he must have money to pay his debts he wheedles a bit from his mother's small hoard, or secretes grain from his father's harvest and sells it. If caught, he takes his beating like a naughty child.

The head of such a joint family is ultimately responsible for the welfare of every one who lives beneath his roof. He plans the work of the women. He so distributes the men and boys of the family that while they work they can watch the hired helpers employed in the small, widely-scattered fields, at irrigation wells or sugar-cane press. He himself may be found in the morning helping cut grain in a field a mile to the east, at noon sweeping the threshing-floor in the grove, in the afternoon watching the pressed cane juice boil, and in the evening coming in with the harvesters from a field a mile to the north, just in time to dole out the day's wages in head-loads of grain. He supervises all repairs in field and house. He makes all purchases for the whole family, clothing included. He is final judge in the settlement of any quarrel. That which encourages dependence in those about him develops a sense of responsibility, initiative and strength in him.

The children of such a household hardly know to whom they belong. They are simply part of the family, being nursed by their own particular mother, but carried about, petted and dressed by any aunt or cousin who happens to be near. The children whose fathers are dead may sometimes be conscious of loss, but life goes on with little change for them. They are treated as Prem Charan's own. The smaller children are always with the women, but the boys early acquire the consciousness of masculine superiority, and join the men. The boys of this family have all attended the village school. Sharmani of ten is still allowed to go, though few of her age are so favoured. Of education by project there is plenty. The girls help grind spices with the

little rounded stone and play with the spinning-wheel as soon as they can use their fingers. Sharmani and her little girl-cousins quarrel over the babies of the family, each wanting one—a boy preferred—to ride her hip as she struts about the court or goes visiting over the wall. The boys help with the animals when they can scarcely reach the yoke, and begin by taking them to the well to drink and driving them round and round over the threshing-floor, with an uncle or brother near enough to come to the rescue. They sit in council, close beside their honoured father, listening to discussions of crops and bargains. Nothing is concealed from them. They know how babies are born, and the amount of a particular farmer's debt, just as they know that corn cakes are harder to shape than those made of wheat.

In religious observances their training comes as naturally as learning to walk. They help to draw the figures on the courtyard wall which tell the story of each religious festival. They know that at Diwali they will have puffed rice, and at Raksha-bandhan they will have their fill of sweetened vermicelli. The girls know when they can tie coloured thread bracelets on their brothers' wrists and demand pice in return. They help to make little clay dolls for Holi, and at Gobardhan they shape some of the little men and animals of dung. They sit and listen, or try to join in while their aunts and mothers sing of Ram and Sita on the nights of waiting for the coming of a new bride. Most of these ceremonies they go through with the women of the family. But on great occasions, such as the Feast of Lights (Diwali), their father comes into the family court and lights the first little wick in its tiny saucer of oil, and from this all the children may light theirs and carry them to the roof, or set them into the niches in the mud walls.

However weak any one individual may be, the family stands. There is no tie in the life of the villager so strong as that which binds him to the hearth-fire of his fathers. He will give almost anything demanded, or fight in court until his wealth is gone, to hold one grove that he feels should be

kept in his line. No man or woman can think of himself or herself alone, but must share with the group which Fate has brought together. It is this unity that has preserved the homes of our villages while dynasties have changed, and cities have been built and ruined. The villager has had to take his loved ones to the jungle while some particularly cruel ruler has despoiled his land. But he or his sons have come back to rebuild the home over the crumbled mud ruins. We cannot treat such a home lightly, or upset its prejudices without thought as to what is worth preserving. We must not flatter ourselves that anything we have to offer will be good enough. We must first consider our gifts well and choose those which are most worthy, not the superficial but the truest and highest and best.

CHARLOTTE VIALL WISER

THE NATIVE PROBLEM IN AFRICA[1]

By R. COUPLAND

IT is remarkable that the first detailed investigation into the Native Problem in Africa—the problem of the Africans and their destiny—should have been undertaken by a citizen of the one great state of the western world which has no direct responsibilities, present or past, in Africa. But Mr Buell's work has unquestionably benefited from the fact that he is an American. Few, if any, British, French, Belgian or German students could have examined the various European administrations operating in African territory so objectively and impartially or stated the results so candidly. Many Americans, it is true, have a deep-rooted mistrust of all colonial enterprise; but Mr Buell is singularly free from the 'anti-imperial' prejudice which regards all European annexation of African or Asiatic territory as immoral. He rightly condemns the hesitation of the British Government to intervene more firmly and consistently in Basutoland in the middle of the nineteenth century. 'This was a case,' he says, 'of which the history of the Ashanti is another example, when a little more "imperialism" would have spared the native population a good deal of sorrow.' And he admits that both the French and British Governments were only converted to a policy of downright annexation in West Africa because it proved to be the only alternative to anarchy, and he calls it 'a remarkable tribute to their willingness to act fairly that they did not take this position until after a hundred and fifty years.' He finds much to praise, moreover, in the existing administrations—such as the land policy of Southern Rhodesia,

[1] *The Native Problem in Africa.* By R. L. Buell. New York and London: Macmillan. $15 and 63s. 1928.

the native health and education work in Kenya, the ' splendid efforts ' to develop a true African civilization in Tanganyika, and, above all, the enlightened and courageous attempt of the Belgians to overcome the disastrous heritage of the Leopold régime in the Congo.

But if Mr Buell's spectacles are not black, they are not rose-coloured either. He finds much, very much, to criticize, and he is quite outspoken, whether it be on the effects of official ' encouragement ' for the recruitment of labour in the Congo, or the ' doctoring ' of French reports to the Mandates Commission, or the motives of settler-politicians in Kenya, or the results of American enterprise in Liberia. All in all, it is a fair book and a candid book ; and if readers with a longer local experience of Africa than Mr Buell's will probably question some of his opinions, they will confess that they are always honest and disinterested and never arrogantly expressed.

In the course of the year which Mr Buell spent in Africa he visited all the territories under European control south of the northern seaboard, with the exception—which one cannot help regretting—of the Sudan and the Portuguese colonies. He also visited Liberia, his report on which is by no means the least interesting part of the whole work. He has read widely, moreover, in the literature of his subject and gives full references for all his statements. The result is a tight-packed scholarly pair of volumes—each of more than one thousand closely printed pages—with many reprints of important documents, a useful but not exhaustive bibliography, and a long but imperfect index. It is, in fact, an encyclopædia on the African Question, and though some of it is controversial and some will soon be out of date, it will long remain an indispensable text-book for every student of Africa and a starting point for future research.

It is impossible within the limits of this or any article to examine the book in detail or to deal with the multitude of subjects it discusses—education, missionary work, medical service and the rest. It must suffice to disentangle the

two main themes of the book and to summarize Mr Buell's treatment of them. These two themes, which are closely interconnected, are the development of a self-determining native society and the apportionment of land and labour.

Mr Buell is a whole-hearted disciple of the modern school which aims at making the Natives of Africa better Africans, not (to quote a French Colonial Minister) 'copies of Europeans.' Only by the development of their own traditions, by the fostering of their own communal spirit, can the African Negroes be brought to take their place among the civilized peoples of the world. Translated into practical politics, this principle implies some form of 'indirect rule' or native self-government; and nothing is more valuable in Mr Buell's book than his exhaustive and sympathetic analysis of native institutions throughout Africa. They vary, of course, from territory to territory. At one end of the series are the big councils or 'parliaments' on a provincial or national scale such as the Pitso in Basutoland; at the other end are the smaller of the tribal administrations which Sir Donald Cameron is patiently building or rebuilding in Tanganyika.

Of the councils Mr Buell writes with enthusiasm. 'The level of debate in the Pitso (as well as in the Transkei Council),' he declares, 'is probably higher than in any legislative body in Europe or America.' And, though he recognizes the value of European participation in those bodies, he prefers the Basuto Pitso or the Uganda Lukiko to the Transkeian Bunga or the Senegal Council, because in the former the African stands on his own feet, and acquires a real sense of responsibility, whereas in the latter not only do the British and French officials bear the real weight of the decisions but it is difficult to avoid the growth of racialism. 'With the growing confidence and racial consciousness of the Native, there is a danger that feeling between the two sections of the Bunga will develop.' And in the Senegal Council there is a sharp division between the elected 'citizens' and the officials supported by the chiefs.

But those quasi-parliamentary institutions are exceptional. More important, because it permits of almost universal application, is the policy of ' indirect rule ' through tribal organizations, great and small. Here again Mr Buell stresses the value of real responsibility, however limited at the outset and cautiously extended. Thus the native administrations in Nigeria and Tanganyika, though they vary widely in size and power, are equipped with a judicial system and a treasury of their own—' essential foundations for the edifice of African self-government.' The native councils in South Africa, Kenya and the French colonies, on the other hand, where the balance of policy is in favour of ' direct ' rather than ' indirect ' rule, are more or less dissociated from the tribal system, largely controlled by white officials, and invested with less effective responsibility ; and Mr Buell therefore regards them as inferior instruments of political education.

Similarly, he applauds the methods of such schools for chiefs' sons as those at Tabora or Bo which aim at producing natural leaders of Africans in accordance with African conditions, and criticizes the French system which aims at turning Africans into quasi-French officials with a French training and outlook. In French colonial circles, however, he detects the beginnings of a conversion to the principle of ' indirect rule ' ; and if this is confirmed and completed, he suggests that the French, with their ' fraternal sympathy for men of a different colour,' may be ultimately more successful than the British. That difficulties and abuses occur under ' indirect rule ' he does not deny ; but in a thoughtful chapter on the subject he argues that the drawbacks of the ' direct ' system are even greater because it fails to train the African to stand by himself. Only by the ' indirect ' method, he argues, can a new and lasting communal life be created to replace what European occupation has destroyed and to save Africa from social, moral and cultural disintegration.

Such is the thread of Mr Buell's first main theme.

Taken by itself, it suggests an optimistic outlook. Over a great part of Tropical Africa an honest attempt is being made to develop a stable and self-reliant African society. But the success of this experiment, in Mr Buell's view, is imperilled by the economic effects of the European invasion. The white men want too much land and too much labour. That is the second main theme.

This conflict of interests appears in its most acute form in South Africa. The native population of the Union, though it outnumbers the white population by over four to one, is not permitted to possess more than eight per cent of the land, although 'less than five per cent of the land alienated to European farmers is under cultivation to-day.' The great majority of the Natives, therefore, unable to maintain themselves by agriculture in their tribal villages, are compelled to seek a living by working for wages under white employers, either in the towns (of which, of course, the dominant example is Johannesburg) or on European farms. A large part of these emigrants remain in exile, either as detribalized dwellers in urban locations, where, according to some observers, they are steadily sinking in the social scale, or as squatters on the land of white farmers, with little economic freedom or security and no opportunity for a progressive communal life. And those who do periodically return to their homes, after working out their contracts, are mostly away too often and too long to play a natural and fruitful part even in family life, still less in that of the village or the tribe. The Transkei, where other conditions are most favourable, does not escape the common fate. 'As long as Natives spend half their lives away from home,' says Mr Buell, 'the improvement of native agriculture and native society in the Transkei will be extremely difficult to bring about. But if this emigration to the mines should be discontinued, Natives at home would be unable to pay their taxes and to buy food. Consequently, the Transkei appears to be held in a vice from which it probably will extricate itself only when the Union land problem is solved.'

The position in Southern Rhodesia is much more favourable to the Native. The reserves already set aside for native occupation 'are nearly as large as those of the Union of South Africa, although the Union of South Africa has nearly six times the native population of Rhodesia. Taking native population into consideration, the Rhodesian reserves are proportionately about twice the size of those of Kenya.' [1] A Commission has recommended, moreover, that Natives should be allowed to purchase land outside the reserves; and the adoption of this policy would permit the free expansion of native agricultural life far into the future.

The prospects in Nyasaland are less promising. A greater proportion of its land has already been alienated to Europeans than in any other East African territory, and the future of the Native can only be secured if such Crown land as is still unalienated is mostly apportioned to Natives rather than to Europeans.

In Tanganyika the land problem has not yet arisen. The Government is opposed, in principle, to reserves; and reservation does not seem to be required as long as only a small portion of the Territory is alienated to non-Natives. But Mr Buell notes with evident anxiety the increase, small though it is, in the number of European immigrants taking up land in the one or two highland areas which seem suitable for settlement. The more he admires the work that is being done to build up an African communal life, the more he dreads an increasing demand for labour from white settlers and a steady shrinkage of the land in native occupation—processes which, if unchecked, must produce the results they have produced in South Africa.

And in Kenya he clearly thinks that something not far off these results has already been reached. He quotes official testimony to the effect that several of the reserves are already overpopulated; and he holds that 'if the

[1] Comparative measurements of land in Africa may be misleading unless checked by an estimate of its economic value. A few acres in a fertile, well-watered valley can support more people than miles of desert or rocky mountain land.

population of Kenya increases as a result of improved medical facilities, it will probably be a matter of only twenty-five years when the Kenya Native will experience the land shortage which the Native of South Africa is experiencing to-day. Many Natives will therefore be obliged to take up their residence outside of the reserves.' Already, indeed, 'the number of men at work is about thirty-four per cent of the total number of available men between the ages of fifteen and forty'; and this percentage, which presses more heavily on some tribes than others (as much as seventy-two per cent of the adult male population of two tribes were working for Europeans in the first quarter of 1927), is higher than that in any other territory north of the Limpopo.

The same problem appears, in varying degrees of gravity, in other territories which have admitted European plantations and industrial enterprise; and the final conclusions to be drawn from this second theme would seem at first sight to be as pessimistic as those of the first theme are optimistic. Happily, Mr Buell himself supplies the corrective, though in his cold objective manner he expresses no confident belief that it will be universally applied.

What is this corrective? It arises first from the conviction, nowhere indisputably proved (owing to lack of reliable statistics) but everywhere believed, that the native population of large areas in Tropical Africa is declining; and secondly, from the reasonable assumption that this decrease is largely due to the removal of too many Natives from their homes to work at a distance for Europeans. If this argument is sound it is obvious that if European employers take too much labour to-day, there will be too little for them to-morrow. In other words, it is in their economic interest in the long run as much as in the interest of native communal development that the amount of emigrant labour should be restricted. But how restricted? Can the right proportion be ascertained? An attempt, at any rate, has been made to ascertain it by scientific investigation. In the Belgian Congo, where anxiety as to depopulation is

most seriously felt, the Labour Commission of 1924, after full enquiry, reported that five per cent of the able-bodied men could be taken from a native community to work at a distance (under good conditions) ' without harmful effect.' If the scene of the work were not more than two days' march from home, a further five per cent might be taken, and a further fifteen per cent if the work were in the immediate neighbourhood. It is surely one of the most encouraging factors in the African situation to-day that the Congo Government has had the foresight and the courage to begin to restrict the emigration of labour from certain areas in accordance with these percentages.[1]

It would be foolish to dogmatize on so complex a subject, but is it inconceivable that this Belgian policy or something like it may prove to be a practicable method of resolving the conflict of interests and harmonizing Mr Buell's two themes ? It is not necessary to believe — as Mr Buell sometimes seems to believe—that European enterprise or European settlement is bound to harm rather than to help the cause of African civilization. Many of the most sincere and most experienced champions of the Negro race would not, if they could, exclude all Europeans other than officials and missionaries and coastal traders from Tropical Africa. They value too highly the energy, the leadership, the example of self-help and perseverance which Europeans who make their homes in Africa can provide. It is, they would hold, a matter of degree, of right proportion ; and might not the right proportion be attained, might not an excess of European enterprise or settlement be prevented, by the adoption of a policy like the Belgian, based on further research and the lessons of experience ? But any such policy is only practicable on two conditions : there must be enough land for the Natives, they cannot be prevented from going out to work if the alternative is starvation ;

[1] See the Reports of the Commission of 1924 and of the Consultative Committee of 1928 (which confirms the former's recommendations), published under the title *Le Problème de la Main d'Œuvre au Congo Belge.*

and the Government concerned must have the courage of its convictions.

Whether its solution may be found along these lines or not, it is with no despairing thought that the Native Problem in Africa is insoluble that one turns the last of Mr Buell's two thousand pages. For out of the mass of material two final impressions emerge—first, as to the vast scope and variety of the efforts, in thought and in action, which the agents of Europe all over Africa and in interested quarters at home are making to promote the welfare of the Africans ; and second, as to the growth, again all over Africa, more vigorous in some parts than in others but everywhere discernible, of the idea that the ultimate aim of all these efforts is some day to make the Africans, in the words of the Covenant, ' able to stand by themselves under the strenuous conditions of the modern world.'

If this is to be the dominant idea of the twentieth century in Africa, it seems inconceivable that selfish or short-sighted interests will be allowed to obstruct its application and wreck its chances of fruition—unless, indeed, public opinion in Europe were to lose its interest in Africa and relax its vigilance. The issue rests largely with the British people, as it has rested for a century ; and, though in some respects Mr Buell believes that Britain has lost the lead—Belgium, he suggests, is ahead of Britain in public interest, in scientific research, in political courage—he is convinced that the example set in the British territories, linked as they are by the identity of their cardinal problems with all the rest of Africa, may go far to decide, for good or ill, the further course of French and Belgian policy.

R. COUPLAND

THE REAL MUHAMMAD AND THE IDEAL

A STUDY OF ONE PHASE OF MODERN MUSLIM APOLOGETIC

By ARTHUR JEFFERY

FEW things are more significant to the missionary than the apologetic of the religion with which his work brings him in daily contact. On the one hand, it reveals to him as nothing else does what values the adherents of that religion themselves feel to be of fundamental importance, what they consider are its chief claims to recognition, and what appeals to them as the vital elements in their faith and cultus. On the other hand, it is of immense significance to him in its suggestion of his method of approach, revealing to him more clearly than anything else could what it is in the Christian faith they most lack, and to what form of approach they are most likely to respond. Frequently his apologetic will also throw a flood of light on the effect that Christian teaching has had upon the people, for as the apologetic is almost always drawn forth by the success of Christian missions in some area, it gives an illuminating insight into the reaction within the community to the new conceptions of life and truth that Christianity has brought.

It has been for some time part of the routine work of the present writer to keep in touch with the modern apologetic literature of Islam, particularly the anti-Christian and anti-missionary publications of the Muslim press, and it is one phase of this apologetic which has suggested this study of how, under Christian influence, the picture of Muhammad has changed.

A recent mail from India brought a presentation booklet

from the Ahmadiyya Anjuman of Lahore. It is a *Brief Sketch of the Life of the Prophet of Islam*, by Muhammad Ali, the President of the Anjuman, and is presented 'to all fair-minded non-Muslims on the occasion of the Fourteenth Centenary of that great Benefactor of Humanity.' It is of peculiar interest because it is addressed primarily to Hindus, being an attempt, as the preface tells us, 'to remove the misconceptions which prevail about the Prophet of Islam in Hindu minds.' It is, however, only a summary statement of the positions argued by the author in his larger work, *Muhammad the Prophet* (Lahore, 1924), which, with Kamal ud-Din's *The Ideal Prophet*, Shaikh H. M. Kidwai's *Miracle of Mohammad*, and the earlier *Spirit of Islam* of the late Syed Amir Ali, represents the modern Muslim apologist's picture of Muhammad, as a reply to the Christian presentation of Christ.

The study of this picture is of great interest for all three reasons mentioned above. It brings out with striking clearness what Muslims themselves feel are the elements in the life of Muhammad which they should emphasize. It reveals even more clearly those elements which to Christian consciousness are lacking, and which Christianity can supply. And lastly, and this is the chief interest of the present study, it shows in a remarkable manner the way Muhammad's picture has had to be made over, as Muslims have grown conscious of higher ideals of the perfect life through contact with the presentation of Christ.

It is of course well known that it is difficult to arrive at an adequate picture of the historical Muhammad. The earliest biographies that we possess were not written till some two centuries after the event, and they are largely based on tradition, which itself was not written down till well over a century or a century and a half after the event, and the authenticity of which modern scholarship is prepared to reject almost in its entirety. For reconstructing the Prophet's life we have little safe ground outside the Qur'an, and the interpretation of that is uncertain, so that we have

to move with the greatest caution. Going back, however, to the earliest stratum of this biographical material, *Sira*, as it is called, which we can disengage from the Qur'an and the early writers, it is hardly an ideal figure that emerges, as Margoliouth, Caetani and Hurgronje have shown.

True, we do find a man with a passionate zeal for his mission and a dogged perseverance through all trial and discouragement: we do find a conviction of the fundamental importance of religion for the realizing of his aims, and a high appreciation of the wonders of God in nature and a wholesome fear of the awfulness of His day of doom: we do find a profound sense of the need of thoroughgoing reform among the Arabs and an intention to carry out that reform in God's name. But though the reformer appears in this earliest stratum of *Sira* material, he is far from an ideal figure. Indeed, as Margoliouth observes (*ERE*, VIII, 873, 878), the picture in the earliest *Sira* is on the whole not a favourable one. We see there a neurotic man, melancholic and generally low-spirited. He was passionately addicted to the pleasures of women and perfumes. He was quick to anger, was revengeful, and seemed to derive delight from shedding the blood of his enemies. He was a shrewd politician but absolutely unscrupulous in attaining his ends, and inordinately vain of his achievements.

Now these are not the statements of any European or non-Muslim writer, they are statements drawn direct from the earliest *Sira* material. If an independent summary of it from the hand of an unimpeachable authority on the Arabic texts is needed, let us listen to Professor Margoliouth:

> The character attributed to Muhammad in the biography of Ibn Isḥāq is . . . exceedingly unfavourable. In order to gain his ends he recoils from no expedient, and he approves of similar unscrupulousness on the part of his adherents, when exercised in his interest. He profits to the utmost from the chivalry of the Meccans, but rarely requites it with the like. He organizes assassinations and wholesale massacres. His career as tyrant of Medīna is that of a robber-chief, whose political economy consists in securing and dividing plunder, the distribution of the latter being at times carried out on principles which fail to satisfy his followers'

ideas of justice. He is himself an unbridled libertine and encourages the same passion in his followers. For whatever he does he is prepared to plead the express authorization of the deity. It is, however, impossible to find any doctrine which he is not prepared to abandon in order to secure a political end. At different points in his career he abandons the unity of God and his claim to the title Prophet. This is a disagreeable picture for the founder of a religion, and it cannot be pleaded that it is a picture drawn by an enemy; . . . (*ERE*, VIII, 877–8).

It was not long, however, before the idealizing process began. Even in Ibn Hisham's recension of Ibn Isḥāq's *Sira*, as we can tell by a comparison with Tabari's use of the same material, and with Waqidi, there is a tendency to gloss over facts and to present the Prophet's life in a form that would be more acceptable to the non-Arab communities with which Islam was now in contact. As the Muslim occupation of Syria, Mesopotamia and Egypt brought Islam more fully into touch with Christian teaching and thus with higher ideals of life and conduct, and particularly with the facts of the life of Jesus, we find a curious development of this idealizing process intended to make the life of Muhammad resemble the life of Jesus. As pre-existence was ascribed to Christ, so it was to Muhammad. As Gabriel announced Jesus to the Virgin Mary, so he did to Amina, the mother of Muhammad. As the angel gave the name of Jesus before He was born, so in the case of Muhammad. As Jesus in infancy was presented in the temple, so was Muhammad in the national sanctuary of Arabia. As Jesus at the beginning of His ministry had to pass through an ordeal of Satanic temptation, so did Muhammad. As Jesus chose twelve apostles, so Muhammad chose twelve companions. As Jesus ascended into heaven, so did Muhammad: and so on.

This process has been studied in an extremely valuable monograph, *Die Person Muhammads*, by the Swedish scholar Tor Andrae, and many illustrations of it translated from Arabic authors may be found in a now almost forgotten book, Koelle's *Mohammed and Mohammedanism*. The idealizing had two extreme developments apart from

Christian influence, both mythical in character : one in the popular biographies which are fireside reading all over the Muslim world, in which most wonderful, wildly ridiculous and frequently grossly obscene stories are told of the Prophet's doings on all sorts of occasions, and in which the how and why of everything in heaven and on earth are explained from some event in the Prophet's career ; the other, more philosophical in nature and current particularly among the Shi'as, magnifying the pre-existent activity of the ' spirit ' or ' light ' of Muhammad, such as is characteristic of such popular Persian works as the *Hyat ul-Qulub*, where we read :

> The most high God and Holy One created the sacred light or spirit of Muhammad, the asylum of Prophecy, before the heavens or earth, or empyrean, or throne, or table of Decrees, or pen divine, or Paradise, or Hell were formed, and previous to the creation of any other of the Prophets, by the period of four hundred and twenty-four thousand years. . . . In a state of sublimity and glory it passed from state to state, from sphere to sphere until the Most High placed it in the loins of the father of mankind.

In more recent years the influence of a certain spirit of rationalism, following on contact with western civilization, is traceable in the picture of the Prophet that is presented in the popular biographies. Such a work, for example, as Ahmad al-Khudari's *Nur al-Yaqin*, which is now in its tenth edition and is well known in Egypt and the Near East, is an excellent illustration of this. This writer rejects in large measure the fabulous accretions of the *Sira*, and bases his account mainly on the older sources, but his work is significant both on account of what he leaves out, and also because of the elaborate explanation he feels called on to give in justification of facts and events which he must include because of their importance in the later development of Islamic theology and jurisprudence. Here the influence of western ideals of life and conduct based on the ideal life of Jesus is very noticeable, and the life of Muhammad must be pictured so as to compare favourably with that ideal.

The most interesting form of this ideal interpretation, however, is to be found in the works mentioned at the beginning of this article, and other works of the same school. These works are by men who have been educated in western schools, who are familiar with Christian literature and the ideals social and individual of a Christian community. They are leaders of movements within Islam which are looked at askance by orthodox Muslims, even when not absolutely condemned as a serious departure from the primitive and orthodox faith. They openly proclaim themselves as reforming parties. To their western educated minds the fabulous accretions of the *Sira* are impossible: but further, to their Christ-conscious minds the primitive *Sira* itself is equally impossible. Therefore, though they are possibly not conscious of it, they have developed a new body of mythical accretion. The primitive stratum of *Sira* is a faithful reflection of the spirit and morality of seventh-century Arabia, even though we may have doubts about it in other respects; and the picture of the Prophet therein is a perfectly natural picture, where we find him speaking and acting as we might expect an Arab reformer in that environment and at that date would do. In spite of many unfavourable features, the picture gives us the presentation of a figure which claims our sympathy and frequently stirs our admiration, but it is no ideal figure. These modern writers are equally conscious that it is no ideal figure, but the Prophet must have been an ideal man, therefore an ideal figure must be constructed, and the principle behind the reconstruction is the gospel figure of Jesus.

Some writers of this school, e.g. Kamal ud-Din in his *Ideal Prophet*, violently deny this allegation, and in some of their more recent publications, such as this centenary *Sketch*, the Christian vocabulary is as far as possible sedulously avoided; but the fact is perfectly obvious to anyone who reads, and appears in scores of little touches on page after page. For instance, these writers always refer to

Muhammad as 'the Holy Prophet,' giving the word 'Holy' the sense that it has in the Christian Scriptures, which looks curious to anyone familiar with the Arabic. Also they frequently speak of 'our Lord Muhammad,' and it is quite true that *sayyidna* is used in the early *Sira*, and *sayyid* can be correctly translated 'lord'; but in Arabic usage it is just the title of honour that can be given to any man, and is indeed the title by which the present writer addresses the sheikh with whom he reads every day. The 'Lord' of these modern writers is obviously an attempt to parallel the Christian use of the address, 'Lord Jesus.' So the Qur'an is always referred to as 'the Holy Qur'an,' on the analogy of 'Holy Bible,' regardless of the fact that while the Qur'an bears many Arabic titles such as 'the Noble,' 'the Illustrious,' 'the Celebrated,' 'the Wonderful,' the designation of 'Holy Qur'an' would look queer to anyone familiar with the Arabic usage. What they omit of the ordinary Muslim phraseology in connexion with the mention of the Prophet is equally significant to one who knows the original sources.

So with the character of the Prophet. To the Christian reader the most offensive episodes of his life are those concerning his relations with women. The case of Zainab, the wife of his adopted son Zaid, caused such a scandal even among the Arabs that a special revelation in the Qur'an was needed to dispose of the case. Another such revelation was needed to explain his exceeding the limits of polygamy already set by the Qur'an. The cases of the prisoners Juwairiyya, Safiyya and Raihana are other ugly and unsavoury episodes, but they are quite explicable in the conditions of seventh-century Arabia, and are related in the earliest stratum of *Sira* material as though there were nothing particularly reprehensible about them. It is the purity of the figure of Jesus, however, that compels these modern writers to expend so much energy in explaining away these episodes. It is surely significant that the most diligent piece of work in the whole of this centenary *Sketch*

is devoted to explaining away these sexual incidents in the Prophet's life. The marriages are described as political, or to provide for elderly and unattractive women who would otherwise have been destitute, whereas the early writers expressly mention that certain of them were women of celebrated beauty and that the Prophet was smitten with them as soon as he set eyes on them. We have even an account of his little wife Aisha's jealousy of them because of his raptures over them.

Similarly, as Jesus was the Prince of Peace, Muhammad must also be made a man of peace, and equal ingenuity must be expended in explaining away the wars and massacres and assassinations and raids which are unblushingly recorded in the early writers. These are the two outstanding cases, but one might go on at considerable length pointing out instances of the same kind. As, for example, how the gentleness and self-sacrifice of Jesus have to be paralleled, and the Traditions combed for little hints that can be worked up in this connexion. In fact, one wonders sometimes whether this picture of Muhammad is not as much a caricature in one direction as the popular fables are in another. The figure which emerges in the early *Sira* is, as Caetani shows, an intelligible figure whom we can understand and with whom we can sympathize, but the figure as reconstructed by the Ahmadiyya Anjuman is as much an anachronism as the Jesus of some of the apocryphal gospels or of Tha'labi's *Qisas*.

Now all this is most significant to the missionary. It is also hopeful, because it is clear that with the progress of education and the fuller development of the historical and critical sense, Muslims themselves will see that the only historical picture of Muhammad is the one whose outlines can be gathered from the earliest stratum of *Sira* material, and that the reformer of Arabia must be judged by the world of truth-seekers on this picture and not on any later idealization. But its significance lies mainly in what it can teach us.

In the first place, it is clear that it is not our theology, our Christian theory or philosophy of things that has proved of vital interest, but the personality of our Lord, who when lifted up has drawn men to Him. It is doubtless true that the theology of the Eastern Church was one of the factors at work in the rise of the Mu'tazila or rationalist theologians in the early centuries of Islam, and it is also true that in the development of the dogmatic theology of orthodox Islam in those same early centuries an immense amount of technical material was borrowed from Christian sources. The point, however, that we would make here, is that the nervousness of Muslim writers has not been over the incompatibility of the Quranic theology with that of the Christian Church, but over their consciousness of an inferiority complex, if we may borrow for a moment some of the phraseology of modern psychology, when in contact with the life and personality of Jesus.

The efforts for reform championed by these writers have not had as a motive any sense of want of harmony from within, so much as the feeling that they must come about so as to harmonize life more fully with the ethic of Jesus. For Hinduism Mr Gandhi has often enough revealed the sense of this, and though Muslim writers vigorously deny it, and claim that their movements of reform are to get back to the primitive but misunderstood teaching of Muhammad, the facts are clear enough for anyone who cares to see.

Secondly, this fact itself reveals that there is a heart hunger in Islam for the ideal man, the pattern for men's lives. It is easy to say that the collecting of legends around the life of Muhammad is only another example of the tendency of all people to weave tales of wonder around the lives of their heroes and prophets. That is only half the truth. That there is that tendency in the popular *Sira* is true. There was the same tendency in Christianity, which resulted in the ridiculous tales of the apocryphal gospels, but just as the yearning of the spiritual life rejected such fables so

as to get back and feed its faith on the simplicity of the Gospel of the real Jesus, so it is spiritual hunger that leads many Muslims to search for the ideal man in their Prophet, and even to clothe him with the attributes of Jesus that he may satisfy. It is frequently a touching thing, as any one who has close touch with Muslims will bear witness, to see how eagerly they will grasp at crumbs of comfort in this direction.

Thirdly, there comes out the curious fact that little if any of our controversial literature seems to have had any effect. It may be true that our pointing out some of the weaknesses of Islam has led their champions to search for refutations of our words. It is certainly true that some forms of the modern Muslim apologetic are due to the form of our Christian controversial literature, but the present writer has been greatly struck by the fact that it is the influence of Christian ideals of life and conduct that has been the effective thing in all our work. It has been the setting forth of the riches that are in Christ that has given a new ethical and moral standard of which educated Muslims are becoming more and more conscious.

The challenge of this is, of course, obvious and need not be laboured here. No body of Christians, nor indeed any individual Christian, has ever sought to reinterpret the gospel narrative so as to bring it more nearly into harmony with the teachings of the Qur'an or the life of Muhammad. The Jesus of the Gospels is indeed both the real and the ideal, for we have never been able to imagine any higher ideal than that which the real presents to us. Thus the apocryphal legends passed away in Christianity because of their stark inferiority to the actual figure of the Gospels. In Islam, however, it has always been the apocryphal picture of Muhammad which has held the popular imagination, and the influence of the gospel story on the growth of that picture has already been indicated. The modern Ahmadiyya idealization carries on the same story, but in a different way, and based as it is on modern education and a real

though limited culture, it presses on us the urgency of drinking anew ourselves of the fountain, and living out more perfectly our interpretation of the ideal. At the Jerusalem meeting of the International Missionary Council it was insisted that our clarion should be not conquest but service, and is it not possible that the much-discussed way to the Muslim heart will be found in our fulfilling this ideal of sacrificial service which gives all and asks nothing in return, imitating and interpreting, as far as we may, the way of that ideal Son of Man who 'took upon Him the form of a servant' and 'came not to be ministered unto but to minister'.

ARTHUR JEFFERY

THE PLACE OF MISSIONS IN THE NEW TURKEY

By LEE VROOMAN

AS Turkey is rapidly becoming again the leading nation of the Near East, and, moreover, a centre of ideas for the whole Moslem world, the question of missionary work in that country assumes increasing importance. Turkey of the present day is taking a leading rôle among all Moslem nations as she successfully adopts, one after another, the customs of the West. Her new Latin alphabet has been adopted by various Turkish republics in the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics. The European hat and certain other reforms have been taken over by the Persians. In Afghanistan Turkish teachers have been used to bring in the much opposed innovations, and Afghan youth, both boys and girls, have been sent to Turkey to study. Turkey's influence is apparent among the Arabs of Syria, and her ideas of higher criticism have invaded even Al Azhar University in Cairo.

Turkey is still struggling with economic problems and it cannot be said that she has yet found their solution. But merely to outline the reforms which have been successfully put into effect under the leadership of Mustafa Kemal Pasha makes an imposing list. The most outstanding accomplishments of the past seven years are as follows :

The abolition of the sultanate and the declaration of a republic.

The abolition of the caliphate and disestablishment of the Moslem church.

The abolition of mosque religious schools and a great increase of secular schools.

The dissolution of dervish orders and seizure of their property.
The nationalization of religious endowments.
The abolition of the fez and adoption of hats.
The dropping of the Hegira calendar and institution of the Gregorian calendar.
The replacing of the old Arabic numerals by European numerals.
The drawing up of three codes in place of Moslem Sheriat law, based respectively on the Swiss civil code, the German commercial code and the Italian penal code.
The abolition by law of polygamy.
The entire reconstruction of the school system, co-education being introduced.
The promotion of sports, such as football.
The teaching of western music in place of the old eastern music.
The fostering of agriculture; the undertaking by the state of a great program of railway building; the creation of a state-subsidized merchant marine; the building of new factories with government aid.
The dropping from the constitution of the statement that Islam is the religion of Turkey.
The substitution of Latin letters for the old Arabic alphabet.
The introduction of compulsory adult education to abolish illiteracy.

However, side by side with these rapid steps toward modernization has been an insistence that all missionary institutions within her borders, such as schools and hospitals, shall refrain from direct Christian religious teaching to non-Christians. No restrictions, however, are placed on ethical teaching. Non-institutional workers, though not so bound by law, have found the prejudices of the people almost as effective a barrier to any new ideas. This has led some

people to question the wisdom of continuing to offer medical or educational service to Turkey with such restrictions. No such regulations would bind any Turk working in any English-speaking country. Furthermore, such continuance of secular work has seemed by many to mean that missionaries in Turkey acquiesce in a secular philosophy of life and do not feel that mankind has any need of a religious message. Yet those who are actually working with the Turkish people, and who love them, feel that they can do nothing else but continue to serve them.

To understand the present situation we need to take a rapid glance at the long history of the Turkish attitude toward Christianity. The Turk is and always has been essentially friendly. The early Anatolian Seljuk Turk was quite tolerant. Jelal-ud-Rumi in his famous '*Masnavi Manavi*,' a long poem on morals and religion, speaks of Jesus in the highest terms. So does Al Ghazzali, the Persian writer often called the greatest figure Islam has produced, who lived and wrote under a Seljuk Turkish government. One finds the name of Jesus as a Turkish proper name in those early days; for example, the Emir of Aidin was named Isa (Jesus).

But long centuries of war between Christian and Moslem built up a great wall of hatred. In the crusades the cross was the aggressor; in the conquest of the Balkans, the crescent. Furthermore, the early Turks had accepted Islam rather lightly. With the passage of centuries the influence of Islam became stronger and stronger and its basic intolerance became more a part of the mentality of the common people. So the early tolerance was superseded.

About the time the *Mayflower* sailed to Plymouth a new influence began in Turkey, the modernistic movement. For two centuries it changed the opinions of a hopeless minority only, then, due to military reverses, it began to grow as a reform measure. But from the very start the religious element fought every reform tooth and nail. Even the printing-press was accepted by the religious leaders only

with the understanding that no religious books would ever be printed. But the last century has seen a great change of view which has involved the rapid spread and final triumph of the modernizing element. For these modern Turks, however, religious energy which should be creating better social conditions has been used in trying to get people to journey to Mecca or Jerusalem. Instead of teaching friendship and goodwill, religion has perpetrated hatred and division. Instead of being a matter of life it has become a question of ritual and dead languages. Turks have seen religion as a label of outward political allegiance, rather than as an expression of inner character. This latter grew out of the governmental organization of the Ottoman Empire, whereby people were subdivided according to their religious allegiance. All these factors have combined to make Turkey opposed to any western religious teaching, even though there exists the wish to imitate the West in non-religious ways.

The present opposition to religious teaching in institutions, however, comes from a number of causes. It is directed in part against both Islam and Christianity. It must be remembered that all the mosque schools have been closed, though missionary schools still remain open. All dervish orders have been closed, which has led some people to complain that the Y.M.C.A. has not been closed too. This is due to the opposition of the Islamic church to the present revolution, and also to the idea held by some leaders that philosophically religion belongs to the age of superstition and that we have passed beyond it. Further, it is due to the practical experience that organized religions as they have been known, Orthodox and Islamic, have opposed progress and fought all moves for national reform. The chief European contacts of Turkey, with France and Russia, would only confirm the idea that governments should be anti-religious. The Protestant Christian institutions in Turkey are all British or American, and the Turks know nothing of the progressive rôle the Church has played in the life of those two countries.

But the most important reason why modernists do not want religious teaching is a feeling that a new religion would denationalize. It is only yesterday that to become a Moslem in Anatolia was to become a Turk. In Protestant Christianity the Turks see Anglo-Saxon culture, and if their children adopt it they fear their becoming little Anglo-Saxons. Since to become a Moslem was to become a Turk, one can understand the mentality that feels to become a Protestant Christian is to become an Anglo-Saxon. In spite of all the recent upheavals looking toward separation of church and state, this ancient Ottoman idea of the unity of religion and nationality is still the most powerful factor in causing Turks to desire secular institutions.

A further cause for restrictions is the strength of old-fashioned Moslem intolerance which exists beneath the skin of many an ' emancipated ' leader. This gives much more popular approval to the restrictive measures than Angora leaders would admit to the outsider. It was probably a great factor in the unfortunate attitude taken during the Brusa incident last year, when three American teachers were fined and given three days' restriction because students in their school had been captivated by the personality of Jesus.

In the face of all these emotional bases of the present intolerance, why are the friends of the Turks so hopeful of the future ? Because all these bases are being undermined rapidly. Islam itself grows weaker year by year. No new *Hojas* are replacing the old. The old mentality is steadily giving way. The religious lessons given in the public schools present a strange mixture of the new and the old. For example, we are told that if the Prophet Mohammed lived to-day he would play football, volley ball and tennis. Christians are used to church athletic leagues, but it is hard to picture white-turbaned *Hojas* coaching a football eleven. Another thing of special interest is the mass education movement which has taught a million villagers the Latin alphabet during the past winter, so that

they are reading simple magazines especially prepared for them. This also is breaking up the old psychological attitude. The use of the Christian calendar, the hat, the alphabet and numerals of Christian Europe all are wearing down prejudice. One by one the walls that divide the westerner from the Turk are being torn down; it is much easier now to get on intimate terms. In the end, if Turkey is to be truly western she must be tolerant, for a basic western idea is tolerance.

The fear of denationalizing is bound to pass because it is not founded on fact. Protestant Christianity with its ideas of democratic decentralization does not tie anyone up with any foreign culture in a way that harms the local culture, and the Turks are learning that by observation. The part that Christian leaders are playing in national movements in India and China, too, is bound to have its weight. Furthermore, the leaders in Angora are doing all they can to separate the ideas of nationality and religion. It is only during this past year that the statement that Islam was the national religion was struck from the constitution. Any Turk eighteen or more years of age is legally quite free to change his religion. One writer of national reputation has openly avowed his debt to the Bible as a source for content and style. A recent book, *Sodom and Gomorrah*, quotes both the Old and New Testaments. Jesus has been quoted by cabinet ministers in public orations. The press publishes news items such as the work of the Bible Society or the controversy concerning the Salvation Army organization. The old feeling that a Turk lost his racial connexions if he was aided by the ideals of Jesus is losing ground. On the contrary, the idea is gaining ground among some thoughtful people that Europe and America have had a great gift in the life of Christ, and that Turkey has been the loser because historical accidents have barred His influence from Turkish culture. Some day a Turk will say to his people: 'As Tolstoy, impelled by the love of Christ, did great service to Russia, though excommunicated by the

Orthodox Church, so I, impelled by the love of Christ, will do much for my mother land, even though the Islamic church will have none of me.' Then the idea of the indivisibility of nationality and religion will be ended.

The feeling that religion is a naïve, out-of-date inheritance from a previous age must be dissipated by the missionary workers themselves. If they feel that God is the great fact in their own lives, if they are able to be released, contagious personalities as a result, then people will know that there are vital religions as well as formal religions. If at the same time they are in the forefront in educational and medical methods, in social and reconstructive movements, if they look to the future and not to the past, then the Turk will learn that certain religious people can lead in social reform, as well as that others strive to block progress. The very reasons which have led educated Turks to oppose Islam will lead them to welcome the dynamic ideas of Jesus, if the missionary forces will give a true interpretation of their religious background. The solution lies with the missionary personnel, and that makes the major missionary problem in Turkey the same as the major problem in all other fields, namely, the development of the personalities of the missionary workers themselves.

The factors in the situation which give me the most hope are the people involved. As I said before, the Turk is essentially friendly. The Americans and the British working in Turkey really like the Turks and desire to see Turkey find that abundant life which she is seeking along such new, untried paths. Both sides are sincerely working for the upbuilding of Turkey. The Turk is not only hospitable and friendly himself, he appreciates friendliness in others. But he has been tricked by foreigners in the past and so, after twenty years of continuous warfare and with cynical foreigners in his midst, he has been cautious and even suspicious. But he is coming to see what sincere friends he has in the missionaries. When he is absolutely convinced of their friendship and sincerity, though he may disagree

with some of their ideas he will respect them enough to give them perfect freedom of expression.

Missionaries have also learned much these past years. Methods of religious education are changing here as at home; more thinking is being done in terms of the needs of the people. Our ideals are being stripped of their western terminology; we are learning in Turkey the same lesson which missions are learning everywhere, that much that we bring from the West is not needed and is beside the point. Many little things that irritate can easily be avoided. The result is that missionary workers are on more intimate terms with the Turkish people than ever before.

In the old days students were forbidden to attend foreign schools at all. Not till 1908 did this state of things end. Even then, before the war, Turks did not come in large numbers to foreign institutions but were always outnumbered by the other races. During the great war their numbers decreased, due to the strain of that contest. At the close of the war a considerable number of mission schools and hospitals were attended by increasing numbers of Moslems. After the exchange of populations many institutions had an almost exclusively Moslem patronage. So that it is only during these last ten years that the missionaries have been in intimate first-hand contact with the main currents of Turkish life and thought. Already in this period great strides have been made in mutual understanding. The next ten years should go far toward completing that process.

All these factors together give real promise for the future. Those of us who contemplate a world civilization based on the co-operation of all races, to which each race will offer its unique contribution, know very well that it can have no other unifying force than a common loyalty to Christ. Further, those who see the defeated lives, the drabness, the sordidness, the sin and the suffering of secular civilization realize that purified religion must sweep through the human race again to make it wholesome and happy. That religion for civilization to-day can come from no other source than

Christ. It is not a question to-day of Christianity or other religions, it is a question of Christianity or no religion. From our knowledge of the Turks and of the changes that they are carrying through with so much speed we are sure that Turkish leaders, with ideals deeply founded in Christ's personality, will be raised up to carry His message of liberated, joyous and contagious life to their fellow countrymen.

LEE VROOMAN

THE TRAINING OF AFRICANS IN MEDICINE AND PUBLIC HEALTH[1]

By C. T. LORAM, LL.B., Ph.D.

THERE can be no question about the utter inadequacy of the present provision of medical attention for Natives of South Africa. The Committee of Inquiry on Public Hospitals and Kindred Institutions stated in its Report (U.G. 30, '25, para. 515):

> It cannot be denied that at present there are hordes of Natives in many centres who have little chance of medical treatment, and the untreated sick become a menace to the rest of the community.

Whatever opinions, therefore, are held about the Native problem in general and Native education in particular, all must agree that for the safety of South Africa the Native needs much better medical attention.

At the last census there were in the Union 4,697,813 Natives, of whom 4,110,813 were living in rural districts. It has been estimated that not less than one medical man should be available for every 5000 of the Native population, and on this basis there is need immediately for an additional 900 doctors. Where can these be obtained? The importation of doctors from overseas has practically ceased, and the medical men graduated from the two medical schools in South Africa do not do much more than make up for wastage. Unless we are prepared to run grave risks we cannot afford to leave the Natives to their herbalists and witch doctors, but must select suitable members of their own race and train them in medicine and public health.

The Union Government has recently been devoting a

[1] This article is based on a paper read at the European-Bantu Conference, Cape Town, February 6th, 1929.

great deal of attention to this question, and, following on the report of the Hospital Survey Committee, the Prime Minister appointed a Committee to enquire into the training of Natives in medicine and public health. The personnel of the Committee consisted of Dr Darley-Hartley, the doyen of Cape medical men and editor of the *South African Medical Record*; Professor Dart, dean of the medical school of the University of the Witwatersrand; Dr Pretorius, a well-known Bloemfontein medical man; and Dr W. A. Murray, of the Union Department of Public Health, with Mr Wilfrid Murray, registrar of the University of Cape Town, as secretary and myself as chairman.

This Committee has recently issued its report,[1] in which it recommends the creation of a Government Native Medical Service which would ensure that poor and remote districts which might be unable to support a private practitioner could receive medical attention. It is not proposed to restrict European doctors from practising among Natives. The Natives could not do without the white doctor, and would not if they could. The report is explicit in suggesting that European medical men should hold positions in the Government Native Medical Service both as doctors and as inspectors of Native hospitals and village health centres.

The Committee has no hesitation in recommending that Natives be trained as medical men:

> In the first place, there is the psychological factor in the better understanding between doctor and patient, due to the bonds of a common race, language and social outlook. In addition, the medical profession opens a new avenue for the satisfaction of the natural aspirations of the Native to serve and elevate his people in the same way as he is already doing in the teaching profession and the ministry (section 17).

The report does not debate the question as to whether the Natives are capable of such training, presumably because the fact has been proved by the existence in the Union of a number of fully qualified Native doctors trained overseas.

South Africa as a whole is clearly unwilling that Native

[1] U.G. 35, '28. Pretoria: Government Printing Office. 1s. 9d.

doctors should practise among Europeans. Absolute prohibition of this is a thing to which the medical councils might not agree, and which might work out badly in cases of accident or other emergency. Native medical men entering such a service as is contemplated could be restricted by Government and could be limited to Native practice if this was thought advisable.

On the vexed question as to whether Native medical men should receive the same training and qualification as European doctors, or a different and admittedly inferior training, the Committee is emphatic. In spite of the temporary expediency of providing an abbreviated course of training, and in spite of the example in French West Africa, of which Sir Edward Thornton gives an account (see Appendix B of the report), the Committee is unanimous in insisting on the same standard of training and qualification for Europeans and Natives. It gives seven reasons for this recommendation, of which the most interesting is that 'the Natives themselves demand the same standard of training and are unwilling to accept anything inferior.'

Proceeding next to the question as to where the Native students should be trained, the report is emphatically of opinion that they should be trained in South Africa (section 36), not only on the grounds of expense but also for fear of 'deracialization' and estrangement from their people as a result of a long period of absence from their own land. The Committee hoped that it would be possible to train these medical men at the South African Native College, Fort Hare, but all the evidence was against this proposal, chiefly on account of the fact 'that this institution does not offer the clinical material necessary for modern training of medical students' (section 43). The establishment of the school at Durban was rejected on the score of expense, and this left the choice between Cape Town and Johannesburg (section 45).

Both the Cape Town and the Johannesburg medical schools have expressed themselves as willing to give instruc-

tion and certification to Native medical students provided that separate buildings and equipment are used (sections 54 and 55). Finally the Committee decided that Johannesburg was the most suitable centre because of its greater proximity to rural Native areas in which the doctors would practise, its abundance of clinical material and the possibility of carrying out in the same institution the training of Native health assistants and sanitary officers.

The question of cost is considered in detail. It is expected that the cost of the building and equipment at Johannesburg would be approximately £60,000. Other expenses would include the provision of pathological and chemical facilities at the hospitals, the provision of lecturers' salaries, bursaries and loans for students and so on.

The report proceeds to deal with questions of the training of Natives as health assistants, nurses and midwives ; all of which it strongly recommends. The term ' health assistant ' is new and needs some explanation. Health assistants would be trained Natives administering public health regulations under the direction of the Department of Health. Their duties would include general nursing, recognition of infectious diseases, deverminization of huts and clothing, the systematic treatment of malaria and venereal disease, and emergency first-aid procedure. Although these officials are in no sense doctors, the report recommends that for the sake of economy they be trained in the same place as the medical men.

As regards the training of Native nurses, the report deplores and gives reasons for the present shortage. These are, chiefly, the newness of the profession, the unsettled state of employment and of salaries, the unwillingness of parents to allow their children to go to large centres of training, the high standard of the entrance requirements and the difficulty of examination for Native students. The report recommends that Native nurses be part of the National Medical Service and that the rate of pay be comparable with that of teachers of the same length of training.

The report accepts the view that for fully registered nurses and midwives the entrance requirements and the length of training should be the same for Natives as for Europeans, but as a temporary measure, in order to meet the needs of the situation as it is to-day, it recommends the training of a number of auxiliaries to whom it refers as ' nurse aids ' (see below).

It is recognized that the whole scheme is an ambitious one which cannot be fully achieved for a long time to come, yet in the eyes of the compilers of the report it represents a policy which should be adopted. Indeed, steps have been taken to give effect to portions of it. The Native Affairs Commission has recommended that £10,000 be set aside from the Native Development Fund for Native medical services. Part of this money would go towards the training of Native nurses, some of whom would be trained as fully registered nurses; some as nurse aids or health visitors. Regarding these latter let me quote the words of the report :

> In order to provide for the urgent need for a large number of Native women with some training as nurses, your Committee recommends as a temporary measure that a number of Native women be trained as nurse aids. These women would differ from registered nurses in that the entrance qualification to their course of study would be lower (e.g. standard VI instead of standard VII or VIII), the course of training would be shorter (e.g. two years instead of three and a half or four and a half); the training might be taken at the smaller hospitals; the certificate would be one given by the hospital authorities; and they would not be authorized to practise nursing except under supervision. It need hardly be pointed out that this course of training is not intended to interfere in any way with the full course to be given to those Native women who wish to obtain the qualification of registered nurse (section 74).

The scheme, as the compilers of the report see it, involves the creation of a Native medical service which would consist of state and state-aided officials and institutions, organized into as many medical units as the country can afford. A medical unit would consist of a doctor and his hospital (government or mission) in some central locality. Working under the doctor would be two or more health assistants.

In the hospital would be staff nurses and nurse probationers in training; outside, in the location, would be a number of health stations, each in charge of a Native nurse midwife. A health station would consist of a couple of huts where urgent cases would be received. Here the doctor would pay periodical visits to see out-patients, and would perhaps transfer in-patients to his central hospital and advise the nurse midwife or health assistant on the treatment of other cases. It is from this little outpost that the blessings of health would radiate out to people who need it most. In the meanwhile, pending the development of such a medical service as has been outlined, the Committee 'recommends the appointment of a number of additional district surgeons in the more extensive or more thickly populated Native districts' (section 77).

Confident as I am that this scheme is sensible and practicable, I trust that it will receive the hearty and active support of those who realize the importance for all races in South Africa of the question of the health of the African.

C. T. LORAM

THE LINLITHGOW COMMISSION AND RURAL LIFE IN INDIA[1]

By K. T. PAUL

THE Report of the Royal Commission on Agriculture was received in India with an outburst of disappointment. Not only the regular daily press which feels called upon to offer opinions on anything and everything which interest the 'general public,' but even publicists such as Sir Lallubhai Samaldas and experts such as Dr Harold Mann spoke in no uncertain terms of disappointment. Then came the monthly magazines with the considered evaluations of those who had time for more deliberate study, chief among them the *Indian Journal of Economics*, which arranged for several articles on different phases of the Report. These articles acknowledged the existence in the Report of many, even numerous, contributions of real value; but even at that the reception was restrained and by no means enthusiastic.

The causes are not far to seek. In the first place, the Commission had kept out of everything pertaining to land tenure. Secondly, it was dealing with a vast problem, parts of which were already spheres of work of several departments of a Government which for fifty years and more had been making many and strenuous attempts to influence the economic and other habits evolved for themselves by an oriental people, millions of whom had through several centuries continuously lived in the same locality.

The former implies a most serious omission, but the Commission was not responsible for it. When the Commission was first asked for in the Council of State, an enquiry into land tenure was the main thing urged. But Govern-

[1] See *Report on the Royal Commission on Agriculture in India.* Cmd. 3132. 1928.

ment thought fit to exclude it in definite words from the terms of reference. The reasons for this were clear and definite, as we shall see. But the result on the value of the Report is the same, whether this omission was due to Government or to the Commission itself. Can we imagine a Royal Commission appointed to report on industry in England being forbidden to investigate the relations of labour to the proprietors of industry? If such a Commission were appointed, however capable its personnel and however painstaking its labours, would not the value of its report be limited? In fact, the more thorough and discerning and constructive the report, the more insistently clear would be the need for carrying out the omitted line of enquiry, which is in fact what has happened in connexion with the Linlithgow Commission Report, as we shall see later.

For the moment let us turn to what I have indicated as the second of the probable reasons for the qualified reception given to the Report. Too much was expected from the Commission, and by many people who ought to have known better. I have myself had occasions, not a few in number, to criticize the work of the Agricultural Departments of the Indian Provinces, and I have not found it possible, in more instances than I wish to remember, to use qualifying adjectives to the criticism. Many others have done the same with more or less justification. But the fact remains that the daily tasks of the agricultural officers are accumulating data as to principles and practices on a vast scale and, on the whole, of real value. Considering the fact that the Indian peasant, empirical though his farming practice be, has because of the centuries of that practice formed habits and traditions which are truly scientific in their efficiency, the achievement of the Agricultural Service in India is certainly worthy of high appreciation.

We are not concerned primarily with that point here—but I do wish to say that there was little room for the Royal Commission to do more than appraise relative values of

what had already been achieved, to dig out the worthy matters from corners, assemble them and make them available for all India, to suggest correlations of isolated activities where such correlation would greatly enhance values, and to indicate wherever possible the lines which promise the best results. Naturally the Report looks at first sight as if it were a mere encyclopædia. Naturally there is disappointment to those who expected some great and possibly radical recommendation, which would speed up the distressingly slow processes of rural uplift and almost magically bring the day of full salvation within sight.

But in Old India such is not a human possibility. Salvation is certainly ahead of our present lines of work, and the Commission has done invaluable service in recommending certain definite ways in which the present lines of service may be used to much greater advantage than at present. The real problem now is, will Government and the people have the courage to carry out the recommendations not merely in the letter but in the spirit in which the Commission has worked them out ? The whole Report should be studied with care. There is also an authorized abridgment, barely one hundred pages in length, which ought to be read, marked and inwardly digested.

Among the major recommendations of the Commission there stands out the suggestion of an Imperial Council of Agricultural Research, which eventually may be expanded into something which will include in its scope ' all activities that have any bearing on rural progress.' Far greater than any of the functions specified for it is the very fact of this Council. After all these years, an authoritative body has recognized that the magnitude of the importance of agriculture for India requires a high-power plant, exalted enough to compel attention and vested with its own resources, such as will secure for its policy and programme the indispensable factor of continuity irrespective of political vicissitudes. The staple industry of a continental popula-

tion of three hundred millions demands nothing less. On the other hand, agriculture being but one factor of rural life—which is after all the very life of India—even this Council is but the beginning of something more comprehensive. It required a Royal Commission to record such a recognition and to place it in the forefront before Government and people.

The Commission had no easy task in working out the idea of such a plant. For agriculture has been decentralized and the imperial relationship to the provinces in this regard is no more than advisory. In trespassing beyond these limitations the Commission has projected a Council with effective and substantial authority. Money is power, and by providing that the financial aid given by the Council to provincial expenditure be not merely *pro rata*, but also determined by what the Council judges to be worthy standards of achievement as compared among the provinces, the Commission has cleverly worked out what could be really effective machinery.

> It would be a body to which the imperial and provincial departments of agriculture could look for guidance in all matters connected with research, and to which such research programmes as they might choose would be submitted for criticism and approval. Our object in proposing that such a body should be constituted is to provide provincial governments with an organization embracing the whole research activities of the country, veterinary as well as agricultural, in which they can feel they have a real and lively interest. . . .
>
> One of the most important functions of the Council will be in regard to the training of research workers, and part of its funds should be utilized in the provision of research scholarships tenable by students who have given evidence that they are capable of taking full advantage of an opportunity for intensive training in scientific research in agriculture. The Council will act as a clearing house for information and will establish bureaus for crops as well as for animal husbandry, dairying and veterinary matters. It will take over the publication work at present done by the agricultural advisers to the Government of India and will arrange for sectional meetings of experts in particular branches of agricultural science. We do not contemplate that the Council should have research stations directly under its control or should have its own staff of experts. It would be for the Council to decide whether a particular piece of research

work is of all-India, or merely of local, importance and, if the former, whether it can best be carried out at an imperial or provincial research institution or entirely outside such institutions, in a university, by private individuals, or even abroad. In order to bring the financial position of the Council into relation with the present Constitution, it will be necessary to include in the devolution rules a declaration that the development of agricultural research by a central authority is expedient in the public interest (Abridged Report, pp. 5–6).

But everything will depend on the quality of the personnel who form the first Council and the continuity of the financial provision for its programme. The Government of India has now the high responsibility of rendering this central recommendation of the Commission an unqualified success from the first.

Amid all the varied material which is assembled in these 756 pages of the Report there runs one constantly recurring principle—co-ordination of services hitherto isolated. This principle is embodied in numerous recommendations, clearly and definitely worked out. At the very outset, even in the discussion which leads to the suggestion of an Imperial Council of Research, the Commission points out the utter and urgent necessity of co-ordinating province with province, and Pusa with the provinces, in the matter of research activities. And in chapter after chapter the Commission finds occasion to point out the wastage and inefficiency resulting from isolated activities of different departments of Government.

Human life is a unit and an Indian village is very really a unit. You cannot effectively serve the Indian peasant except by serving several of his varied needs at the same time and in terms of their mutual interlacing. I ought to know, for I am a farmer myself. The government experimental farm in my neighbourhood finds a particular kind of ground-nut to be a great improvement on the local variety—in quantity of out turn, expense of harvesting and quality and percentage of oil—and the government demonstrator advises me to sow it. I do so gladly. The results are precisely as

he predicted. But when I take it to the local market there is no demand for it. The middlemen do not know about it yet and will not take risks. I have only two alternatives : to express the oil and sell that, or to sacrifice my crop at about twenty-five per cent less than the selling price of the inferior local variety. But the oil-mills are overworked at the harvest season and naturally work only for middlemen. And so I have no alternative to a heavy loss, which could easily have been avoided if the agricultural and co-operative departments had concerted their programme. This is one of numerous, or rather innumerable, instances where the service of a department in isolation is futile or wasteful or, at all events, only half as beneficial as it could easily be if there were co-ordination of all relevant departments.

The Commission specifies lines of co-ordination between the agricultural department and the veterinary, the forest, the irrigation, the educational and the co-operative departments. About the time that the Linlithgow Commission was finishing its labours, the Government of Madras appointed a small committee of seven to enquire into the state of the co-operative movement in that province. The present writer had the honour of a seat on that committee. In the course of our investigations, carried on from another angle, that of co-operative finance, we found it absolutely necessary to urge in our report in a similar way closer and more effective co-ordination. We realized that in India the problems with which each department deals are so vast and difficult that severe division of labour is imperative if the standard of work is to be maintained. At the same time, work achieved in laboratory and experimental farm, however high its standard, fails of its purpose unless it is adapted to the life of the peasant. Where study stops and propaganda begins isolation is fatal, co-ordination is indispensable : a lesson which it is hard for the expert to realize and for the official to welcome.

Here then is a great opportunity for service open to the philanthropist or the missionary who is able to realize how

central to the destiny of India is the uplift of her rural life—for this is eminently work for the non-official citizen or friend. The official wheels will presently gear in, but neither the continuance of a happy articulation nor the maintenance of the standard of its human value will be possible if the matter is left only to official regimen and routine. In America the 'county agent' is happily only a quasi-official. In Gurgaon (Panjab) Mr Brayne's 'village guides' throw valuable light on my thesis. The Y.M.C.A. 'rural reconstruction secretaries' in South India bear important witness to it.

Every missionary who has responsibility for a 'mass movement community' of Christians—whose economic, health and many other conditions of life leave so much to be desired—has here to-day a great door and effectual opened to him. So also the missionary who has evangelistic responsibility for rural areas has the possibility and therefore, may it be said, the responsibility of serving the whole life of the people as signally as the doctor who cures those who are going blind because of ignorance or neglect.

The Commission recommends co-ordination. Co-ordination at headquarters is of little avail. What is wanted is co-ordination in the district and the village; and this can only be secured and maintained by enlightened public opinion and by devoted friends of the poor.

Another of the chief points made by the Commission is with reference to education. This should be understood as really two subjects: the general education of every one, and the agricultural education of the would-be farmer. Both are of great importance to the missionary.

The first topic again divides into two: rural education and adult education. In the field of rural education the Commission recognizes the urgent need for drastic reform, recognizes that the whole success of any such reform depends on the right training of rural teachers and inevitably pays a high tribute to Moga: 'a movement which offers bright

hopes for escape from the difficulties which clog the progress of education' (p. 528).

The Report rightly goes on later to say: 'This system of training at Moga is but one example of the valuable pioneering and experimental work accomplished by missions, to which education in India owes so great a debt' (p. 528).

This is well said. For it is literally true that missions can do for this generation in India a piece of timely service as profound and far-reaching in effect as that which Alexander Duff and William Miller did in their day and generation. Thanks to the National Christian Council, what was started in Moga has become a movement. But we are still in the day of beginnings. Do missionaries realize what has happened? Are they sufficiently aware of the responsibility now lying on them to provide the continuity and the quality of the work that will be needed for a long while before it can become a national service of the first magnitude? India will never forget the contribution to higher education made by Christian men and women of high merit throughout a whole century. That field has now ceased to be the distinctive contribution of missions, due to the very success of that educational work. To-day another field with exactly similar opportunities lies open and practically vacant before Christian missions.

Next to rural education of the young comes adult education of the illiterate. The adult education called for is not merely to confer literacy, but, what is much more urgent, education in all matters of value through eye and ear: through lectures, songs, dramas and exhibitions, at fairs and festivals as also at the door of the village school and the village church, night after night when the harvest has been gathered and the next busy season is awaited. Education is needed in all matters of value to the peasant, primarily regarding seeds, pests, fertilizers, tools and markets, but also as to health, laws of hygiene, civic rights and liabilities, co-operative methods and many more things. It is some such comprehensive syllabus as the above, irrespective of

literacy, that the Commission had in mind when it laid down its faith that 'such a development would antedate by at least a generation that great advance in literacy which in our view is essential to progress in all directions' (p. 530).

This faith is amply justified by the experience gained among the Negroes of the United States. To the missionary, and in fact to every publicist who chafes at the distressingly sluggish rate of the increase of literacy among his people, here is an effective suggestion authoritatively presented by the Commission. Will the implications of it be worked out in detail ?

As for agricultural education, the Commission has done a distinct service in the comparative estimate it makes of the Bombay and the Panjab systems. The guidance is now clear for all the other provinces.

The recommendations have important bearings on secondary education which is now the weakest link in the educational chain in India. In fact, between collegiate education which manages to secure the lion's share of money and attention, and elementary education on which at last scientific attention is being bestowed, secondary education is now a sort of nondescript derelict pathetically floating adrift. One is led to hope devoutly that the conditions of unemployment which are already grave will become rapidly intolerable, and compel all concerned to realize the practical value of the Commission's recommendations in this regard.

The colossal ignorance of the Indian *rayat* (peasant) renders him an easy prey to every unscrupulous person who knows anything at all, however little that knowledge may be. The moneylender, the land-grabber, the tout who foments quarrels and feeds the toddy shops and civil and criminal courts, together with the middleman—all these thrive because of the *rayat's* ignorance, precisely as the mosquito and the different kinds of bacteria which inhabit his drinking water or settle on his growing crops. Education, adult education, is the one urgent remedy. But some

of the harpies must be singled out and slain by special effort, for example, the moneylender and land-grabber, about whom, however, I dare not attempt to write now for lack of space and lack also of patience. There is another, the middleman, who cannot be passed by.

Is marketing an economic detail in a farmer's life? It is, when farmers can read, can combine, can command credit and negotiate it. In India it is not a detail. It is as important as production itself. The Commission does not mince words on this matter :

> The agricultural departments in India have done much to improve the quality and to increase the quantity of the cultivators' out turn, but it cannot be said that they have been able to give him substantial help in securing the best possible financial return for his increased out turn. This is the only inducement that can be held out to the cultivator to adopt improved seed, and he is not likely to take much trouble if he finds that he cannot get a better price for his improved produce (Abridged Report, p. 43).

The direct interest of the agricultural department is involved in the economic process which begins after its scientific work ends. Similarly, in the Madras Committee on Co-operation we found that the direct interest of the co-operative department is really involved in the human processes which are anterior to the due date of the loan; for it is they that determine the economic possibilities of the *rayat* and save him from the necessity of leaving his account as an 'overdue.' Some twenty-five per cent and more of the outstandings in the co-operative banks are to-day 'overdue.' If the processes involved in agricultural marketing are attended to with a quarter of the care that is bestowed on some other features of co-operation, the overdues which now threaten the solvency of the whole movement will be wiped clean out.

Under present conditions it is the middlemen who batten on all the good work of alike the agricultural and the co-operative departments. No wonder they grasp tightly the local co-operative banks and freely lend money to the

rayat. Whatever the ultimate future, at the present time better production means direct and practically immediate gain to the middleman, not to the producer.

It must be presently admitted that both the departments were already beginning to be alive to this matter when the Commission arrived. But the Commission has done a distinct service in pointing out that marketing is in India to-day not a detail but a problem of major importance, which needs the best attention of Government and of all those who are devoted to rural welfare.

It is impossible within the compass of this paper to single out even the outstandingly important recommendations of the Commission or their implications for the friends of the poor in India. I have arbitrarily limited myself to five, which in my observation are among the most noteworthy, and shall now state the last of them.

This last point is migration, the movement of rural populations within India which is constantly taking place and still, in the judgment of the Commission, is not what it should be. The density of population in the most farmed parts is some 450 to the square mile, and the situation in general is that ' the numbers who have no other employment than agriculture are greatly in excess of what is really required for the thorough cultivation of the land ' (p. 580), which was the opinion of the Famine Commission as early as 1880 and is quoted with approval and emphasis by the Linlithgow Commission—forty-eight years later. At the same time there is much room in India itself for the relief of this pressure. What is lacking is scientific attention.

Every ten years the Census Report finds it necessary to discuss this phenomenon of migration, for it is not only an important economic problem but also a real human problem. But no one has as yet troubled to take it up for study or service, and migration in general is a number of haphazard drifts, urged by hunger or by silver-tongued exploiters of the poor. The planters' agencies obviously study the interest of the employer. No one is studying the

interests of the *rayat*, or the general economic or agricultural situations in the country which call for migrations.

The Commission has not said much about this, for the available data were meagre indeed. It is high time that Government appointed not another committee, but a special officer to tour through India, and make a study which would in fact amount to a research on the conclusions of which provincial governments might build up utility services of a suitable nature. Possibly the new Imperial Council could set this up. Whoever does it or whenever it is done, here again is an open door to the missionary and the friend of the *rayat*.

I must now revert to the great omission in the terms of reference given to the Commission—land tenure. I do so firstly because the Report at a thousand points leaves obvious blanks which can be filled only by reference to the one environment which, like sun and air, permeates all rural life ; secondly, because the Commission itself evidently found it impossible on certain occasions to refrain from references to land tenure ; and thirdly, because the Report is such a masterly analysis of all other data that the synthesis of its conclusions calls out clearly and loudly for the investigation of land tenure.

Here is one instance of what the Commission says :

> Throughout our investigation, we have constantly been impressed with the thought that mere material improvement alone will not bring lasting benefit to the agricultural population. Increase in yield by better seed and better cultivation ; security of the harvests gained by the expansion of irrigation ; immunity from losses due to pests or pestilence ; higher prices from improved communications and conditions of marketing ; everything, in short, which we have advocated for the material advancement of the people will merely postpone the effects of the growing pressure of the population on the soil. No lasting improvement in the standard of living of the great mass of the population can possibly be attained if every enhancement in the purchasing power of the cultivator is to be followed by a proportionate increase in the population (p. 499).

This is high philosophy of eminently practical value. But there are certain things left out in this admirable

analysis. 'Every enhancement in the purchasing power of the cultivator' is also followed by periodical increase of land revenue assessment by Government as the super-landlord, and is duly shifted on to the cultivator by the absentee landlord, if it is he who pays the land revenue. Again, numerous disabilities attendant on the different systems of land tenure leave the *rayat* defenceless, his interests ill-secured, and his mentality either cowed or unsettled.

Why did Government keep out this most important point? For one reason, just because the subject is so vast and complicated that it might have meant five more years before the appearance of the Report, whereas many points needed immediate authoritative investigation on an all-India scale. This reason is quite sound. Madras, for instance, has been struggling with the Malabar tenancy problem for some seven years and the solution is not yet. Almost every system of tenure will demand a similar amount of work.

A second reason was that the enquiry would have to cover land taxation, for Government is the biggest and in a sense the worst landlord, for in the exacting of its terms there is no possibility of margins, irregularities if you will, which human considerations may and certainly do let in, in the transactions between other landlords and their tenants. Government is a landlord whose rights are conceived and exacted practically as part of the law of the land. The relationship is official and nothing else. In truth the *rayat* is not a tenant, he pays tax and not rent. While this is so, Government does not wish to raise the issue. It is not prepared for the subsequent racket if the recommendations should be at all radical; not prepared even to have them 'talked out,' for its hands are full with matters of life and death—in fact things related to land tax could not be talked out.

The third reason is that Government is afraid. When the great land questions of India are really placed on the

anvil any Government is bound to be afraid. Here one is absolutely in sympathy. The less said about it the better.

But meanwhile the matter cannot be ignored or simply adjourned. It is high time that Government adopted a programme for attacking the problem piecemeal. This Report of the Linlithgow Commission is an excellent occasion for it. In the wake of the various actions called for by the Report, the revision of various land tenures ought, in all conscience, necessarily to be taken up if the spirit of the Report is to be carried out.

Meanwhile, with the franchise necessarily widening, the day is speeding up when there will arise an Agrarian Party in the country. To-day a quarter of the national treasury is filled by what the land contributes, and what does the farmer get out of it ? Defence and communications are all very well, but in the organization of education, health, recreation and many other services the urban population gets a disproportionate share. The gulf between town and country, which happily was not in the pre-British days, is now becoming steadily wider. Power has at the moment actually gone the way of the moneylender and middleman, a far worse thing than when the litterati, or before them the landlords, held the reins. Nothing will by itself arrive for the farmer : he must proceed to take what he wants.

But when, and how ? The Indian *rayat* needs a friend to-day who will guide him in sincerity and truth.

K. T. PAUL

CHANGES IN THE AFRICAN CONCEPTION OF LAW, DUE TO THE INFLUENCE OF MISSIONS

(*Summarized translation of an article by Professor Carl Meinhof in the* Neue Allgemeine Missionszeitschrift *for April* 1929)

THE theory (ascribed to Rousseau) that primitive man had no legal code still lives to-day among those who believe the African in his native state has no recognition of law. The theory is not borne out by facts. The old Basuto chief Moshesh, wiser than the theorists, spoke truly when he said experience had taught him that a man in his infancy depends upon his mother, and from then onwards upon other men. No one is an isolated unit: we all—civilized or non-civilized—are dependent on one another. And out of this dependence arises recognition of laws controlling a man's dealings with his neighbour. For the African, as for all non-civilized races, the ties between men are all rooted in religion.

The changes in the conception of law brought about by contact with Christianity are manifested in various ways. For much that is old, such as witch-burning and killing of twins, there can only be abolition. And abolition will cut directly across much that has religious sanction. It would affect, for example, legal claims based on the belief that a man can change himself into an animal.

Again, much that is old is susceptible of re-orientation from what is magical to what is a matter of conscience, such as the relations between parents and children, or between a man and constituted authority.

A good deal of old custom, however, can be retained, especially that relating to social usage, tribal law, age groups, marriage law, chieftainship, community field work—all these have value for holding together the group, and a missionary will do well to study them.

When a missionary comes among a strange people with the Christian message, he brings an influence to bear not only on the

religious but also on the legal conceptions of the people. Quite unconsciously on his part questions concerning law are raised by the very supplying of his food, building of his house and hiring of workers to supply his many needs. As a rule he is not aware of this, especially at first. When he meets with cases of tyranny or cruelty his opposition to it undermines the authority of chief or clan leader, especially if he gives an asylum to their victims.

His influence is most far-reaching in cases where he has to forbid young Christians to take part in heathen religious ceremonies. The religion of a primitive people is not a world into which their tribal life enters; it is an integral part of their tribal life, from which it draws its strength. There are ceremonies of an individual nature, such as the summoning of the witch doctor in cases of sickness in a family; but others, such as initiation rites, fertilization feasts, ceremonies to avert famine, plague or war, are tribal duties, and whoever fails to join in them thereby cuts himself off from his people. These ceremonies are of such importance that their omission constitutes a danger for the Christian community. Jakob Spieth was wise in asking a non-Christian chief to claim some secular service from the Christians instead of the religious service they no longer rendered, so that their Christianity should not be a source of material advantage to them.

The first difficulty for the African in the way of understanding western law exists in the fact that the messenger of the Gospel comes not only as a representative of Christianity but also of Europe. However little the missionary may be acquainted with juristics, and however much he may try to remain aloof from the Africans' legal matters, it cannot be denied that every European, through education and the whole of his way of life, is familiar with legal ideas which are a matter of course to him but entirely foreign to the African. The basis of his legal outlook is the code of his native land; which while it has necessarily been influenced by Christianity during the course of time is in many respects still far from New Testament teaching. For example: 'Lay not up for yourselves treasures upon the earth,' or 'Give to him that asketh thee,' or 'Ye cannot serve God and mammon'—these injunctions are difficult to reconcile with modern conditions of capitalism, poverty and pursuit of wealth.

These things puzzle the African. If he has had no contact with the West it is a matter of course to him to share all his possessions with his neighbour; he knows neither of a proletariat nor of beggary.

This is not an assertion that the attitude of the African towards personal property is necessarily right; but it should be emphasized that the European exaggerated regard for capital is not Christlike and should not be forced on the African. A comparison of the condition of the labour proletariat in South Africa with Africans as yet untouched by European influences shows the disastrous effects of capitalism on African social life and makes it evident that the Church must not be bound up with it.

Another difficulty for the African lies in the separation of western legal codes into many departments: there is civil and criminal law, law applicable to individuals and to communities, law as it concerns persons and as it concerns property—all too subtle and perplexing for the simple mind, especially for one unaccustomed to thinking along such lines.

A task for missions should be to educate the African to understand the legal enactments and pronouncements of the European. He must learn, if he becomes a Christian, that a human being is not a piece of property to inherit, to sell or mortgage; that the killing of a man cannot be set right by payment of a fine, as if it were merely a question of damages, but that if it is other than accidental it is murder. According to African ideas, the man in whose cooking-pots thieves have cooked stolen meat, or the man who has lighted his pipe at a thieves' fire, must be punished, because he has become accessory to the theft through magic. He has now to learn that legal guilt is based on his being not magically but rather morally accessory. The missionary, as well as the official and the judge, must educate the African into these new ways of thought, and he will succeed the better the more he knows of African legal custom. The modern missionary is able to learn a good deal about the Africans' outlook from his daily contact with them, with the help, too, of the literature now available. To get them to relate concrete incidents to him he will find better than a resort to direct questioning.

The two matters concerning which European and African legal conceptions differ most widely are land-ownership and marriage law. Although, owing to the influence of later Roman legal thought, it has become a matter of course to us that a man can buy land, it was utterly incomprehensible to our German forefathers. Land had been acquired either through settlement or conquest; in any case it was occupied by the tribe and any freeman had a claim on a share of the land to raise food for his needs. When for any

cause the land became insufficient for tribal needs, the tribe moved on to seek a new place. So in historical (and apparently in prehistorical) times the Northern Europeans migrated to Southern Europe, Asia Minor and Africa—not as individuals but in tribes. The individual needed the help of the tribe for sowing and harvesting. There was no individual ownership of land. Roman law introduced that to us. The old Israelitish law, as related in the Bible, knew nothing of it; it recognized tribal ownership (see the story of Naboth's vineyard), and although this was at times transgressed, utterances of the prophets show that it was the ideal held (Isa. v, 8; Mic. II, 2).

The African sees things in the same way. When the German Government in South-West Africa wanted to buy land from the mission, the latter rightly responded that the land was not saleable, it was held on lease from the Herero chief—and the illegal sale of land by the chief was the real cause of the Herero war.

Other instances can be brought forward to show the innate conviction of the African that right in land belongs to the community only, not to the individual.

The missionary cannot be indifferent as to whether Africans are living happily as independent farmers of their own land, with enough to spare to allow for the needs of an increasing population; or whether, disinherited, they are crowded into all-too-small reserves; or whether, indeed, they become the proletariat of the towns, losing their heritage of custom and tribal discipline.

While this question nearly concerns the white settler who demands African labour, it concerns the missionary more nearly. In my young days the squatters' laws were strict. Happily for the missions, a larger number of Africans was allowed in mission stations than on farms, as they were not employed as labour but lived under the protection of the mission; but we lived in fear of strict application of the law. Difficulty arose from another side. 'To whom belongs the land on which the Africans are living, if the land is put at their disposal by the mission?' Roman law answered: 'The land undoubtedly belongs to the mission, and if the mission wishes to sell it and invest the sale money in other ways, that is its own affair and the African must put up with it.' African law answered: 'The Africans have put themselves under the protection of the mission. They have broken with their own people to become "people of the mission," which has taken the place of their chief and which has

supplied them with land for their needs, and they may not legally be turned off it.' Which was right ?

Our new tenancy laws do not allow the owner to give notice to the tenant at his own pleasure ; it seems, therefore, that we ourselves are on the road to modify the unbending severity of ownership laws. This gives added cause for not holding the African too strictly to our formal law, especially when we as Christians recognize that it is not in conformity with the spirit of the Gospel. It may be asked how missions came by their property. As a general rule it was granted them either by Africans, or by Europeans for the use of ' the poor heathen.' The giver can seldom have foreseen the possibility of the land becoming capitalized and the proceeds used for furthering missionary work in other ways. This has been done in some instances, and while the African Christian community has thereby been the gainer in some ways, the mission has been involved in difficulties owing to being forced into the position of a chief, with responsibility for the physical as well as the spiritual needs of the community. Difficulties have led to lawsuits in some cases, from which have resulted bitter feelings and sore hearts.

Matters regarding marriage law are on a different footing, for here the souls of women and children are involved. With regard to polygamy abolition must be the goal of missions, but the reasons for the institution and the way it works out should be studied. It is generally accepted to-day that monogamy was the original custom, a second wife being permitted only in the case of a childless marriage. In an ordinary community every man cannot be a polygamist, there are not enough women ; it is only when wealth becomes accumulated by an individual—say a chief—that opportunity for multiplying wives grows, and they are sources of further wealth to him by their work. Many evil results follow : poorer men must remain unmarried, the birth-rate goes down, the lack of training and care of children of polygamous marriages is usually deplorable.

But it is a question nowadays of inherited polygamous custom. Women go from one owner to another, and missions are bound to protest and to preach the indissolubility of legal marriage. This is a completely new idea to the African, who can only absorb and adopt it by degrees.

Again, the question of ' bride-price ' is most controversial. It goes without saying that the actual purchase of a wife is contrary to the spirit of the Gospel ; missions are bound to protest also

against the inheritance of a man's wife along with his cattle after his death. But in many cases the gift of cattle is not a sign of sale, and the woman does not feel her position is regular if it has not been made. The cattle deposited with her father are earnest of her husband's good faith towards her. The mission in such a case may well support the continuance of a custom which protects the legal rights of a woman and her child.

The legal right of a husband to kill his wife and children must be combated by both mission and government. Conjugal infidelity counts as theft and can be adjusted by a fine. The moral guilt is hardly recognized, especially among those African tribes where a wife is not legally 'competent.' The mission must endeavour in such a case to see that the fine goes not to the injured husband but to the chief, otherwise the transaction easily becomes looked on as a source of profit. The sense of moral responsibility must be awakened, especially in regard to a husband's unfaithfulness, which is not generally regarded as a sin against law.

To close, it must be recognized that European and African conceptions of right and wrong differ, also that European law is not always adapted to African life. On the other hand, new ordinances, especially as regards marriage, are badly needed; but the mission must not handle the matter from without, but must lay the emphasis on Christian principle, so that a new form of African marriage law may grow up from within under the guidance of the Holy Spirit.

M. M. U.

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

SEX IN MELANESIA

The Sexual Life of Savages in North-Western Melanesia. By Bronislaw Malinowski. Preface by Havelock Ellis. London: Routledge. 42s. 1929.

ANY discussion of sexual questions is obnoxious to many people, and perhaps some of our readers may wonder why such a book as this receives notice in these pages. Yet, whether they like it or not, missionaries are continually confronted with these matters, and surely on every ground it is advisable to face them frankly and to use every means at our disposal to gain an understanding of them. We have a right, of course, to ask that sex should be dealt with in a scientific manner. Students are safe in Dr Malinowski's hands: as far as I know there is no book which can serve as a better introduction to the subject. 'In anthropology,' he says, 'the essential facts of life must be stated simply and fully, though in scientific language, and such a plain statement cannot really offend the most delicately-minded nor the most prejudiced reader.'

Natives treat sex as a serious and even a sacred thing; and it should be treated reverently by the investigator, as Dr Malinowski does. He makes no apology for writing the book, nor we for reviewing it. He knows, as we know, that sex dominates every aspect of culture—and not the culture of savages only. It is impossible to understand any people if this side of their life is ignored. Touch what aspect you may, economic, æsthetic, religious, and you are led to sex. On the other hand, sex cannot be studied in isolation; to understand it, one must understand the whole of life. That is why, in this large volume, we are introduced straightway into 'the chief domains of tribal life—domestic, economic, legal, ceremonial and magical.'

The people here described are the natives of the Trobriand Islands, a coral archipelago lying to the north-east of New Guinea. The author portrays them vividly; he is evidently keenly interested in them as human beings, not as mere zoological specimens. On closing the book we feel that we have really entered deeply into

their thoughts. The book has value other than as a description of an individual people. As an example of anthropological method it is superb ; and it should assist students to penetrate into the minds and habits of any people with whom they are concerned. Again and again I find myself drawing parallels between these Trobrianders and Africans.

The sex instinct is one of the strongest ; it is capable of sublimation, as we all know ; and its regulation is a problem in every stage of society. It cannot but interest us to know how any section of humanity has tackled the problem that vexes ourselves. Dr Malinowski brings out clearly that even savages have their codes of decorum, their taboos and laws by means of which they seek to control the sexual impulse. The Trobrianders, like other savages, are far removed from promiscuity.

> In law, custom and public opinion sexual appropriation is exclusive. There is no lending of wives, no exchange, no waiving of marital rights in favour of another man. Any such breach of marital fidelity is as severely condemned in the Trobriands as it is in Christian principle and European law ; indeed the most puritanical public opinion among ourselves is not more strict.

The people pay strict attention to modesty in dress ; courtship is conducted most decorously, and from courtship and marriage romantic elements are not altogether absent. They have, then, their moral code, and it is in some respects more rigid than ours. ' Scenes of frequent occurrence in any public park in Europe, after dark or even before, would never be seen in a Trobriand village.' Occasionally Dr Malinowski saw lovers leaning against each other and holding hands in broad daylight ; but this was contrary to native ideas of decorum and was condemned by an elderly stickler for propriety as *misinari si bubunela*, ' missionary fashion '—' one of those novel immoralities introduced by Christianity. He spoke with as much feeling and righteous indignation as the late Rev. C. M. Hyde of Honolulu might have used against heathen pruriency.'

> Many things which we regard as natural, proper and moral are anathema to the Trobriander . . . he is shocked when he finds a white man jesting and unconstrained in his sister's company or showing tenderness to his wife in public.

So far these islanders appear as ultra-puritanical. It must be observed, however, that code and practice do not always correspond ;

as among ourselves, the sexual impulse breaks through all restrictions. And, moreover, custom allows many practices that are anathema to ourselves : prenuptial intercourse, for example—there are no virgins and ' in the ordinary course of events every marriage is preceded by a more or less protracted period of sexual life in common.' There are also certain orgiastic festivals. The social imperative, therefore, does not cover the same ground in the Trobriands as in Europe. Dr Malinowski does not overstate when he says that in some matters we might reasonably claim to be the Trobriander's moral superiors.

Many questions are raised by this book ; and some of them fall to be considered when the attitude of the missionary to native customs is discussed. How can we take up a position of indiscriminating condemnation in face of the statement that ' in some respects [the Trobriander's] moral regulations are biologically sounder than our own, in some more refined and subtle, in some a more efficient safeguard for marriage and the family ' ? Surely in such cases the missionary should lend his countenance and support, even when the customs differ from his own ; he should teach the people to obey their own laws. For the rest, repression is dangerous ; only by slow and painful steps can the people be led into a nobler conception of what sex means.

Another question raised is as to the compatibility of Christianity with a matriarchal society, where sexual intercourse is not causally connected with child production, where father and son stand in the relation of strangers to each other and all family obligations are associated with the mother-line.

Dr Malinowski is, we are convinced, not so ' unmissionary ' as in this book he professes to be. In any case the questions he raises and the criticisms he offers must be met as frankly and sincerely as he propounds them. Like other anthropologists he writes of the ' interference ' of the missionary—sometimes in regard to lurid and disgusting customs. It is tempting for a reviewer to reply with a *tu quoque*. When investigating the subject of paternity, he deliberately exasperated the natives by arguing, as missionaries had done, against their view ; he did this, not in order to convince them but in order to draw out their arguments. Does he not see that for a man who has gained the confidence of the people to take this line is to ' interfere ' radically—and in this instance not with an unessential matter but one that lies at the root of the Trobriander's

conception of society? The truth is, of course, that every white man 'interferes' when he comes among natives—he cannot help it. Missionaries ought, however, to know what they are doing, and to do it wisely. Such books as this should help them.

It is a great book. I agree with Mr Havelock Ellis that it will become a classic of which the value must increase with the passage of time. It is clearly written and beautifully illustrated.

EDWIN W. SMITH

WALTON-ON-THAMES

SAFWA FOLK-TALES

DIE SAFWA: Ein Ostafrikanischer Volksstamm in seinem Leben und Denken. 3 Bände. II. Bd. GEISTIGER BESITZ. Von ELISE KOOTZ-KRETSCHMER. Berlin: Reimer. M. 15. 1929.

THE first volume of this work, noticed in the Review for October 1927, gave a general view of the Safwa people, their tribal organization, customs and institutions. The present one contains a rich collection of proverbs, enigmas, folk-tales and traditional history; and the third will give the Safwa originals of these texts. It goes without saying that the whole of this matter is extremely valuable.

The riddles and proverbs are given in the original, the greater number in Safwa, some in the similar Nyixa language (Nos. 106–118 of the proverbs in both) and a few in Inamwanga. The proverbs are accompanied by full explanations—very necessary in most cases, as many of them would be quite unintelligible without a knowledge of the local conditions or customs to which they refer. Thus: 'Settle your quarrel on the stool' is the advice of a chief to two tribesmen on the point of coming to blows over a real or fancied injury. The meaning is: 'Sit down on your stools'—the seat in use among these and many other people—'and let us talk the matter over quietly.' 'In the dark you may (happen to) greet your brother-in-law' has no point unless one understands that 'in-laws' are not supposed to speak to one another. 'You only remember when the streams are full'—i.e. when the rains have made all roads impassable, and the thoughtless person finds that it is too late to start on the most pressing errand. 'Don't climb a rotten tree and then say "God help me!"' probably has parallels in every country.

Frau Kootz-Kretschmer notes, with regard to this, that people were accustomed to use this expression before there was any contact with missions. The name used for God—*Unguruvi*—is remarkable : it is so much like *ingulube, nguluwe*, the wild pig, that one wonders if it had originally any totemic significance. Another pithy saying is : ' Borrowed (drink) does not quench thirst '—which reminds one of the Scottish ' A gien morsel's soon eaten.'

Among the legends which are given in a distinct section from the ' Märchen und Fabeln ' is a curious one : ' Vom Häuptling der in die Höhe fuhr.' The chief Nx́inx́i called his people together to till his field and, as usual on such occasions, provided a plentiful supply of beer for the workers. They hoed with a will for some time and then fell to on the beer, which they consumed to the last drop, leaving none for Nx́inx́i himself. In his disgust he rose into the air, with his empty beer-gourd, his hut and all his cattle, vanished from their eyes and was seen no more.

One cannot help being reminded of various legends in which the creator is represented as leaving the earth and retiring into the sky because of man's misconduct. (The Yaos have some such tradition about Mulungu—the Nandi attribute it to the thunder.) Can it be that the Safwa formerly knew this, or a similar version, and, having in the course of generations forgotten much of it, distorted the rest into the tale of a human chief and his excusable irritation at his people's negligence ?

There is much to say about the folk-tales : many are old friends. No. 55 is the well-known story of the animals and the well—the hare, who has refused to take part in the work, cheats them, one after the other, and gets a share of the water, till caught by the tortoise. No. 44 tells of a race between some kind of antelope (the German text has *Reh*, but there are no deer, I believe, in Africa) and the frog ; the latter wins by the same trick elsewhere ascribed to the tortoise (and in Europe to the hedgehog), of planting out his relations at intervals along the course. The hare (*Xaruru*—the Nyanja *Kalulu*) figures in many of the usual adventures, some of which are familiar to all readers of *Uncle Remus*.

Not the least interesting part of the book is that containing the personal narratives of men and women, written or dictated by themselves. The first of these, Benyanga, a man apparently between forty and forty-five years of age, represents his great-grandfather, X́yambo, as having introduced the use of fire to the inhabitants of

the land at the foot of the Mbeye hills. (He calls these people 'the children of Nanzi' but gives no hint of where they come from, or whether they belonged to the same tribe as Xyambo.) He came out of a cave in the hills, bringing with him the sticks for fire-making and the seeds of millet, maize and beans. Frau Kootz-Kretschmer infers from this that the Safwa were unacquainted with the use of fire and of cultivated food-plants as recently as three generations back. But the story has a certain resemblance to that of Vere, the more or less mythical ancestor of one of the Pokomo tribes; and there is a tendency, where history is purely traditional, either to relegate its events to a vague antiquity, or to skip any number of generations and bring them into comparatively recent times. English rustics were wont, not so long ago, to attribute any works of unknown antiquity either to the devil, to Julius Cæsar or to Oliver Cromwell—the last-named being thought of as only just beyond living memory.

It is impossible, within the limits of an ordinary review, to do justice to the varied and interesting contents of this volume. It constitutes yet one more reason why all missionaries and anthropologists should take warning by the case of George Eliot's Mr Casaubon. Unless, indeed, some public-spirited firm should decide to issue it in English—a pious aspiration which can hardly hope for fulfilment.

A. WERNER

LONDON

THE EAST AFRICA REPORT OF 1929

EASTERN AND CENTRAL AFRICA: Report of the Commission on Closer Union of the Dependencies, January 1929. Cmd. 3234. London: H.M. Stationery Office. 6s. 1929.

A FEW years spent in missionary work in Central Africa give a new significance to the creative and redemptive activity of God, as generally understood in European countries.

When the missionary observes the normal association of spiritual ideas with material interests in the minds of the people amongst whom he lives, his own faith in a time-worn Christian tenet receives fresh impetus, and gains deeper conviction that the teaching of Jesus is the only adequate corrective of callous self-interest in the creed of material benefit which European penetration introduces, as some justification of the havoc it works in the old sanctities of

tribal custom and religion. If the decay of traditional discipline is not to degenerate into widespread disregard of all authority, and if racial suspicion and distrust are to be disarmed, the course and the goal of official policy have to be understood and their religious values interpreted.

This is the missionary's warrant for a concern with social and political development in African territories under British rule, to a degree which may seem excessive in the opinion of those who dislike any overt relation of religion to political theory ; since the intimacy of the two, in Africa, cannot be gainsaid.

Much more debatable is the definition of official British policy, for a coherent conception of it, in terms not too general nor too particular for his purpose, is hard to find. On the one hand, the policy enunciated in government white papers is too abstract a summary of principle to help the ordinary missionary in realizing where such statements will touch the life around him, or what is going to be their interpretation. On the other hand, local administrators are chary of embarking on a detailed exposition ; they can gauge accurately enough the general sense of their commission, when the shibboleth of ' leaving it to the man on the spot ' compels them to trust the inspiration of the moment ; but they do not disguise the fact that this latitude leaves them to learn by their mistakes, and that they must rely for guidance upon personality rather than a clear definition of their duties. Such elasticity allows of remarkable achievements, but is not conducive to an understanding of the system they represent ; and, sooner or later, their people do demand enlightenment on that score, as the horizon widens from the focus of the individual, representing Government, to include the authority which lies behind him.

The missionary himself lacks time, channels of information and the training necessary to work out a solution for himself ; he, therefore, hails with genuine relief the appearance of a Report which sets out policy in a framework of facts and ideas into which it is possible for him to build the resilient and enduring fabric of his faith, in the daily incidents of its personal and corporate practice. The Commission on Closer Union of the Dependencies in Eastern and Central Africa has supplied him with the sort of text-book for which he has been looking.

It is easy to pick out the weak spots in a volume of three hundred and fifty-four pages, to ignore the difficulties which beset its pre-

paration, and to say that its length alone condemns it to comparative obscurity, even if the lamentable omission of an index of reference be overlooked. Many of its statements may be redundant, but this Report has more in its make-up than the transitory findings of a committee dealing with the incidents of a particular period in the history of a solitary dependency; and it avoids the vagueness and evanescence of a doctrinaire statement which is content to provide a string of moral aphorisms as its commentary upon events of critical importance to the future of British administration.

The Report is realistic in its treatment, although complete agreement with its premises and conclusions may be difficult to secure. The Commissioners have deliberately attempted to reconcile lofty pronouncements of principle with the opportunism of individual experiment, and for that reason the ordinary working Englishman in Africa, whether he be missionary, administrator or planter, should be grateful to them, so long as any pride in national good fame endures.

It has been said that people in England cannot cope with such an exhaustive blue-book, and for them a summary of its contents may prove serviceable if they are to take any interest in the obligations to which their political, economic or religious activities have already committed them. But for the missionary the price of the Report is its only serious drawback; and this review is designedly directed from the vantage ground of missionary experience in East Africa.

In his study of the book, the missionary is content to leave the mass of technical detail dealing with economic adjustment between the territories to those better qualified to examine it; in the main structure of the Report, however, he constantly finds the difficulties encountered in the daily business of his parochial ministration reflected in relation to one another on the wider plane of a country's fortunes.

He welcomes the insistence, from the outset, upon the need for a consistent policy, after experiencing the changes which the coming of a new Governor may portend, or even the dislocation which the frequent movements of administrative staff involve; he knows the importance of co-ordination of services when, in his immediate neighbourhood, he has seen how dependent upon each other, if their service is to be effective, are the officers of the different government departments.

The sober summary of facts, which serves as a preamble to the principles outlined in a succeeding chapter, is a first step in the

direction of enquiries which the Report recommends, to be set on foot by a High Commissioner; a welcome suggestion, for the missionary is acutely conscious of the futile irritation aroused by emphatic statements which are incapable of proof for want of conclusive and authoritative information; and he is aware how little is known of the real conditions of native life even by those in closest association with it. The opening of a mission out-school, for instance, involves him in a maze of conflicting detail as to the ownership of land, the resources of the local community, their ability to pay taxes and yet produce enough for the support of their school and its staff, the effect upon his constituency of labour demands which take most of the young men away from the anchorage of permanent interest in their land and families, and the relation of these progressive village centres to the old tribal system. Yet there is no body of reliable data available to which he can refer: he has only the results of private research and investigation first to be reconciled, and then to be used in aid of his own task.

He is, however, the agent of a voluntary corporation, and in winning the consent of church elders and councils to ordered progress he has learned how vital an element of growth spontaneity is, even if the argument of sheer preponderance (there are over four hundred Natives to one European in East Africa, as against four to one in South Africa) does not condemn as fantastic any thought of excluding these East African people from an ultimately decisive share in the control of their own destinies.

At this point, perhaps, the missionary is in closest accord with the Report, in its attempt to secure for each community the widest degree of free development compatible with the inter-relation of their interests, and in its refusal to crystallize the claims of the party dominant at present in a mandate of permanent authority.

But such an interpretation of trusteeship would be negative without the recognition that a policy of advancement primarily depends upon action in the native reserves, and the Commissioners go on to deal with the evolution of native Councils, and their share in the control of finance no less than in the benefits of expert service from all the government departments. Then there are further considerations as to the means of giving them access to the markets they require for their surplus produce, and as to the necessity of retaining sufficient crown land unoccupied to meet an unforeseen margin of error in preliminary calculations.

It is not the purpose of this summary to give a complete tally of the recommendations, or to do more than describe the impressions of a missionary whose immediate concern is the well-being of the community in a native reserve.

Given a fruitful outcome to the High Commissioner's enquiries, it will be possible for the British Government to translate its white papers into the vernacular of East African history, and to offer the Governor-General—if that subsequent appointment be made—definite outlines of policy which may be a road along which his own wits can travel and a rampart for his personal integrity. Many who have read the Report are waiting eagerly to know whether the British Government will follow the path so clearly indicated by the Commissioners in these pages, and will confirm the traditions of its colonial administration in a declaration of policy consonant with its profession to be the instrument of a Christian nation.

H. D. HOOPER

LONDON

THE SOUTH AFRICAN NATIVE PROBLEM

BANTU, BOER AND BRITON: The Making of the South African Native Problem. By W. M. MACMILLAN. Map. London: Faber & Gwyer. 21s. 1929.

BRITISH COLONIAL POLICY AND THE SOUTH AFRICAN REPUBLICS, 1848–1872. (Imperial Studies, No. 3.) By C. W. DE KIEWIET, Ph.D. London: Longmans. 12s. 6d. 1929.

PROFESSOR W. M. MACMILLAN in *Bantu, Boer and Briton* continues the historical survey furnished in his previous book, *The Cape Colour Question*, of the origins of the difficulties that are increasingly disquieting South Africa in regard to the relations between Europeans and Natives. Both books, he tells us, evolve from the study of the private papers of Dr John Philip, acquired by the Witwatersrand Council of Education for the University of the Witwatersrand. Almost simultaneously there has appeared, in the series of Imperial Studies edited by Dr A. P. Newton for the Royal Empire Society, a valuable complementary study by Dr C .W. de Kiewiet.

Both these carefully documented historical studies, and especially the major work of Mr Macmillan, are of extraordinary interest at

the present time as exhibiting the essential importance of the premises upon which missionaries of Christianity, such as Dr Philip, have based their political activities in neutralizing the purely secular utilitarian methods of a policy having regard merely or primarily to the interests of ' development ' by European immigrants. What is wrong with South Africa at the present time is that its social conditions are essentially and flagrantly unjust and oppressive to the native population. Where this is in some less degree the case, as in the old Cape Province, the happier conditions are due to the tremendous fight put up by Dr Philip and his local associates and those who supported him among the survivors of the slave-emancipation movement in England, which was inspired by the same principles. Everywhere else in South Africa the native population has been refused civil equality, and outside of limited and insufficient native reserves has been deprived of all rights in the land and homes on which it was bred.

Comparing the rural population of Europeans and Natives it is the fact that there are now 45½ acres of land per head appropriated for Europeans to each acre per head for Natives. Great masses of Natives have nowhere to live except upon the large farms of white men, taken from their fathers and forefathers by conquest, or upon the vast areas of undeveloped estates owned by land companies. The Natives living on farms cannot go elsewhere to seek labour, because they are only allowed to reside there on condition of working for the proprietor either at a wage of six to eight shillings per month or without wages by way of rent for their tenancies. The Natives resident on the lands not occupied but only owned by Europeans are heavily taxed with a view to driving them into the labour market. All Natives in employment are bound by the provisions of Masters and Servants Laws which make it a criminal offence for them to leave their employment. This is true universally, and not merely of Natives employed on farms. Native workers cannot therefore assist themselves by combination to strike work for higher wages. In order to assist the control of them they are bound by Pass Laws forbidding them to move from one place to another without written authority from their employer.

Those resident on the farms are miserably poor and have no means of bettering their condition. Those resident in the reserves, which are overcrowded, are getting poorer because the great majority (in some parts ninety per cent) of the able-bodied men have to leave

home to work in the mines or in the towns, leaving an increasing burden upon the women in the work of food production for the local communities. Upon this impoverished stratum of unskilled labourers the whole structure of South African society has been built.

Professor Macmillan and Dr de Kiewiet trace the steps by which this servile state was evolved : the critical moment which determined the fate of the growing communities being the date at which British statesmanship withdrew from the control of the developing territories, and Christian principle was superseded by the Dutch Afrikander dogma that the African Native belonged to an inferior order of creation and that no equality for him with white men either in State or Church could be tolerated.

This slave society has produced, as all slave societies infallibly do produce, the ' poor white '—the property-less European who cannot earn his living at wages because wages have been deliberately kept below starvation level, even for the black men who are expected alone to work for them. Necessity is now breaking down this social taboo against manual labour for white men, but, as Professor Macmillan continually urges, nothing can enable white men to live by wage labour so long as the repression of the producing power of the Native continues to keep the wage standard down. The South African Government has lately adopted the suicidal expedient of making it impossible for that standard to be advanced, by forbidding Natives (by means of the Colour Bar Law) to be employed in industries using machinery.

Professor Macmillan promises to deal with the genesis and position of the ' poor white ' in a future volume in which he will be able to demonstrate still more clearly the disastrous results of the neglect of the Native's capacities, and the insistence that he must be regarded merely as a muscular machine.

Fortunately, by the aid of such books as these, intelligence as to the roots of the South African ' Native Problem ' is now spreading ; and a welcome revival of energy in commenting on political questions in the spirit of the earlier missionaries is manifesting itself in the South African Christian Churches.

RAMSDEN, OLIVIER
CHARLBURY, OXON

RACE AND COLOUR PROBLEMS

PROBLÈMES DE RACES ET DE COULEURS : Le Conflit—La Réconciliation. By C. CHOLLET. Paris : Société des Missions évangéliques. Fr. 12.50. 1929.

THIS captivating book is written by a layman, a professor of history, who has given us already a remarkable short history of Christian missions. The complicated and disturbing problem of racial conflicts is presented with typical French clearness ; the documentation is thorough, but a judicious choice of facts has been made in order to present the case of the different races with complete impartiality.

It is a prophetic book, but the author is not, as many others, heralding awful cataclysms and world-wide conflagrations. His Christian optimism is wholesome, for it is not compounded of levity and blindness. The first part of his book is an accurate and far-seeing exposition of the conflicts between the white and the other races : yellow, black, red and brown. He hides nothing of the real grievances of these races against the white men who dominate them, but he shows also that when coloured people had the opportunity of dominating white men they were not more lenient.

For him, however, the idea of race is a convenient label to designate ethnical groups presenting some more or less visible similarities, physical and moral ; but the idea of race is only an unverified hypothesis if it is used to designate groups of men supposed to have for ever innate and ineffaceable qualities of body and soul.

The constructive part of the book is the most important ; it shows the possibility of reconciliation, in spite of the new acuteness given by the world war and its results to the grievances of the coloured races, namely, the cruelty, impiety, conceit, tyranny and covetousness of the white men. In many cases it points to a relaxation of the strain, either for economic reasons or by the granting of some rights to the inferior races, or by the new action of the League of Nations. What has been achieved locally proves the possibility of wider results.

For Professor Chollet the principal factor of reconciliation has been and will continue to be the work of Christian and specially of Protestant missions. The testimony of this learned historian is a great encouragement for missionary activity. At the vanguard of civilization in all lands whose natives have been oppressed, mis-

sionaries have always been the defenders of the ' inferior ' races, they have combated disease and ignorance and they have brought peace through the only thing which is able to establish righteous and brotherly relationships between men—the message of love of the heavenly Father. The Christian Church is the best school of civics. Missions make citizens out of subjects, understanding their duties as well as their rights, willing to co-operate peacefully with other races. Typical examples are given from the recent history of Basutoland, India, China and Japan. The movement for union among the Protestant Churches is becoming an important factor in international understanding.

' Between white men and coloured people economic and political relations will be established on a footing of equality.' This is a fact which the white men must accept, because it cannot be avoided. There is work, land and room for all nations on earth. The adaptation of inter-racial relationships to this equality will hurt certain individual interests, but if the adaptation is not made by the white men, or at least in co-operation with them, it will be made without them and perhaps in antagonism to them : ' Happy those who will be found generous enough to accept some sacrifices for the common cause of humanity ! '

BRUSSELS HENRI ANET

THE BHAGAVADGĪTĀ

THE BHAGAVADGĪTĀ. Translated from the Sanskrit, with an Introduction, an Argument and a Commentary. By W. DOUGLAS P. HILL. London : Oxford University Press. 15s. 1928.

TO occidental readers of the *Bhagavad-gītā* the *mise-en-scène* must at first seem rather incongruous. The long philosophico-religious poem is in the form of a conversation between two leading heroes of the great epic, the *Mahā-bhārata*, whose chariot has been driven out between the armies of the contending Kauravas and Pāṇḍavas at the moment when the culminating conflict is about to begin. At the sight of kindred and friends ranged in the two hosts Arjuna, the Achilles of the poem, experiences a revulsion of feeling ; his spirit shrinks from the fratricidal struggle, and he feels that it would be well to endure the worst rather than engage therein, to be slain rather than to slay. In a poem of eighteen cantos, some seven hundred lines, Kṛṣṇa, who is acting as his charioteer, revives

his constancy by a disquisition upon life and death and upon the features of a religion centring upon the charioteer himself as the supreme being incarnate.

Reflection convinces us that here also the Sanskrit epic, replete with an undeniable, though somewhat amorphous, greatness of soul, is true to itself and fails neither in naturalness nor in sublimity. The critical struggle is appropriately prepared and emphasized by a pause for contemplation and review (compare the wall scene in the *Iliad*), and as a prelude to the Indian Armageddon no theme could be more fitting than that of the *Bhagavad-gītā*. To the court minstrels of the fighting princes of ancient India and to their warrior audiences the situation and the poetic device must have been familiar.

In this way we can realize that even the earliest form of the *Mahā-bhārata* included the germ of a *Bhagavad-gītā*. The development of such a germ into a full exposition of the Bhāgavata faith required, in an age when religion had an interest as natural as any other part of life, no specially priestly intervention. The *Gītā* is no original work of propaganda, but a didactic poem (like Vergil's *Georgics*) : and that it has grown where we find it is clear not only from its consonance with what we hear of Kṛṣṇa in other parts of the epic, but also from one rather repellent feature, namely, the egoistic 'I' and 'me' which result from an exposition of the doctrines of a religion through the divinity himself. The view of Garbe that the poem is an insertion *en bloc* of a manual (*Lehrbuch*) ignores this feature and involves a condemnation of the finest passages in the poem. If the poet could learn that he had composed a *Lehrbuch* and that his sublime description in Canto XL is 'dramatic dressing up,' his answer would perhaps be unprintable.

On his behalf we may say that the faith of poets is dramatic : we cannot even be sure that the author of the *Bhagavad-gītā* was a Bhāgavata, and he may have gone on to compose a *Śiva-gītā* with the same facility with which Sir Edwin Arnold passed from *The Light of Asia* to *The Light of the World* or Kālidāsa from his *Kumāra-sambhava* to his *Raghu-vaṃśa*. We know what early Sanskrit manuals are like ; they do not at all resemble the *Bhagavad-gītā*, which has, moreover, many parallels in popular expositions of other subjects in the *Mahā-bhārata*. Even if Garbe's excisions were demonstrable by strictly philological arguments, a possibility which in some cases should not be ignored, the situation would not be appreciably altered.

Unfortunately the poem can no longer be contemplated purely

as such. More formal expositions of the Bhāgavata religion, upon which the poet may have relied, have been lost, and his work by virtue of its qualities and as part of the great epic has come to rank as a primary authority. For Śaṃkara already it is scripture and Upaniṣad. In modern India it is the most important religious text, reprinted every year in many scripts and languages, endlessly expounded in ancient and modern times, a basis for inspired and esoteric interpretations, a guide for life or a mine of political wisdom; in Europe a temptation to the scholar and popularizer, a burden to the bibliographer and librarian. In English there is no lack of editions and translations since Wilkins's publication in 1785 and the first full study in the work of J. C. Thompson (Hertford, 1855).

Mr Hill, who has resided in Benares, gives us (with only a few misprints: II, 37, 53; III, 25; IX, 15; XIV, 26; XVI, 2) the traditional text, inclusive even of the formal chapter-colophons (translated in large capitals). The translation is excellent in precision and correctness, and it reads well, though naturally with less easy flow than the original. There are, of course, passages where insufficiency or error can be found: thus we have 'treachery' for *mitra-droha* (I, 38, 'hostility to friends'); 'on the chariot seat' for *rathopasthe* (I, 47, 'in the body of the chariot'); 'what is the mark?' for *kā bhāṣā* (II, 54, 'what speaking can there be?'); 'approach me' and 'in many ways' for *prapadyante* and *sarvaśaḥ* (IV, 11, 'devote themselves to me' and 'in any case'); 'at the gate of Brahma' for *brahmaṇo mukhe* (IV, 32, 'in the mouth of Brahma'); 'encompasses about' for *abhito* (V, 26, 'is near to'); 'by reason of the likeness of selves' for *ātmaupamyena* (VI, 32, 'through comparison with himself'); 'that place' for *pada* (IX, 11, 'that word'); 'of arguments the true' for *vādaḥ pravadatām* (X, 32, 'of speakers the proposition'); 'sun spirits' for *ādityān* (XI, 6); 'perfumes of his anointment' (XIV, 11, 'perfumes and anointments'); 'steadfastness in devotion to knowledge' for *jñāna-yoga-vyavasthiti* (XVI, 1, 'proper separation of knowledge and exertion'; cf. *kāryākārya-vyavasthiti* in V, 24); 'born of mutual union' for *a-paraspara-saṃbhūta* (XVI, 8, 'without inter-relation'); 'holds back' and 'holds to' for *dhārayate* (XVII, 33–4, 'supports').

Perhaps Mr Hill has not sufficiently realized the connotations of *śauca*, which comprises bodily, ceremonial and moral 'cleanness.' We must not quarrel with his fluctuations in the rendering of such words as *yoga*, or his constancy in representing *guṇa* by 'strands,'

the latter a happily chosen word in regard to the etymological derivation of the sense of 'quality,' but not in English always furnishing the adjectival meaning, where it is required, nor necessarily in the consciousness of the poet, who sometimes speaks of the *guṇas* not as constituents of *prakṛti* (nature, matter), but as derived therefrom. The former word, the most important in the poem, appears as 'power,' 'work,' 'control,' 'union,' 'method'; we may doubt the sense of 'union' in *buddhi-yoga* (x, 10; elsewhere 'method of discernment'); but so long as it is borne in mind that the main idea is that of practical effort, exertion, application, we must acquiesce in variety of rendering, since we could not expect to find a single English term covering exactly the same ground.

An extensive introduction (pp. 1–98), including an analysis (pp. 55–98, Argument), discusses the cult of Kṛṣṇa-Vāsudeva and the composition of the *Bhagavad-gītā* and its doctrines. Mr Hill holds that Kṛṣṇa was a real man who figured in the original Bhārata story, that he founded the Bhāgavata religion and inevitably came to be identified with its divinity. The principles of the religion, as expounded in the *Gītā*, belong to a time when the Sāṃkhya and Vedānta had not yet fallen apart (p. 29), and in regard to the doctrine of *bhakti* (devotion) represent a stage when the divinity of Kṛṣṇa was not yet universally recognized, and in particular when he was still not connected as an *avatār* with Viṣṇu. The poem is an eirenicon (p. 16).

We can subscribe to all this only with qualifications. That the person of Kṛṣṇa is deeply embedded in the *Mahā-bhārata* seems indisputable; but he is not an ordinary warrior prince: he seems to enjoy a special respect, chiefly as an adviser and not in virtue of military prowess or large dominion. May he not have been one of those priest-chieftains, held to be semi-divine, a type which has still in the present century an Indian representative? The poem is not an eirenicon because it is not a tract. The conflation of views which it represents may be credited to the religion which it expounds, and not least as regards its vague attitude towards the Brahma doctrine; that the Bhāgavatas should have been ignorant of that doctrine is inconceivable, and that they should not have endeavoured to confiscate and incorporate it contradicts the whole history of Indian monotheisms. If they similarly laid hands on parts of the Sāṃkhya system, that is quite in keeping with the procedure of later Indian sects; by what other processes, indeed, could the worship

of a person attain to theology ? That Sāṃkhya and Vedānta ' had not yet fallen apart ' (p. 29) is a contention hard to realize ; but we can easily understand that they should have been conflated, more or less imperfectly, in the views of a sect.

The notes accompanying the translation furnish all necessary explanations and at times reconciliations of apparent discrepancies. Critical questions on the lines of Garbe are not much in evidence : indeed, the material is not yet available—we must await the critical edition of the *Mahā-bhārata*. Mr Hill has given us two full and systematic indexes (Sanskrit terms, pp. 279–88 ; Subjects, pp. 289–303) and also (pp. 273–6) a bibliographical sketch. The book may be recommended as a reliable guide to the study of the poem.

F. W. THOMAS

OXFORD

GOD AND CÆSAR

CHRISTIANITY AND THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA : An Examination of the Christian Forces at work in the Administration of India, and of the Mutual Relations of the British Government and Christian Missions, 1600–1920. By ARTHUR MAYHEW, C.I.E. London : Faber & Gwyer. 12s. 6d. 1929.

AT annual gatherings of missionary societies a note of hopefulness and buoyant optimism is usually sounded. The reports of the year may show small gains when these are put side by side of the millions still unreached or not yet won for the Master, yet the lump is leavened, Christ is preached and His Cross is lifted up in a desert of unbelief, and surely this is ample justification for singing songs of thanksgiving.

The closing appeal of Mr Mayhew's book has reminded us of this customary note of thankfulness at missionary assemblies. Mr Mayhew passes in review the centuries-long conflict between Christian forces and British administration in India. He has drawn a vivid and realistic picture of the opposition that Christian ideals encountered in that great land. His marshalling of facts reveals the hand of an expert. Those ideals, however, have only gained partial acceptance. There is enough in the whole history of Christian spiritual warfare in the land of India to discourage even stout hearts. Yet Mr Mayhew does not fall into the temptation to which historians not seldom succumb, of cynicism and scepticism. The closing

words of his valuable contribution to missionary literature should be a tonic to drooping spirits :

> Such helpers, if they bear in mind the record of a Christian Government in India, will not find it hard to follow the advice of one of the greatest of its representatives, ' never to let your enthusiasm be soured or your courage grow dim,' but to remember ' that the Almighty has placed your hand on the greatest of his ploughs. To drive the blade a little forward in your time, and to feel that somewhere among the millions you have left a little justice or happiness or prosperity, a sense of manliness or moral dignity, a spring of patriotism, a dawn of intellectual enlightenment, or a stirring up of duty where it did not exist before—that is enough, that is the Englishman's justification in India ' (pp. 250, 251).

Foreigners, especially Spaniards, reading this book will be struck by the peculiar methods of colonization pursued by the English conquerors of India. Times without number the English nation has been accused of logical inconsistency. Instances to prove the accusation could be gleaned from this account of events in India, and yet, on closer examination, one can see consistency which perhaps escapes a cursory glance. The Greeks attached special value to the study of origins, and the consideration of the origins of British rule in India may enable us to get a proper perspective of this want of consistency.

Everybody knows that the British pioneers went to India in search of wealth. They were traders in the first instance, and the concern of John Company was not spiritual merchandise. Religion to them was purely an individual affair. In Spain the case was different. Columbus won the hearts of the Christian kings of Spain when he pointed out that in the countries he hoped to discover there were multitudes of unredeemed people who had never heard of Jesus Christ. Careful instructions were issued that priests and monks should accompany every expedition of discovery. The Spanish discoveries were true crusades. Religion, as Prescott has observed, entered into the theory of the conquests of the New World ; their purpose and objective was the salvation of souls. The concern, on the other hand, of the East India Company with the moral and spiritual welfare of the Indian was only intermittent. Hence the wavering, the hesitation, the nervous apprehension and the uncertainty that formed such a prominent feature in the policy of the servants of the Company.

Spain in her colonizing policy had a definite theory and policy which unfortunately was seriously thwarted by the unchristian lives of not a few of her explorers. England had no such theory, but the devoted and exemplary lives of her sons and daughters exercised a decisive influence in the purification of the social and religious *milieu* of India : ' The lives and examples of many servants of Government have contributed to the more positive success of Christian missions ' (p. 236).

After a brief contrast of the Portuguese, Dutch and English methods of colonization, Mr Mayhew concludes :

> It is unnecessary in these days to spend time over condemning such methods, but we may justly congratulate ourselves on the good sense of John Company in refusing from its earliest days to countenance any kind of pressure, and on the wisdom of the missionaries in our territories who abstained from advocating them (p. 40).

Missionary enterprise in its relation to British administration in India has passed through three stages. From the very beginning of the Company's activities there was more or less open antagonism to missions. There were throughout the period exceptional individuals who raised their voices for a frank declaration of religious policy, but discretion, tolerance and caution were successfully invoked to silence them. The period came to an end at the renewal of the Company's charter in 1813. From this date missionaries could enter India without requiring a licence. The ' nervous apprehension,' however, of the Company's servants did not cease.

The Queen's proclamation of 1858 ushered in a new period. Christianity was accepted as a religion of the country. Christian missions and Government became co-partners in the moral and social uplift of India. Mr Mayhew devotes several pages to the consideration of the effects of this co-operation on Christian enterprise. He writes on page 200 :

> There are some who suspect Christian missions may have lost force from a process to which Government and its subjects have certainly owed very much. It is possible that emphatic co-operation with a Government that represented western civilization invested missions in the eyes of the people with the functions of a western and cultural agency rather than with those of a spiritual power that recognizes no geographical or cultural distinctions.

And on page 202 :

> Nowhere has the loss of distinctively spiritual characteristics, in the eyes of the outside world, been more marked than in the higher educational activities of Christian missions.

Hence, in the concluding chapter, Mr Mayhew suggests that if Christianity is going to be a spiritual power-house in India it is essential to devise a system of education entirely free from, though recognized and aided by the State, ' if only such aid is compatible with complete freedom and if it involves no risk of identification with a secular government system ' (pp. 246–7).

The scheme has indeed many attractions. We are, however, not in full sympathy with it. For one thing, we must avoid isolation ; our Christian community must not develop into a self-contained and water-tight class. We have had the conviction for some time that the aloofness of the Anglo-Indian community has been intensified by an educational system which is not part and parcel of the national educational scheme. Aligarh and Benares have still to justify their existence as centres of Indian culture. Will racial and communal animosities be intensified in such centres ? However expedient on other grounds the erection of a Christian university may be, it is certain that at the present time such a scheme would not be acceptable to the leaders of the Christian community. Missionaries as a whole should, however, welcome the opinion of a critic so well qualified to speak as Mr Mayhew. In our daily pursuit of secular objects the temptation to lose sight of our spiritual purposes is both real and insidious.

The proof-reader has done scanty justice to his work. Several mistakes have been allowed to creep in : the word ' chaplain ' seems to have mystified him. On page 49, line 23, ' support ' should read ' suspect ' ; on page 135, line 82, ' parts ' should read ' posts.' We have noticed several other mistakes of lesser importance. In ' Books Consulted ' the name of Sleeman is mentioned, but no particular work of his is given.

These small blemishes, which we are sure will be avoided in future editions, obviously do not affect the real value of the work. We sincerely hope that the book will be as widely read as the author's previous volume on *The Education of India* by missionaries and others interested in the great spiritual work of India's regeneration.

LONDON P. GONZALEZ BRIDGE

POLITICS AND RELIGION IN INDIA

POLITIK UND RELIGION IN INDIEN. Von H. W. SCHOMERUS. Leipzig: Deichert. M. 4.50. 1928.

THE high value of the contributions made by Dr Schomerus before the war to the knowledge of Indian religion would naturally secure attention for anything he has to say to-day on religion and politics in India.

The little book now reviewed does not aim at being more than a slight sketch, but it is, so far as ancient India goes, a sketch by some one who knows the field. For Dr Schomerus the struggle of the Brahmans for predominance is the chief thing in the picture. He traces how in India the priest early asserted himself over the king. The caste system gave the king, as a Kshatriya, a certain security of standing, and, ethics in India being caste-ethics, the *dharma* of his particular caste allowed the king to use all means, however evil, to gain or increase power.

Yet even so, the Brahmans remained the highest caste with a right of seeing that people of the other castes followed their respective *dharmas*. It was to the interest of the Brahmans that there should be in India a multitude of small principalities rather than one big empire. Yet when, after Alexander's invasion, larger states — Greek, native or Scythian — were formed, it was the Kshatriyas as a caste who decayed, and the Brahmans who survived. The predominance of the Brahmans has been threatened three times—by the temporary ascendancy of Buddhism, from Asoka to the rise of the Gupta dynasty (from about 270 B.C. to A.D. 300), again by Mohammedan rule, and again by the spread of European education under the British. Yet all through the Brahmans have succeeded in retaining a good deal of power; Mohammedan kings had largely to employ Brahman ministers, and it is the Brahmans mainly who have utilized for their advancement the education instituted by the British.

One chapter Dr Schomerus gives to describing the bearing of the peculiar quality of Indian religion upon political life; what he says here is to the point, though it will perhaps not be new to the readers of this Review: to-day it is a fact recognized fairly generally that the traditional characteristics of Indian religion—the pessimism, the idea of detachment and world-renouncement—do not lend themselves to the new values which the nationalist movement has

made predominant. Dr Schomerus's conclusion is that Christianity is required to give a basis to these values, and that only the conversion of India to Christianity can give promise of a healthy national life. That conclusion will, of course, be inacceptable to most Indian nationalists, if they read his book, though it must be assented to from the standpoint of this Review.

On the other hand, many Indian nationalists would be pleased with the strong anti-British character of the little book. Dr Schomerus sees it simply as the case of a foreign yoke and a people rightly struggling to be free, while any concessions the British have made in recent years to the nationalist demand have been due to fear. He is evidently wholly out of touch with the circles in England who are genuinely concerned to bring about a solution of the exceedingly complicated Indian problem which would secure India freedom and well-being; and the movements of thought and feeling in England which did actually lead to the Indian reforms—movements of which the *Round Table* group was an important representative —lie quite outside his horizon. His ignorance in this field is strangely shown by his observation that the vitality of Indian nationalism is exhibited in the fact that 'the British Government has seen itself obliged, so soon after the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms, to institute another Commission, in order to examine the question whether an extension of Indian self-government is necessary and advisable'— as if the Act of 1919 had not itself laid down as part of the system that such a Commission should be appointed after ten years!

In regard to Mr Gandhi, he does not seem to be aware to what extent his scheme of non-co-operation in India was shaped by western suggestion. Its principle was stated by Tolstoy in his 'Letter to a Hindu,' dated December 1908, and printed in English with an introduction by Mr Gandhi a year later. (There is a German translation of Tolstoy's letter, of which I remember seeing a notice in the Socialist *Neue Zeit* some years ago.)

In all that concerns the British we find the war atmosphere here still prevalent in Dr Schomerus's book in 1928. It is a pity, but knowledge of our own hearts should make us slow to condemn. Supposing the war had gone the other way, and Britain had been deprived of its oversea possessions by Germany, I am afraid we should have followed any difficulties the Germans might have encountered in their colonies with *Schadenfreude*, and put the worst possible construction upon everything they did there. To do justice

to the British endeavour to find the right way in regard to this huge problem would perhaps require in Dr Schomerus supernatural virtue.

EDWYN BEVAN

REIGATE

RAMON LULL

RAMON LULL. By E. ALLISON PEERS. London: S.P.C.K. 18s. 1929.

IN order to clear the way for praise of this excellent book, we will dispose at once of a criticism of a matter in which it seems to us to be lacking. Lull here appears as an isolated figure, he is not placed in the great historical framework of the period, and the significance of his work runs the risk, in consequence, of not being properly understood. Zwemer—and after him Gairdner—have already represented Lull as a solitary prophet, or as a kind of Melchizedek, 'without father, without mother, without genealogy.' Mr Allison Peers might have put an end to this tradition by adding a chapter, perhaps as an introduction, to his book. Lull can never be explained if we look at him only within the boundaries of Majorca. His projects and the causes which he founded (such as the missionary college of Miramar), his Arabic studies, his written arguments with 'the Sarrasins'—all these must be looked at not only in the light of the Spain of Navas de Tolosa (1212), but in that of the whole of Christendom.

It must not be forgotten that a century before Lull's marriage Dominique Gundissalvi, archdeacon of Ségovie, had translated philosophical works of the Arabs, and had compiled and refuted Avicébron and Avicenne. The *Pugio Fidei* of Raymond Martin is contemporaneous with Lull's best years; the great theological summaries of the period are as elder sisters to his *Ars Magna*; the philosophical summaries '*contra Gentiles*' are real missionary manuals written for the conversion of Jews and Musulmans. To conclude, the Christendom of the thirteenth century was a real unity, with great centres of international culture (universities at Paris, Bologna, Oxford and so on), constant intercommunication (Lull was a typical pilgrim), and a papacy as yet sovereign and uncontested.

Lull was certainly an original spirit; he was never eccentric, however. He moved more quickly than his contemporaries, but in

the same direction. To establish this conclusion it is not sufficient, in our opinion, to limit oneself to Lull's actions and movements; one must examine all the circumstances which surround his life. Has it not been said: 'What know they of England, who only England know?' And may not one ask a similar question, *mutatis mutandis*, concerning Ramon Lull?

Having thus given place to the critic, we have now nothing but praise to add. At the moment there does not exist any biography of Lull—English, French or German—which for scientific worth, careful documentation, judicious sympathy and extensiveness and accuracy of information, can rival this. This is a work of love, but of love perspicuous, with unbandaged eyes. On every page, even in technical discussions of date and authenticity, in Catalonian quotations or in finely shaded translations, one discerns the incomparable poetry of Ramon 'the *Joglar*.' The biographer has so merged himself in his hero that the simple beauty of Lull's own style has passed into his sober English prose.

It would be a mistake, however, to suppose that Mr Allison Peers has produced merely a literary essay. This work is above everything severely scientific and circumstantial in its argument. Lull's life is traced, step by step, from his birth to his martyrdom—that scene of confusion when, in the streets of Bougie, stones were flung at the head of the venerable preacher. It is a matter for surprise that we should have so little information about Lull's death. The author arrives at a conclusion, strewn with interrogation marks, largely conforming to the documents we already possess.

Not content with taking us as far as Lull's martyrdom, the biographer travels on with the memory of his hero. For, as we know, tragedy, which surrounded Lull's whole life, even long after his death dogged his name, his teaching, his work. Tenacious hatred pursued even to the grave the 'Phantasticus' who wrote the *Ars Magna*, and who wished 'to prove' the Trinity to Musulmans and to substitute for the crusade of war that of grace, love and truth. Nicolas Eymeric vehemently assailed the memory of Lull. The whole campaign is justly estimated by Mr Allison Peers, who takes into account the appreciation of the Bollandist Jesuit, Father Sollier, in the *Acta Sanctorum* (June, t.v. p. 732).

It is difficult—and not at all necessary—to pronounce the final word on a personality as living and, even to-day, as active as that of Ramon Lull; but one can definitely set aside the great calumnies

which ignorance or hate have heaped on him. This contemplative soul, this poet, knight, missionary, scholar, mystic, refuses to be imprisoned in a formula, but one can hardly go far wrong in repeating with the Belgian hagiographer: *præcipuis fidei catholicæ athletis non immerito comparari possit.* The biography is worthy of its subject.

Pierre Charles, S.J.

Louvain

A GENERATION IN THE STUDENT CHRISTIAN MOVEMENT

The Purpose of God in the Life of the World. Being some of the Addresses delivered at a Conference on International and Missionary Questions, Liverpool, January 2nd to 7th, 1929. London: Student Christian Movement. 2s. 6d. 1929.

THIS conference was the eighth in the series of quadrennial international gatherings held by the Student Christian Movement of Great Britain and Ireland. The aim of each of these conferences has been to present the call of the world situation to each student generation. The report is thus the 'close-up' of the mind of the leaders of Christian thought in the coming generation concerning the Kingdom of God. Those whose addresses were selected for this volume include Dr T. Z. Koo, Professor Barry, Canon Spanton, Canon Raven, Dr Maltby, C. F. Andrews, Ben Turner, the Master of Balliol, the Grote Professor of Philosophy, the Bishop of Liverpool and the Archbishop of York.

On the reviewer's desk lies a second volume—'Make Jesus King: The Report of the International Students' Missionary Conference, Liverpool, Jan. 1st to 5th, 1896. London: Student Volunteer Missionary Union'—the report of the first of this series of conferences. The reviewer edited that 1896 report, was present at that conference as a member of the Student Volunteer Missionary Union Committee, and has attended all the subsequent conferences but one. Between the two conferences lies the history of just one human generation, the generation that saw the great war. The two conferences took place in different worlds. How far does the message given in 1896 differ from that given in 1929?

To the reviewer the central thought in both seems to a curious degree the same. The dominant note in 1929 is heard in the title—

The Purpose of God in the Life of the World. The message, implicit in all the addresses and explicit in most, was summed up in the last words of the Bishop of Liverpool's farewell address in the Cathedral :

> You have not sought God's purpose impersonally as spectators from outside. You are part of it. God's purpose in the life of the world, that I can see. But there is a part of that purpose reserved for me. No one else can take that part. What is it ?

In effect, a *Credo* was offered to the student which he must accept or reject : I believe that God has a purpose for the whole world ; I believe that God has a purpose for my life ; I believe that His purpose for my life is part of His purpose for the world.

Since 1896 there have been revolutionary discoveries in science, and the revolutionary application of these discoveries to everyday life ; there have been changes equally revolutionary in the philosophy of missions, foreseen in the World Missionary Conference at Edinburgh in 1910 and further formulated at Jerusalem in 1928 ; there has been the shattering experience of the great war ; yet this very same *Credo* was fundamentally the thought of the conference of 1896.

At that first conference thought and passion were concentrated on the purpose of God to ' have all men to be saved and come to the knowledge of the truth.' The summons was to the task of evangelization : ' I believe that God has a purpose for the whole world ' was expressed in the Watchword then adopted : ' *The Evangelization of the World in this generation.*' The relation of the Christian student to the purpose of God was certainly thought of as most probably involving the signing of the Student Volunteer Missionary Union declaration : ' It is my purpose, if God permit, to become a foreign missionary.' The Watchword as then interpreted implied no one-sided view of evangelization ; J. H. Oldham's exposition of the many-sidedness of the missionary task in January 1929 re-echoes many thoughts from the Liverpool platform of 1896. Moreover, the conception in 1896 of the purpose of God in the life of the world has produced no narrow range of fruit : the students who were leading the Movement at that time included Donald Fraser, Agnes de Selincourt, J. H. Oldham, Douglas Thornton, Temple Gairdner, Lena Stuart, Walter Miller, F. W. S. O'Neill, A. G. Fraser, W. E. S. Holland and the Bishop of Winchester. Think what these have meant in the life of the younger Churches, in changed conceptions

of education in Africa and India, in the comparative study of religion, in the development of Christian literature, in Christian thought on inter-racial relationships, in co-operation and reunion movements —Edinburgh, Lausanne, Jerusalem.

True, the Watchword's particular verbal expression of the purpose of God in the life of the world soon ceased to be a power, but not before it had introduced into the Church a dynamic conception of God's world purpose, till then scarcely apprehended—the revolutionary idea that the Church was actually committed to the practical application of the theory that God has a purpose for the whole world.

The very same *Credo* was presented at Liverpool six months ago, but it was interpreted with a far wider range of illustration, and this time by scientists, sociologists and men in industry as well as by ministers and missionaries. We were introduced to a larger world, to a God yet more wonderful; we were shown His purpose active in the movement of the amœba, in evolution, in the prehistoric ages—the same purpose as we see active in the earthly life of Jesus Christ and in the work of His Spirit in the history of the Church. 'If we descry the signs of purpose anywhere, we must concede it over the whole field.'

But though the length and depth and breadth and height of the purpose of God was shown to us in a new way, the call to the student to realize his individual relationship to that purpose was none the less compelling: 'If we have moved into a larger house, that does not of itself alter the quality of our family life.'

A far larger range of possible vocations was presented. We saw the holiness of the vocation of the scientist, the philosopher, the administrator and the business man.

But 'some doubted.' Will the message expressed in the wider terms of 1929 work with the same compelling power as in 1896? Will the wider idea of vocation produce in the next human generation fruitage as remarkable as did the acceptance by a group of students of the more clear-cut message of 1896? Why not? The *Credo* presented to both student generations is the same and it is based on the very Nature of God.

R. Rouse

London

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS IN THE FAR EAST

FAR EASTERN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS. By HOSEA BALLOU MORSE and HARLEY FARNSWORTH MACNAIR. Illustrated. Maps. Shanghai: Commercial Press. $8 and $10 (Mex.). 1928.

PROFESSOR MACNAIR, formerly of St John's University, Shanghai, and now of the University of Chicago, has here produced a most useful book. He has condensed Morse's well-known three volumes, *The International Relations of the Chinese Empire*, into a form suitable for adoption as a college text. This he has done in part by omitting most of the footnote references to the sources, and the lengthy appendices of the larger work—features which made the original volumes invaluable for reference purposes but which are not needed in a manual for the classroom.

The book is, however, much more than a condensation. Professor MacNair has added chapters and sections on Japan, the Philippines, Siam and Malaya, so that all the Far East is covered. He has, too, continued the narrative from 1911, where Morse brought his great volumes to a close, through 1927. About a fourth of the new book is devoted to these sixteen years. Moreover, in the sections reproducing Morse's work Professor MacNair has occasionally added fresh material. What we have here, then, is the largest volume in the English language dealing in narrative form with the international relations of the entire Far East during the past hundred years or so. Professor MacNair, moreover, combines scholarly exactness with a readable style.

The volume acquires added interest from the fact that because of the criticisms of some of the more rabid Chinese nationalists, the publishers have had to withdraw it from the market pending its revision in a form more nearly acceptable to the present temper of China's intellectuals. It is easy to see why these protests have come. In dealing with the highly controversial events of May and June 1925, of the nationalist advance, and of the Nanking incident of March 1927, Professor MacNair has not hesitated to speak his mind. He is by no means an extremist and never indulges in denunciations, but he is of the opinion that in the Shameen affair the firing was begun by the Chinese; he believes Mr Strawn to have been right in his description and diagnosis of the disorders in China; and he calls the Nanking incident an 'atrocity.' Throughout his narrative of the past few years he refuses to accept the presentation

of China's case which apologists, both Chinese and foreign, have made to the world, but insists upon facing the facts as he believes them to be. This, naturally, is no more pleasing to Chinese nationalists than, say, would Professor Fay's *Origins of the World War* have been in France in 1919.

Yet Professor MacNair is not anti-Chinese. He is, indeed, distinctly a protagonist of China when he writes of the relations of that land with Japan. If he can be convicted of occasional departures from the strict objectivity of the historian, it is, taking the volume as a whole, quite as often on the side of China as on that of her critics, and it is because complete impartiality is almost impossible of achievement for one who has lived in China during these stirring years.

In so large a volume covering so extensive a field the reviewer, if he is at all disposed to be captious, is certain to find some flaws. The year of John of Monte-Corvino's death seems uncertain, and may prove not to have been 1328—the year positively assigned to it (p. 21). John had no Mongol assistant bishop. It was from the hands of a Nestorian Uighur, Sauma, that King Edward I (not Edward III) received the Eucharist. The statement (p. 21) that 'from the hands of one of Archbishop John's Mongol assistant bishops, who travelled to Gascony at this time, King Edward III of England received the sacrament' is, therefore, a mistake. If he had read carefully Hail's *Tsêng Kuo-Fan and the Tai Ping Rebellion*, the author would have given a somewhat different account of the rise and earlier stages of that revolt.

Both the British and the American Governments insisted that the treaty of 1860 did not grant to Protestant missionaries the right to lease property in the interior: hence a somewhat contrary assertion on p. 302 is an error. If missionaries succeeded in buying or leasing such property, the American department of State held that by permitting it the Chinese officials had conceded a quasi-legal right in which the missionary was entitled to the support of his Government, but that it was not a matter of special treaty privilege.

It is well, too, to note that the volume contains very little of any history that is not strictly justified by the word 'international' in the title. For a general account of the Far East during that period the reader must look elsewhere. The author, too, is obviously an American, although by no means in any chauvinistic sense. For all these criticisms, however, the book is a good one. It is to be

hoped that the required revision will soon be made and that the volume will be placed again on the market at an early date.

K. S. LATOURETTE

NEW HAVEN, CONNECTICUT

CHRISTIANS AND OTHER FAITHS

ATTITUDES TOWARD OTHER FAITHS. By D. J. FLEMING, Ph.D. New York: Association Press. $1.25. 1928.

THIS book is Dr Fleming's contribution to the problem of the Christian life and message in relation to non-Christian systems of life and thought. He is concerned with attitudes to other faiths, rather than with the adoption of specific solutions or particular courses of action.

In seven realms of contact we can now proceed to adjust our thought to the presence of these other faiths; an eighth realm is left for later treatment. (It is this eighth, however—that of the degree of aggressiveness which should be manifested by adherents of one faith toward the followers of another—that is pressing us most hardly in certain important quarters.) The seven realms of contact have to do with possibilities of common worship, mutual use of Scriptures, offer of hospitality and courtesies, material contributions, mutual enrichment of faith by borrowing or adaptation, co-operation in counsel and co-operation in service. In treating these contacts Dr Fleming shows his well-known enthusiasm for discussion by analysis and analysis by discussion. Differences of point of view, degrees of co-operation and the various principles involved are set forth with such abundance of illustration as to amount to a case-book. It is in the first and last realms—in common worship and in co-operative service—that the author finds the greatest possibilities 'for laying aside a competitive spirit and for building bridges between a divided humanity.'

In the last chapter the final reckonings are taken and the course set. He recognizes the risks in religious *rapprochement*, and the warnings from history that tolerance has too often led to indifference or to an undiscriminating syncretism without processes of elimination, as in Hinduism. But, on the other hand, there abides one central principle which can steady and save us as Christians: 'The doctrine

of the priority of the Holy Love or Grace of God. It is imperative upon Christians to mediate that Holy Love.' No man without such a vital experience of God should make the venture of inter-religious fellowship.

Again, we are reminded that the great religious systems are abstractions, that it is with the varied experiences and needs of individuals that we are concerned. The real distinction between religions is not one of truth and falsehood, but rather between adequacy and inadequacy for human living. In this matter of adequacy Jesus Christ is fundamental :

> If here we find a distinctive and qualitative expression of Reality as creative personality motived wholly by love ; and if we believe that the movement which began with the Hebrew prophets and culminated in Jesus Christ is still with us a living, growing, creative force—then we have gained a perspective in the presence of which the issues raised in these pages find their simplification.

O. M. BUCK

MADISON, NEW JERSEY

THE MOSLEM WORLD TO-DAY

ACROSS THE WORLD OF ISLAM. By SAMUEL M. ZWEMER. New York : Revell. $4. 1929.

THE author, who has long been widely known as an authority on Islam, first as a missionary to the Arabs in the Persian Gulf, and since 1912 as the editor of the *Moslem World* and the author of many books, has had exceptional opportunities for acquainting himself with the present condition of the ' world of Islam.'

During the past few years Dr Zwemer has had his residence at Cairo, the literary centre of the Moslem religion, where he has been able to keep in close touch with all the movements and changes which have taken place since the war ; but he has also been continually travelling in various parts of the Moslem world, having spent many months in visiting almost every country in the world where Islam is strongly entrenched. Twice in recent years he has travelled all over India, holding conferences in various parts of the country with missionaries and Indian workers who are interested in the evangelization of the Moslems, and planning with them for the further extension of such work. For the same purpose he has

spent long periods of time in Persia, China, the Dutch East Indies, the Balkans, North Africa and the Sudan, and he has even investigated the status of Islam in Cape Colony and other parts of South Africa. The present volume puts together in permanent form many of the impressions gained by the author during his wide journeyings and his varied associations with Moslems of many races in all parts of the world.

The first eight chapters are devoted to various aspects of this world-wide faith. The last nine chapters deal particularly with Islam as the author has seen it in the various countries in which he has travelled recently. The first chapter is introductory, dealing with the new attitude of Islam in relation to Christianity and western civilization, extracts being given from Islamic writers in periodical literature to show the changes which are taking place in the Moslem mind. The second chapter discusses the relations which exist between the British Empire and the Empire of Islam, showing some of the difficulties which British officials meet with in dealing with the enormous population living under their rule—about twenty-five millions in Africa and seventy-five millions in Asia. Chapters 3 to 7 deal with such miscellaneous subjects as 'Could Mohammed read and write?' 'The Holy Traditions,' 'Women in the Koran and Tradition,' 'Womanhood under Islam,' 'The Mosque as a Place of Worship'; all of which are both interesting and instructive, but might perhaps better have been published as a separate volume.

Chapter 8, on 'Mecca the Mysterious,' is rather disappointing; it contains a quotation of three pages from the diary of Joseph Pitts, written in 1738, but one feels that what recent writers, both Moslem and Christian, have seen there would be of more value. With chapter 9 the author begins his description of Islam in Africa, continuing in chapter 10 with a most interesting account of the Sudan and the remarkable missionary work which is being done there; chapter 11 deals with North Africa (chiefly Algeria), and chapter 12 with South Africa, where the Moslems, though few in number, appear to be somewhat aggressive. The next chapter describes the author's experiences when he visited Java and Sumatra in 1922, and chapter 14 tells of a more recent journey to Persia, in 1926. Dr Zwemer does not appear to have crossed the border from Persia into Russian Central Asia, but in chapter 15 he has put together the principal historical facts in regard to Islam in Russia,

and also some extracts from recent books and papers to show that a new era is dawning even for the Moslems of Central Asia.

The chapter on India, though it covers thirty pages, is too short to deal adequately with the diverse conditions existing among the Moslem inhabitants of that great land, who number one-third of all the Moslems in the world, and belong to so many different races, and speak so many languages. One feels that at least two chapters should have been devoted to the many new and perplexing problems which have arisen in India since the war. The last chapter, on Islam in South-eastern Europe, contains a great deal of information on the Moslems of the Balkan regions, which is not easily accessible elsewhere.

Students of present-day conditions in Moslem lands will be grateful to the author for having put together an exceedingly interesting and readable narrative of his many journeyings, thus giving us an immense amount of information which he has had the opportunity of obtaining at first hand.

An excellent index makes it possible to use the book as a work of reference on the many topics discussed. The glossary, which occupies seven pages, will be valuable to those who are not familiar with the terminology of Islam or with the many Arabic and other foreign words used in the book, of which unfortunately the spelling is not as consistent as it might be, some words being spelt differently in the glossary and in the text. For instance, the word which is given correctly as *isnad* in the glossary is incorrectly spelt *asnad* throughout the text ; and *Chishti* appears in the glossary, whereas this name is spelt *Chisti* and even *Christi* in the text. There are many other inconsistencies of spelling throughout the book, such as Hejaz and Hedjaz, Qadian and Quadian, Saood and Saoud, Haj and Hajj, Chad and Tchad ; and also there are many misprints, not only in the foreign words, such as the Dutch and Malay names in chapter 13, the French on pages 133, 192 and 200, and the Latin on page 288, but even English words, as on pages 193 and 197. No doubt such mistakes are due to the author's being in Cairo, while the printing was done in America.

The illustrations are excellent and add greatly to the attractiveness of the book, but they do not illustrate the subject-matter in that part of the book in which they appear, the Java pictures being put in the chapters on Russia or India, whereas the African pictures occur in the chapters on Java or Persia, and the Persian pictures in

the Indian chapter. In any future edition a better arrangement of the pictures would be an improvement.

NEW YORK W. G. SHELLABEAR

SHORTER NOTICES

Die Kanaresische Mission, 1918–1927: Die Geschichte einer Schweizerischen Missionsarbeit. Von Arnold Zimmermann. (Zürich: Wanderer-Verlag. Fr. 2.20 and Fr. 3.20. 1929.) This little book hides in its unassuming narrative the story of a splendid effort. When the war drove the Basel Mission out of India, a small group of people in French-speaking Switzerland set themselves to help to save the work. They eventually undertook—as the *Comité Suisse de Secours pour la Mission aux Indes*—the South Canara and Southern Maratha districts of the Basel field. They had almost no financial backing but they had courage and faith. The response of French Switzerland in money was remarkable, but the response in offers of service was almost equally striking, and the quality of those who were sent out was high. The mission had no training school of its own and almost all its missionaries, both men and women, had completed their professional training—theological, educational or medical—before offering to go out. Special missionary training in addition was arranged for each candidate according to his or her needs; but all came to England to perfect their English, and Mr Hoyland at Kingsmead gave them invaluable help. Nine years was the mission's span of life; then it handed over its work to the Basel Mission, which had by that time returned to India. It was a stormy period, for, besides the general atmosphere of unrest in India, some of the devoted Indian followers of the Basel Mission resented the presence of the newcomers and made things difficult for them. A few of the former missionaries stayed on in the new mission, but most of the staff were new recruits and they made innovations. A new constitution was drawn up which gave the Indian Church a much larger amount of control than they had had before, and also allowed for a larger sphere for women when they were ready to take advantage of it. It is, probably, too soon to estimate truly the value of the work done by this small mission during its short life. It had many difficult passages and made its share of mistakes, but it remains an heroic example of the power of courage and prayer and sincere devotion to our Lord. B. D. G.

Persia, Old and New. By W. Wilson Cash. (London: Church Missionary Society. 1s. 1929.) This historical appreciation is a direct statement by a sympathetic reader and observer. Those who know best what he has read and observed will be pleased to see how much accurate information, sound judgment and goodwill he has condensed into seventy pages. While actual progress may seem small to the visitor to Persia, 'the significance lies not in the point now reached but in the sudden curve of increase after centuries that have been static and unchanging.' The story of how the Shah recently administered a beating in the sanctuary at Kum to a reactionary mullah shows that the attitude of the present Persian Government towards Islam is no longer one of subserviency. While the work of the Church Missionary Society with its splendid progress and heroic examples is reported in detail, mention is made also of the work of the American Presbyterian missionaries and of the cordial relations that have always prevailed between the two societies. Emphasis is given to the inspiring co-ordination that is being wrought out in the growth of the United Christian Church of Persia.

D. M. D.

A Heroine of the North. By S. A. Archer. (London: S.P.C.K. 5s. 1929.) These memoirs of Mrs Bompas, wife of the first bishop of Selkirk (Yukon), recall the age-long query: 'To what purpose is this waste?' Charlotte Selina Cox had spent the early, impressionable years of her life in Italy, drinking in all that was beautiful in music and art. At the age of forty-four she married her cousin and went out to North-West Canada to thirty-two years of privation and loneliness. Books they had, 'numerous, up to date and as choice as any two excellent scholars could wish,' but their food was always monotonous and not infrequently insufficient, they had to endure cold even to 75° below zero and they never seem to have had a weather-proof house; in addition, Mrs Bompas was often left alone for long periods when the Bishop was on tour. Yet she would never have dreamed of regarding her life as wasted. She would have said that the rich æsthetic beauty in which she revelled as a girl enabled her to give more to the Yukon Indians whom she loved so deeply.

M. M. U.

NOTES ON CONTRIBUTORS

A COMPARISON of the Reports on the Christian Message issued by the World Missionary Conference at Edinburgh in 1910 and by the Jerusalem Meeting of the International Missionary Council in 1928 comes most suitably from the pen of the Rev. D. S. CAIRNS, D.D., since 1923 Principal of the United Free Church College, Aberdeen, who was Chairman of Commission IV (on the Message) at Edinburgh.

The Rev. JOHN A. MACKAY, D.Litt., is Religious Work Secretary of the South American Federation of Young Men's Christian Associations. He was a co-opted member of the Jerusalem Meeting and a writer of one of the preliminary papers incorporated in Vol. I of the Report.

Miss ELEANOR MCDOUGALL, Litt.D., the first Principal of the Women's Christian College, Madras, raises a question concerning the provision of religious education for non-Christian children which arises directly from the recommendations made at the Jerusalem Meeting, at which Miss McDougall was present.

Mrs W. H. WISER's sketch of a Hindu village home will be recognized as true to life by all who have had the same privilege of moving among caste villagers. Mr and Mrs Wiser have been missionaries of the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A. since 1915.

Mr REGINALD COUPLAND, C.I.E., has been Beit Professor of Colonial History at Oxford University since 1920, and was formerly for two years editor of the *Round Table*. His article is an appraisal of Professor Raymond Buell's recent two-volume work on African administration.

Professor ARTHUR JEFFERY has occupied for some years the Chair of Philology in the School of Oriental Studies of the American University of Cairo. He has made a study of Moslem apologetics.

The Rev. LEE VROOMAN is a missionary in Turkey of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, with exceptional opportunities for observing trends of Moslem thought.

Dr C. T. LORAM, LL.B., Ph.D., is one of the three Commissioners for Native Affairs in the Union of South Africa, and Chairman of the recent Committee appointed by the Prime Minister of the Union Government to enquire into the question of medical training for Africans.

Mr KANAKARAYAN T. PAUL, O.B.E., is General Secretary of the Young Men's Christian Associations of India, Burma and Ceylon. He is deeply interested in questions connected with Indian rural life and was a member of the Committee appointed by the Government of Madras last year to enquire into the condition of the Co-operative Movement of that Province.

Writers of book reviews are : The Rev. E. W. Smith, missionary anthropologist ; Professor Alice Werner of the School of Oriental Studies ; the Rev. H. D. Hooper, a secretary of the Church Missionary Society, formerly a missionary in Kenya ; the Right Hon. Lord Olivier, who was formerly Governor of Jamaica ; Monsieur le Pasteur Henri Anet, Agent de Liaison between Congo missions and the Belgian Government ; Professor F. W. Thomas of Oxford University ; the Rev. P. G. Bridge, who as Pedro Gonzalez Puente was a former Vice-Rector of the Apostolic Papal Seminary at Puthampally, Travancore, now Principal of St Paul's Cathedral Missionary College, Calcutta ; Mr Edwyn Bevan, author of *The House of Seleucus* and other works ; the Rev. Pierre Charles, S.J., Professor of Theology at the Jesuit College, Louvain, and of the Philosophy of Religions at the Institut Colonial d'Anvers ; Miss Ruth Rouse, Assistant Secretary of the Missionary Council of the National Assembly of the Church of England ; Professor Kenneth Scott Latourette, Ph.D., of Yale University ; Professor O. M. Buck of the Department of Missions in Drew Theological Seminary ; and Professor W. G. Shellabear, D.D., of the Kennedy School of Missions, Hartford.

The Rev. E. E. Calverley, who wrote a review in our April issue, is a missionary of the Reformed Church in America.

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In the preparation of the bibliography the Editors have the advantage of the co-operation of M. le Pasteur Allégret (Paris), Mr Chr. Dons (Oslo), Professor J. N. Farquhar, D.Litt. (Manchester), Rev. E. Folke (Drottningholm), Miss Hollis W. Hering (New York), Professor Arthur Jeffery (American University, Cairo), Professor H. M. van Nes, D.D. (Leiden), Rev. Frank Rawlinson, D.D. (Shanghai), Professor Kenneth Saunders, Litt.D. (Berkeley, Cal.), Rev. Fr. Schepelern (Denmark), Professor Dr M. Schlunk (Tübingen), Missionsdirektor M. Tarkkanen (Helsingsfors), Rev. S. H. Wainright, D.D. (Tokyo), Canon A. Lukyn Williams, D.D. (Cambridge).

While the bibliography is concerned primarily with missionary literature, published matter on other subjects closely related to the progress of Christianity is included when it is of exceptional value.

Entries of magazine articles are distinguished by †.

Abbreviations of magazine titles are explained on p. 480.

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XIII. Hortatory and Practical

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ABBREVIATION OF MAGAZINE TITLES

CO = *Church Overseas*
CR = *Chinese Recorder*
EMM = *Evangelisches Missions-Magazin*
IRM = *International Review of Missions*
JCQ = *Japan Christian Quarterly*
MRW = *Missionary Review of the World*
MW = *Moslem World*
MZW = *Mededeelingen Tijdschrift voor Zendingswetenschap*
NAMZ = *Neue Allgemeine Missionszeitschrift*
NCCR = *National Christian Council Review*
NMT = *Nordisk Missions-Tidsskrift*
SMT = *Svensk Missionstidskrift*
ZM = *Zeitschrift für Missionswissenschaft*
ZMR = *Zeitschrift für Missionskunde und Religionswissenschaft*

When other magazines are referred to, the full title is given.

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THE
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THE FIRST MISSIONARIES TO THE PARTHIANS

By DWIGHT M. DONALDSON, D.D., Ph.D.

ONE great significance of the modern Pahlavi (Parthian) dynasty in Persia is that the name goes back to pre-Islamic times. The word 'Pahlavi' has ordinarily been employed to designate the composite language that came into use when the ancient Persian civilization was brought into vital contact with the Aramaic-speaking peoples of Syria, and we know now that it was a special way of writing old Persian, whereby the Persian words were 'partly represented—to the eye, not to the ear—by their Semitic equivalents' (*Encyclopædia Britannica*, article 'Pahlavi'). The root meaning of the word 'Pahlavi,' however, is Parthian. Pahlav was the Persian transformation of Parthava, the name of a people in the far north-eastern corner of Persia who were so named as early as the time of Darius.

Now that the new Shah of Persia, with his deliberately chosen pre-Islamic name, is requiring his subjects of all classes to abandon the interesting variety of headgear that

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has been customary and to wear the Pahlavi cap instead, with the ostensible purpose of emphasizing national unity rather than religious or class distinctions, the people of modern Persia are speculating as to what this looking back to the past may mean. It would appear to be a favourable time to call to the attention of Bible students the tremendous importance of Parthian questions to the Roman Empire in New Testament times and to indicate briefly the little that is now known of the spread of Christianity among the ancient Parthians.

At the close of the long period of Parthian dominion in the East, in A.D. 225, we are informed that there were more than twenty bishoprics in Mesopotamia and in Persia (*Sources Syriaques*, Vol. I, p. 106, *Msiha-Zkha*, Texte et Traduction par A. Mingana). This was all Parthian territory, and we have no record in the New Testament of the early missionaries who went to preach among these distant peoples. There are, however, three sources from which information can be gathered—first, the Jewish communities that had gone to the East ; second, the continuous political and military relations between the Roman and the Parthian empires ; and third, particular records of early missionary work in Persia that are preserved in Syriac literature.

JEWISH SETTLERS IN THE EAST. As in the Roman Empire, so also in the Parthian, the most obvious opportunity for declaring the Christian message was among those groups of scattered Jews who were called the ' Jews of the Dispersion.' Strabo, Josephus and Philo emphasize the widespread dispersion of the Jews to the East as well as to the West. In 140 B.C. the Sibylline oracle declared that every land and every sea was full of them. About that time they seem to have suffered considerable persecution in the East, for in 141 B.C. a deputation of Jews went from Palestine to Rome to seek imperial protection for themselves and for those communities of their brethren who were living in countries where Roman influence prevailed. They procured a hearing before the Roman senate, and the Consul Lucius gave them a letter to

King Ptolemy, because, as he explains, 'they had brought a shield of gold of a thousand pound.' The purport of this letter was to be communicated to the kings of Egypt, Syria, Pergamos, Cappadocia and Parthia. We find what Lucius wrote recorded in I Maccabees xv, 19: 'It pleased us therefore to write unto the kings and unto the countries, that they should not seek their hurt, nor fight against them and their cities, and their country, nor be confederates with such as fight against them.'

As early as the capture of Samaria, 722 B.C., Israelites were transported to the cities of the Medes (II Kings XVII, 6 and XVIII, 11), and later on there were several deportations on a large scale from Jerusalem. There were also migrations brought about by sheer economic necessity, or in connexion with commercial enterprises, that helped to account for the communities of Jews that were established in these eastern countries. We have definite information of one ancient deportation that took the Jews as far east as Parthia, for as early as 340 B.C. the Persian king, Artaxerxes Ochus, returned from conquests in Egypt with Jewish captives whom he settled in Hyrcania on the Caspian Sea. That was in the lower part of the valley of the Atrek River, and the upper part of the valley of this river was the very centre of the Parthian country.

In the Maccabæan period, when the Jews were making desperate efforts to maintain their own sovereign state, there were several occasions when they had political or military relations with the Parthians. The revolt in Judæa, led by Judas Maccabæus, was greatly favoured by the fact that Antiochus Epiphanes had been compelled to divide his forces, leaving Lysias to put down the rebellion, while he himself went with one army against the Parthians. A few years later Demetrius Nicator was taken prisoner by the Parthians. And in 129 B.C. Antiochus Sedetes compelled John Hyrcanus to unite with him in an expedition against the Parthians. It was in the following year, in this very campaign, that Antiochus was killed, and Demetrius Nicator,

whom the Parthians had in the meantime released from prison, was made king of Syria.

CONTINUED PARTHIAN RELATIONS WITH ROME. There was much coming and going between the Parthian and the Roman empires in the apostolic age. We recall that of all the foreign peoples who were represented among those who heard the testimony of the disciples on the day of Pentecost the first group mentioned were the Parthians and Medes and Elamites, and the dwellers in Mesopotamia (Acts II, 9).

In the early years of the Emperor Nero, the Romans were able to require the Armenian king Tiridates, who was a brother of the Parthian king Vologaeses, to relinquish his crown and go to Rome to receive it again from the Emperor. In the year A.D. 66 the Parthian prince

appeared, according to promise in Rome, escorted by 3000 Parthian horsemen, bringing as hostages the children of his three brothers as well as those of Monobazus of Adiabene. Falling on his knees he saluted his liege lord, who was seated on the imperial throne in the market-place of the capital, and here the latter, in the presence of all the people, bound the royal chaplet round his brow (Mommsen, *Provinces of the Roman Empire*, II, 60).

It may be in place to observe that if St Paul was released from his first imprisonment in Rome and had left for Ephesus before Nero's slaughter of the Christians in A.D. 64, his second imprisonment and final execution may have occurred close to the time of this spectacular visit of Tiridates to Rome to receive his crown in fief from the Emperor. Nero was willing to allow the Magians, the foreign 'wise men' who accompanied Tiridates and directed the preparation of his food, to explain their religion and to conjure spirits for him, but apparently there was something too vital, too dangerous and too revolutionary about the Christian teaching for the Roman Emperor to tolerate.

After the fall of Jerusalem there was a period of peace between Rome and Parthia. Vologaeses sent Vespasian his congratulations on the strengthening of the Roman rule

in Syria. In the time of Domitian, also, the Parthian government assisted the Romans in the capture of the pseudo-Nero who had appeared in Parthian territory.[1] It was during this period of comparative peace that the apostle Addai came to preach the gospel of Jesus Christ among the Parthians, for we hear that he ordained Pqida, the first bishop of Adiabene, in A.D. 104, after he had been associated with him for five years in itinerating among the villages of the district.

Shortly after this, however, the Parthian king, Chosroes (A.D. 106–129), began to interfere in the affairs of Armenia, and the Emperor Trajan felt that it was necessary to undertake a series of campaigns to settle finally the status of Armenia and definitely to bring the Parthians into actual subjection. He left Rome in the year 114 and it was not until the end of the summer of 115 that he succeeded in making himself master of Armenia and in proclaiming Mesopotamia also as a Roman province. He returned to Antioch as his winter quarters and was hailed in the spring by the Roman senate as ' victor of the Parthians.' He then set out from Nisibis and crossed the Tigris, in spite of continued resistance, and occupied the district of Adiabene, which he also proclaimed as a Roman province.[2]

From Adiabene Trajan marched on down the Tigris and seized Seleucia and Ctesiphon, the Parthian capital. He captured the ' golden throne ' and took prisoner a daughter of Chosroes. He sent the throne and the princess to Rome and marched on to the mouth of the Tigris, when suddenly he learned that the Roman garrisons he had left in the occupied cities had been murdered by the population. As his new provinces had rebelled against him, he divided his troops in a desperate effort to suppress the separate in-

[1] He was in reality a certain Terrentius Maximus from Asia Minor, who resembled Nero and who recruited followers from Roman adherents in the region of the Euphrates and also among the Parthians (Mommsen, II, 65).

[2] We find that Trajan's visit to Adiabene is referred to in the Syriac records of the early church in that district. See Mshiha-Zca, *Histoire de l'Eglise d'Adiabene sous les Parthes et les Sassanides*, in *Sources Syriaques*, Mingana, 1908.

surrections. One of his legions was cut to pieces in Mesopotamia, but he recaptured and burned both Seleucia and Edessa, and left one of his partizans in Ctesiphon as king of Parthia. Trajan then started back to Rome, but died on the journey in the summer of 117.

There is a vacancy recorded in the line of the bishops of Adiabene from the year 114, when Trajan began his vigorous Parthian campaign, until 120. The Emperor Hadrian adopted conciliatory measures and encouraged peaceful relations between the two empires. He met Chosroes in a personal parley on the frontier in 122, and we read that eight years afterwards he returned to the Parthian king the daughter who had been captured and kept in Rome from the time of Trajan. One cannot help imagining some of the ideas which this Roman-educated Parthian princess may have brought back home to Ctesiphon.

Some thirty years later, in 161, the Parthians again became aggressive and seized Armenia and invaded Syria. Lucius Verus, the joint emperor with Marcus Aurelius, went himself for a two-year campaign against them, but after he had captured Ctesiphon a pestilence broke out that compelled him hurriedly to withdraw his troops, so that the occupied regions were again lost.

Another thirty odd years passed, when the Parthian troops revolted and demanded from the Roman Emperor Severus the return to Parthia of all the Mesopotamian territory. Severus advanced across the Tigris with a sufficient show of force to re-establish temporarily the right of Rome to possession, but as soon as he withdrew his army the Parthian troops returned. This time, however, Severus surprised them and came quickly back to Babylonia and recaptured Seleucia and Ctesiphon. The Parthian king managed to escape with a few horsemen, but the Romans secured the crown treasure, pillaged the capital and took more than 100,000 Parthian captives as slaves to Rome. It was shortly after this serious defeat that the Parthian dynasty lost control in Persia and had to give way to the new dynasty of the Sassanids.

RECORDS IN SYRIAC LITERATURE. Persistently, throughout the last 125 years of the Parthian rule, Christian missionaries carried on bold and aggressive work in this great eastern empire. The unique value of the Syriac book by Mshiḥa-Zca (' Christ Conquers '), is that it shows that the evangelization of these countries beyond the Euphrates began in the first century of our era and not in the third.[1]

The seven men mentioned as holding the episcopate in the period from 104 to 225 are Pqida, Samson, Isaac, Abraham, Noah, Abel and Abd-Mshiḥa (' the slave of Christ '). One is impressed with the way the Jewish names predominate, which would suggest that the earlier converts, or perhaps the more intelligent converts, were recruited from families of Jewish settlers, although later on it would seem that the majority of the members of the Nestorian Church were not of Semitic or Aramæan birth.

The first of the series of seven bishops was Pqida (104–114), ' upon whom the apostle Addai had placed his hands.' He had seen Addai perform a miracle, restoring a young girl to life at the time when her friends were taking her to the cemetery, and hence he resolved at once to become his disciple. After enduring severe persecution from members of his family, and having been imprisoned in a dark room, he managed to escape. He searched diligently for the apostle Addai and found him while he was touring among mountain villages. The young disciple was eagerly welcomed and accompanied his teacher wherever he went. After five years of such service it is said that Addai ordained him and sent him back to his own district, where he began preaching among crowds of pagans, and did wonderful works and miracles like the apostles. He died ten years later and was buried in the house of his parents, who had changed their attitude and had come to agree with him.

The second bishop was Samson (120–123). He had served

[1] Mshiḥa-Zca was a scholar who lived in Nisibis in the sixth century. He was a native of Adiabene and wrote this history of the Church under the Parthians and the Sassanids as a tribute to early leaders whom he delighted to honour.

as a deacon with Pqida. When in 120 a certain Mezra, the bishop of Beth-Zabdai, came with a merchant caravan to the district of Adiabene, to his delight he found a group of Christians there, and at their urgent request he ordained the deacon Samson as their new bishop. Samson took his missionary commission most seriously and went out among the villagers, who worshipped fire and were accustomed on the great feast-day, which they called Shurab-Gamoud, to cast certain of their little children into the fire. Sometimes they would hang their charred bodies to neighbouring trees as mementoes of the feast. When Samson had preached to these people for two years and had baptized a large number of them, Christianity became so widely known that the Magi conspired together and cast Samson into prison. First they made him endure many torments and at last they beheaded him, in 123. For eleven years afterwards there was no bishop in Adiabene. The hostile king of Armenia had invited a horde of barbarians from the Caucasus to enter Parthia and it was with great difficulty that these northern invaders were repelled.

The next leader of the Christians at Adiabene was Mar Isaac (135–148). He is spoken of as a man of zeal and modesty who faithfully carried on the work of preaching. He served as bishop for thirteen years, and a church building, erected in his time and named after him, was still in existence in the sixth century. It is from his episcopate that we have the story of the influential layman, Rakbakt, who was the governor of Adiabene when he became a Christian.[1]

[1] Mar Isaac baptized him in secret on account of his fear of King Vologaeses. The priests of the Magi tried to dissuade him from his new faith, and failing in this, they formed a plot to kill him. They were all seated at a banquet in the governor's palace, where it was arranged that the governor was to be killed, when a timely message came from the Parthian king for Rakbakt to report at Ctesiphon at once. A barbarous horde from the mountainous region of the Kurds was robbing and destroying many villages. The Christian governor mounted his horse immediately and rode to Ctesiphon at the King's command. Sixteen days later he set out against the Kurds at the head of 20,000 infantry. When he reached the mountains he had several sharp encounters with the enemy, and finally, in order to spur on his troops to take a hotly contested point of advantage, he advanced ahead of them and 'ascended the mountain like an eagle that soars to his nest.' The objective was gained, but the heroic Rakbakt was struck on the head by a lance and killed.

The fourth bishop of Adiabene was Mar Abraham (148–163). His grandfather, a Jew from Herda, had come to live in Arbel, and his parents had been converted to Christianity while he was quite young, in the time of Bishop Samson. Mar Abraham devoted himself particularly to touring among the mountain villages. On one occasion when he was away in the mountains, he heard that the Magi were robbing and persecuting the Christians of Arbel. He hurried back to their protection, and managed by his judgment and tact to quiet the uprising. He set out then for Ctesiphon to interview the king on behalf of the Christians. King Vologaeses II had died and Vologaeses III had succeeded him, and Mar Abraham found that affairs in the capital were so confused on account of the extensive mobilization of troops that he was not able to accomplish his purpose. This was in 161, when the Parthians again took the initiative, seizing Armenia and invading Syria, and when Lucius Verus spent two years fighting Vologaeses III. 'God did not allow the desire of the king to be attained,' writes Mshiḥa-Zca, 'for after many disasters the Parthians were completely overcome and pursued by the Roman troops, until they shut themselves up in Ctesiphon.' It was then that the pestilence broke out which forced the Romans to retreat with heavy losses.

When this pestilence showed itself in the province of Adiabene, Bishop Abraham used all the divine power he had to console and help the believers who were afflicted. Unhappily, he in his turn was violently attacked and died. Before his death, however, he placed the hands of ordination on Deacon Noah, as after fifteen years of service he bequeathed the episcopate of Adiabene to him.

Bishop Noah (163–179) was also of Jewish parentage. It was while he was living with his parents in Jerusalem that he had his first association with Christians, and there he was baptized. He came with his parents to Adiabene because there were many Jews living there. When the boy learned that Christians were there also, he hunted up Bishop Abraham

and arranged to study with him. We read that through ' continued prayers and prolonged vigils ' he attained a high degree of sanctity, and before long was able to do wonders and miracles like the apostles. For this reason he soon encountered the hatred and opposition of the Magian priests. For a period of five months they kept him in prison, and on one occasion he was severely scourged.

He also worked among the villages, and it is related that in one of these villages he cured a boy who had fallen from a roof and broken his foot, and in consequence the bishop was able to remain in that village in safety. He went out, however, to other villages, preaching fearlessly, so that ' by the zeal of this trustful man of God the seed of the Magian faith was uprooted from this region and faith in Jesus Christ prevailed.' He was bishop of the Adiabene district for sixteen years, and at his death he left no immediate successor. ' Our brothers suffered much in those days,' we read, ' for a considerable number were young and feeble in their faith. Some returned to the religion of these demons, for they saw their houses looted and their sons and daughters either seized or living in hiding, while they themselves were roughly beaten by these enemies of the human race.'

A period of four years passed, and then the Christians of the Adiabene district held an assembly of the priests and deacons, and chose Abel (183–190) to have charge of the episcopate. They took him to Hanitha so that Zca-isho, bishop of that town, should place his hands upon him. They then built a church in memory of Bishop Noah, in which they sought his saintly intercession for themselves and their homes.

Bishop Abel was the son of a carpenter, who owned a flock of sheep that he entrusted to his boy. It is related that he neglected the care of the sheep, for leaving the dog alone to watch the flock he went often to a cave to reflect on the vanity and instability of the world. Thus he lost his father's regard, and one day when two lambs had been lost in the mountains his father drove him away from his home.

The boy went to Arbel, where he took refuge with the Christians. They took him in and cared for him, and after he had been baptized he worked as deacon for two years with Bishop Abraham and afterwards with Bishop Noah, ' whom he loved as though he were his father.'

In disposition Bishop Abel was affable and humble, and by his very mildness he was able to appease the fire of discord that had arisen between the Christians and the pagans ; but it must not be thought that he compromised with the world, ' for the saints who were perfect were under the surveillance of the Holy Spirit, which prevented them from doing anything that was evil.'

It was during this period that Vologaeses IV, king of the Parthians, withdrew his troops and left most of the district to the Romans. He went to fight the Persians, who had for a long time been preparing to attack him. He had with him an army of 120,000 soldiers and met the Persians who were in rebellion in the province of Khorasan. As the Parthians were crossing a small river they were surrounded on all sides by the Persians and the Medes. There was a great battle in which they were defeated and forced to take to flight. They clambered up the mountains in a stampede, leaving all their horses to the Persians. The Persians came in pursuit and surrounding the mountains killed an incalculable number of them. But when the Parthians saw that unless they showed heroic courage they would all be utterly destroyed, they renewed their zeal and rushed upon the Persians with such particular violence, that the Persians in their turn fled in panic. The Parthians pursued them to the sea (the Caspian), strewing the earth with their bodies as though they had been grasshoppers. As they returned they met another division of the Persian army and engaged in a battle with them which lasted for two days. On the night of the third day the two camps rested in order to renew the combat the following morning, but when the Parthians awoke they could see nothing more of the Persians, so they returned, victorious and proud of themselves.

In those years there was much fighting everywhere, and the district of Adiabene and the Christian community suffered greatly. Bishop Abel went about among the villages, encouraging those who were trying to meet their afflictions for the sake of the love of Christ. Thus he happened to be in a village called Rahta when he was attacked by fever. After he had placed his hands in ordination upon his deacon Abd-Mshiḥa, he died on the same night, the thirteenth of September, 190. Five months afterwards a great multitude set out from the town of Arbel, carrying his body, 'preserved in all its purity and freshness,' and placed it in the church with great pomp. The Lord took part in this ceremony, showing by a miracle that it pleased Him for His servant to be thus honoured. A young child had been carried by his mother to the church to witness the ceremony. The child was mute and tongue-tied, and although three years old was not able to pronounce a syllable. But the mother, moved by the Holy Spirit, took her child before the body of the saint, at whose right hand, which was outstretched, she told him to bow. As the child bowed, all at once his tongue was loosened and relaxed, and he began to speak without difficulty. And all the people thanked God who had shown His power through His saint.

The last bishop of the district of Adiabene during the Parthian period was Abd-Mshiḥa (190–225). He had spent his childhood in Syria, first at Antioch and then at Damascus. It was there in Damascus that he accepted the true faith, and returned to his native town of Arbel, where he devoted himself to the service of the Church. In imitation of his predecessors, he showed great diligence and zeal in preaching the gospel and in trying to relieve the troubles and disturbances among the Christian people. During the whole period of his episcopate, however, God gave peace and security, and hence the Church multiplied and the converts prospered. Abd-Mshiḥa was bishop for the long period of thirty-five years, when he went to join his brethren in paradise.

Throughout the regions that used to make up the Parthian Empire, Islam has long held sway, but there are groups of Persian and Mesopotamian, Syrian, Jewish and Armenian Christians earnestly striving to revive the power of the Christian Church in Persia. Associated with these groups are missionaries from the Churches in England and the United States. They have hospitals and schools, and they are faithfully preaching in the cities where they live and when touring in the surrounding towns and villages. Anyone who has been interested in this study of the ancient Parthians will find it gratifying to examine the map of Western Asia (*World Missionary Atlas*, Plate 14), and observe how modern missionaries are following in the steps of those early pioneers who first carried the gospel to the Parthians. Start from Antioch, noting the efforts that are being put forth in modern Turkey and in Syria, then go to Mosul, then fly across the district of Adiabene, whose old capital Arbel (Erbil) still appears on the map. Then proceed to Urumiya and on to Tabriz, and think of the villages of survivors of the old Christian Churches that were desolated by the Kurds during the war; then go to Baghdad and follow the line through Kermanshah and Hamadan and Teheran to Resht near the Caspian Sea; then from Teheran to Ispahan and Yezd and Shiraz and Kerman; then find the new station of Duzdap east of Kerman; and finally, in the north-east corner of Persia, close to where the old Parthians had their origin, find the modern city of Meshed, the largest of the sacred cities of Islam. We like to realize that in all these places there are groups of survivors from the old Christian Churches and also new groups of Christian converts from Islam.

These new groups, as yet with missionary counsel and assistance, are publishing in Persian a Christian paper that they call *Umid* (Hope), and also a popular monthly magazine for women. They are writing progressive articles for Persian newspapers, are getting out Christian tracts and are assisting in the preparation of Bible study helps. One

has recently done the translation involved in the preparation of a manual of church history which aims at revealing to his people something of the life of those early Christian communities in the Parthian and Sassanid periods. In numerous mission schools for boys and girls well-trained Christian teachers are rendering ever more valuable service. And in many mission hospitals there are Persian Christian nurses and assistants and a few doctors (there are other doctors in private practice) who are carrying on Christ's work of healing. Their service as itinerant preachers and colporteurs is also beginning, and promises to be many times more thorough and successful as specially trained Persian Christian students recognize the importance of the non-Islamic freedom of enquiry and practice in religious matters to-day, and dedicate their lives to the cause of re-establishing the Church of Christ in the lands of the old Parthian Empire.

DWIGHT M. DONALDSON

THE NEAR EAST RELIEF

A MORAL FORCE

By JAMES L. BARTON, D.D.

THREE of the leading Protestant denominations in America for more than a century have been deeply interested in the Near East ; these are the Congregationalist, the Presbyterian and the Dutch Reformed. All three were carrying on extensive missionary operations in Persia, Arabia and Turkey with a full staff of missionaries on the ground when that entire area became involved in the great war. During the period of missionary occupation emphasis had been placed upon education and, as a result, a number of institutions of higher learning had emerged and had been placed under separate and independent boards of trustees. These existed at the beginning of the war in the areas named and were manned by a full staff of foreign and native teachers. At the outbreak of hostilities direct communication became impossible between the boards in America and the colleges and missionaries in the disturbed area.

In September 1915, a year after the war began, a cable came from the American Ambassador in Constantinople, calling for immediate and generous relief to meet the deplorable conditions of distress in the country. A secretary of one of the interested missionary boards called together in New York City a group of officials of the educational and missionary organizations operating in the territory concerned. The decision was there reached to form a relief committee and to make a general appeal for relief funds. At that time it was thought that $100,000 would meet the need and be all that could be raised.

The Committee was created, with a chairman, treasurer and secretary, an office was set up in New York and a call

for help sent out through the public press. It was soon discovered that the distress was far more widespread and disastrous than was at first reported. The organization was expanded and a nation-wide appeal made to save the lives of the million and more Christian deportees from Turkey and Persia.

The Committee was first called the 'Armenian Relief Committee,' then the 'Armenian and Syrian Relief Committee,' then the 'American Committee for Relief in the Near East,' and lastly, when incorporated in 1919 by a special Act of Congress, it became 'The Near East Relief.' The missionaries and educators in Persia, Turkey and Syria gave themselves without reserve to the work of life saving, using the funds provided by the American Committee. In this the Lord Mayor's Fund and the Friends of Armenia in England generously shared.

Until the armistice in 1918 no relief workers were sent into the areas from outside. English, French, German, Canadian and American workers in the countries affected threw themselves into the task of salvaging life to the utmost limit possible under the war conditions, intensified by local prejudices and distrust.

Immediately following the armistice an American relief commission was sent into the country, followed speedily by some four or five hundred volunteers, both men and women, who took with them a large quantity of food, clothing, hospital and medical supplies. The forces were divided at Constantinople, some going into the interior of Turkey in different directions, others into Russian Armenia, in all cases searching out the places of greatest need and opening lines of communication to all points where supplies were necessary. They found the distress even greater than had been reported, but were able to form refugee camps, to segregate the unattached children and bring order out of a desperate situation. Refuge homes in all parts of the interior of Turkey and in Syria were established for girls escaped or rescued from Arab and Turkish harems.

The Committee found disease everywhere, owing to uncleanliness, malnutrition, exposure and contagion. Hospitals were set up in all congested areas and physicians who were expert in eye, skin and tropical diseases were called for and provided. The British and French officers in all areas of occupation rendered every possible assistance to the Committee and its working staff. American workers were especially acceptable, since America had not been at war with Turkey, and the Turks had come to have a high regard for Americans, owing to their long experience with American missionaries, doctors and educators. It was well known everywhere that America had no territorial ambitions in the Near East.

As other workers came in to take up the task, most of the missionaries and educators gradually returned to their special responsibilities, although some continue in the relief operations to the present time.

Until the burning of Smyrna, the Committee carried on its work in Persia, Russian Armenia, Turkey and Syria. Following the Smyrna tragedy its wards were concentrated in Syria, Russian Armenia and Greece. Turkey was evacuated, seeing there was doubt as to what attitude the government would take toward the children and their foreign guardians.

Adult relief was abandoned when the Committee discovered that its funds were not adequate to provide for both the adult and the child refugees. By that time it was clear that there were some hundred thousand or more children unattached, except possibly to widowed mothers equally destitute, who had come under the care of the Committee and so were a recognized responsibility. It also became apparent that if justice were done to the children and to the Near East a training must be given to prepare them for a constructive place in the future society of those lands.

The Relief Committee early adopted the principle of selecting with great care the men and women sent out for

service in the field, taking the ground that while the organization was primarily for relief purposes, it was also a demonstration of practical Christianity to the people of the Near East. Roman Catholic, Jewish and Protestant men and women were appointed to the service, but with the understanding that the results should show the Christ spirit and purpose. In all areas Protestant missionaries, doctors and educators mingled with these volunteer workers and in harmony they wrought together for the common purpose.

There was no attempt to proselytize. Armenian, Greek, Syrian and Nestorian children were trained in the teachings of Jesus Christ, and eastern priests and Protestant pastors were encouraged to minister to the needs of the children of their respective communions. The children sang hymns, repeated Scripture, observed the sacraments of their own Churches, and all in perfect harmony. Soon the ecclesiastics of the Eastern Churches began to ask for the religious education material prepared for the children in the orphanage schools, for use by them with the children of their Churches. These church leaders ceased to fear a divisive purpose, and soon came into close and intimate religious co-operation, thus securing for the children regular and systematic Christian and moral instruction.

In the orphanages more than 130,000 children have been registered. These wards were not exposed to the evils and temptations of the life of the ordinary child in the Near East. Throughout the day and night they were surrounded by influences and controlled by regulations based upon the ideals of a Christian society. Many of them had known no other parents than their guardians and cherished the memory of no other home than the orphanage; others had but a dim recollection of confusion and disaster. To most of these children the orphanage school provided their only experience of a home.

As soon as possible a system of practical education for each child was adopted. Training for making a living and a life in the Near East became the aim and goal. It was

imperative for the sake of each child that it should be hardened by discipline and by productive manual labour as well as receive a general education. More than thirty trades have been practically taught. Expert educators were employed, some from abroad, others from modern schools in the country, and every boy and girl was subjected to a physical and mental discipline that tested and brought out his or her latent talents. The results, as tested in some cases by years of independent life, have been gratifying. Those children who have received the training of the orphanage schools in Russian Armenia, in Persia, in Syria and Palestine and in Greece are unusually well equipped. They are better trained for life than are the children of the same areas who have lived in the distracted atmosphere of the disorganized society that has prevailed throughout the Near East since the war began.

Placing the children out when they reached the age of sixteen years became in many respects one of the most important and delicate responsibilities. From the beginning, thousands of waifs had been placed with relatives who had been separated during the deportations. It was found that many of the children had living widowed mothers who were as hopelessly destitute as the children. All efforts were made to provide for these mothers by giving them employment while the children were retained in the orphanage schools. Expert workers were engaged who carefully surveyed the conditions with a view to placing children in homes, or apprenticing them to worthy and benevolent masters, or even having them adopted into safe families by parents who had lost their own children.

A child proceeding from the orphanage home to self support, unless it entered a family that would exercise the responsibility of a parent, required a measure of protection from special dangers—dishonesty in trade and the tendency to exploitation. This protection became the responsibility of the Outplacing Department. Working boys' and work-

ing girls' homes under the care of special guardians were established in centres where such children lived. In these homes the principles that prevailed in the orphanages were put into operation with night schools and helpful programs. Gradually the boys and girls made their way into society, often marrying and settling in an independent home. Even in these cases the Near East Relief guardian made every effort to keep in contact. To-day in Macedonia there are several thousand orphan boys, engaged in agriculture, living in scattered areas; but these are frequently visited by one who stands to them *in loco parentis*, who rallies them to continued effort for self-culture and the maintenance of the high standards inculcated in the schools.

In Egypt, where more than two thousand Armenian children have been placed out, the system of homes and post-orphanage culture have won highly favourable comment. A recent careful census of these children in Armenia, Syria, Egypt and Greece shows an encouragingly high standard of excellence maintained in practical life. Some have won distinction by their ability and high character.

It hardly need be stated that the operation of the Committee has required the collection and use of large sums of money. The $100,000 originally set as the goal has become more than $108,000,000, covering a period of fourteen years. Of this amount, over $79,000,000 has been received in cash at the national office for expenses and general relief, largely through local offices in different States, while the rest has come in the form of commodities—food, clothing and medical supplies, contributions by local governments and from the American Relief Administration, which made an appropriation of food for Armenia of $12,800,000 in value, which was distributed by the Near East Relief.

The cost cannot be fully represented in dollars. More than a score of foreign volunteers have laid down their lives in this service, while still more will always bear in their bodies the marks of the sacrifice they have made. Too much cannot be said of the heroic devotion of the men

and women, both foreign and native, who gave themselves to this service.

While it is impossible to estimate with any degree of accuracy the number of lives saved, it has been repeatedly stated by those closest to the work that fully one and a half million are alive to-day who otherwise would have perished, of whom one million are women and children.

When the armistice was signed and the Peace Treaty formulated America withdrew from sharing in the settlement of the moral and social issues emerging from the war. She declined to enter the League of Nations and held aloof from the World Court. This attitude was a keen disappointment to millions of large-minded, large-hearted citizens. When the call for relief came it seemed to offer an opportunity for Americans to have a share in reconstruction without thereby becoming involved in entangling political issues. This work became a piece of pure, constructive philanthropy, without suspicion that behind it was any selfish or unworthy purpose. The occasion gave an opportunity for the practical expression of a genuine philanthropic impulse which the people of the United States were quick to see and feel.

A widespread interest in the Near East, so identified with the scenes of the rise of the Christian religion and its early development, has been aroused in every community where the story of need has been told. 'The Near East' has come to mean, to tens of thousands of school children, the land of Jesus and His disciples and the place where Christians have been persecuted. A new affection for the children of Bible lands has been awakened which will not disappear when the last orphan has been safely placed and the orphanages closed. The children and the churches which have contributed will continue to follow the course of events in the Near East and will not fail to respond to future calls for help in whatever form the need may exist.

The Committee has relied chiefly upon the support and backing of the churches of all creeds. Religious leaders

have from the first held foremost place in promoting and directing the organization. The movement arose from a religious impulse and has had the liberal support of all religious bodies. Those who have been closest to the operations of this society feel that the results are worth all it has cost in effort and sacrifice, and that new foundations have been laid in the Near East upon which future generations will build.

At the biennial national session of one of the leading Protestant denominations in the United States—held in June of this year—the following statement was unanimously and heartily endorsed :

> No element of the work of our church during the past year and during the preceding decade has been more rewarding than that which we have helped to do through Near East Relief ; that no money we have spent has been better used ; that no record made in the sight of Christians and non-Christians alike has been more effective. Near East Relief has increased the missionary interest of the Congregational churches in a way to make us glad that we were sharing in such an effort, which successfully transcends race and creed.

The Committee was created as an emergency organization to meet a specific and a temporary need. It has assumed that when the waifs providentially committed to its care were safely placed, its work will be completed. It has already created a small sub-committee, called the Conservation Committee, to take its assets and assume the responsibility of finishing the task. This Committee is made up of its own inner circle of experienced officers and agents who have been in the work for many years, some of them from the beginning. This Committee will continue to receive voluntary gifts and carry out commissions from the supporters of individual children. It will operate from the New York headquarters of the National Society.

The Committee is prepared to complete this piece of constructive philanthropy so as to satisfy those who have given and sacrificed for its success and to leave a new moral and religious force in the Near East which will lift human society to higher levels.

JAMES L. BARTON

A COMMENT ON CHRISTIAN MISSIONS TO AFRICA

By FREDERICK P. KEPPEL, LL.D.

THE reader of this article should understand, first, that it was not submitted to the Review, but was prepared at the request of the editor; secondly, that the writer fully realizes his own limitations. He has no general knowledge of foreign missions, and his actual experience in the field is limited to a rapid trip in the following parts of British Africa: Kenya, Uganda, Tanganyika, Southern Rhodesia and the Union of South Africa. This trip was undertaken for the purpose of studying the opportunities open to the Carnegie Corporation of New York, for the expenditure of the income of a special fund set up by Mr Carnegie in the interest of 'Canada and the British Colonies,' for the advancement and diffusion of knowledge and understanding. His visits to the missions were incidental to this purpose and were undertaken particularly for the purpose of seeing what might effectively be done for the African Natives under the terms of Mr Carnegie's gift.

I must begin by confessing that I had entirely underestimated the importance of Christian missions as a factor in the development of peoples of low cultural level. In British Africa, at any rate, this is outstandingly the work of the missions in the fields of elementary and higher education, of public health and hygiene, and in what may be called rural sociology. Nor had I any conception as to the degree to which Government pays directly or indirectly for such service, specifically in salaries, but in many other ways as well. The total must represent an item of major importance in mission budgets, and I question whether the supporters of missions at home appreciate either the amount

involved or the responsibilities which its acceptance implies.

The reasons for this situation are not far to seek. In general, the missionary has preceded the government administrator. He is a permanent resident—some of the Roman Catholic missionaries have not left Africa for thirty or more years. Officials tend to come and go, and they naturally turn to the permanent resident for counsel, particularly since the latter has had so much direct contact with the Native, and in many cases is familiar with his language.

The degree to which the missionary concerns himself with activities other than evangelistic is due to factors which are partly instinctive, and partly rational. From the nature of his calling, he is likely to be a person with real interest in those around him. He sees the limitations of their lives and their actual suffering to be largely due to causes which fuller knowledge can readily remove. He realizes also, that, as a condition of carrying forward successfully his major purpose, he must deal not only with the spiritual but with all the elements in the Native's life.

It is to be expected, of course, that ultimately Government will take over the functions which it is now carrying on through the missionaries and will operate them. This has already taken place to a considerable degree in the Union of South Africa. For a full generation, however, it seems to me that the missions are likely to have forced upon them responsibilities in education, public health and sociology, which, both for their own sake and for the sake of the Natives, it is most important that they should perform successfully.

My impressions of what I saw may be summarized as follows : first and foremost is the earnestness and devotion of the individual missionary. I do not recall a single incident of service which I could call perfunctory. Secondly, I would place the high quality of results obtained in view of the limitations existing. We must recognize a general

lack of professional preparation for the specific task in hand. A missionary may have received a general medical training, for example, but have had no experience in bacteriology to meet the problems presented by tropical life. To have had a course in education in an American college can hardly be regarded as specific training for the problems presented by primitive people. Another limitation is the heavy hand of traditionalism. African children are still taught in their reading books about golden-haired children with cheeks like apples playing in the snow, regardless of the fact that no pupil could ever, by any stretch of imagination, see either golden-haired children or snow or apples. Farther up the line, we can still see the Cambridge matriculation examination maintaining its place as a measuring-rod of proficiency for the higher services open to the Natives, although these examinations offer a most imperfect test of native capacity, and worse, they condemn the candidate to years of preparation in subjects that will not be of the slightest use to him in the career for which he wishes at great sacrifice and devotion to prepare himself. A third obvious limitation is shortage in personnel and, perhaps even more important, a lack of proper technical equipment. I have already intimated the probable lack of appreciation at home of the demands which this work makes and should make upon the time and energies of the individual missionary.

All things considered, the work in the education of children and in health service is surprisingly good. The importance of training in rural sociology has been recognized by the leaders and has been particularly emphasized by the recent report written by Dr Jesse Jones for the Phelps-Stokes Foundation, but this work is only just getting under way here and there. The most significant step taken in this field has been the establishment at different points in Africa of training schools for native supervisors. These are known as Jeanes schools, and they are in effect a contribution from the experience of the United States in dealing with the Negro to the problems presented by the native Africans.

Training of these native supervisors is based on a broad conception of community preparation for the life which the Native will actually have to lead, rather than upon reliance, as has so often been the case up to the present, upon educational material and educational technique which have proved more or less satisfactory in other parts of the world and under wholly different conditions. The program of the Jeanes school deliberately minimizes what may be called literary subjects, and concentrates its attention upon the elements of agriculture, including marketing, home economics, hygiene and sanitation, the elements of construction and the practice of native arts and crafts. The establishment of seven of these Jeanes schools upon an experimental basis, practically all of them under the direction of different missionary organizations, has been due to joint contributions by the Government concerned on the one hand, and to grants from the Phelps-Stokes Fund or the Carnegie Corporation, on the other. The latter has made a demonstration of the utility of this type of institution a major element in its five-year African program and has voted in all $122,500 for the purpose.

In spite of his lack of experience, the writer ventures to take advantage of the invitation to prepare this article to make certain specific suggestions to missionary authorities. The first of these is the need of a fuller appreciation, at home, of the significance of the non-evangelistic part of the missionary program, and the degree to which it is receiving financial support from government and other outside sources; secondly, the need of more adequate supervision by mission authorities of what actually goes on in the field. This latter should include the quality and range of service rendered, the adequacy of equipment, the relations of the individual mission, both with the tribal authorities where tribal organizations still persist and with the British or Dominion authorities. Finally, definite attention should be given to the training of those individuals who are to carry out the obligations which the mission as

an organization has incurred, and for which, it must never be forgotten, it is being paid.

I question whether it will be practicable to make much change as regards the preliminary training of missionaries, due to the uncertainty as to where the individual will go for his service or how long he will stay, and I would merely make this general observation, that there is no reason for believing that any person who, whether for lack of training or for any other cause, has been unsuccessful as a doctor or a teacher at home, will be successful in that capacity in the mission field. I have, however, a specific recommendation to make with regard to the missionary who is at home on furlough; and that is the creation of a small but highly competent professional service for his advice and direction. For the United States and Canada, for example, I recommend the constitution by joint action of missionary boards of an advisory committee, consisting in the first instance of only three persons—each, however, a recognized leader in his particular field—representing education, health and rural sociology. With this committee all missionaries on furlough who have to deal with primitive people should be brought into contact, and, due provision having been made for rest and relaxation, the remainder of the furlough should be devoted to a specific program of supplementary training to be carried on under the guidance of the committee. It is not my idea that the members of the committee should themselves conduct courses—this would involve unnecessary duplication and waste of effort—but that they should take each case individually and work out a program involving perhaps residence at one institution, perhaps at more, perhaps private study and individual conference. The service should also include expert counsel as to the selection and purchase of books and equipment, and information as to where especially good work in the particular field concerned is being done. The missionary should be put into touch, either by correspondence or if practicable by direct visit, with those in charge of such work. I realize

that what I have suggested presents only one side of what is needed. Later on, I should hope to see joint action by the missionary boards for the creation of highly competent supervision of the educational, medical and sociological work in the field. This, however, would involve expense, and presents other problems which make immediate adoption unlikely. It will ultimately come, I believe, as the result of the step which I have proposed.

FREDERICK P. KEPPEL

LIVING FORCES BEHIND MASS MOVEMENTS

By the Right Rev. THE BISHOP OF DORNAKAL

WHEN a whole race changes its faith *en masse*, the individual experience of religion is apt to be superficial. Many follow the example of the few leaders. If individuals were examined about their religious convictions, the not infrequent answer would be: 'Others joined the religion and we did too.' Such a state of affairs should not be considered novel or extraordinary. It was so even in the early apostolic days. Were there not in Jerusalem an Ananias and a Sapphira, and in Samaria a Simon Magus? Among those that had accepted the Christian faith in Ephesus were there not a few tolerant of heathen practices, having in their libraries books of incantation and magic? Similar examples might be cited from the history of Europe, when State after State adopted Christianity as its national religion by the example or orders of its rulers. To expect anything else is contrary to human nature and church history.

While this may be acknowledged as the danger of wholesale conversions anywhere, it is only right to look for the hidden spiritual forces working beneath the surface which alone provide the dynamite for such land-slides on a large scale. To discover such living forces behind the mass movements in India, and especially those in the Telugu country, is the object of this paper.

The immediate occasions that make people change their religion are varied. In a village where large numbers gave their names one night I asked them why they wanted to join this religion. Several reasons were given. Said one: 'We see we cannot improve ourselves if we do not become

Christians.' 'There is no school in this village; all these children tend cattle and grow like asses,' said another. 'All the people in the neighbourhood have become Christians, and we have to go far to get brides for our young people,' came from an elderly man, and probably was as compelling a reason as any. 'We are tired of worshipping these idols; they are no good,' said another. Probably all these were factors in their decision. That was four years ago; but they have not stopped there. Participation in daily prayer and worship, regular instruction in the Christian faith, constant recital of religious song and lyric, education of the young, the practical exemplification of the doctrine in the lives of the teacher and his wife, monthly visits from the pastor for inspiration and advice, and most of all the cleansing waters of baptism and the receiving of the laying on of hands in confirmation—these so do their work in the hearts and upon the minds and even the physical features of the converts, that higher motives, nobler thoughts and fresh achievements in character manifest themselves and call public attention to the new creation that has been wrought in them through the acceptance of the new religion.

Providential and supernatural reasons are sometimes assigned, too, as immediate occasions for changing one's religion. Quite recently I came across a man who had been a Hindu devotee and priest, and a hater of Christians. While still a boy he had become an orphan and had been brought up by an old Christian aunt for whom he had great regard. Her one grief in her old age was that this nephew was such an unbending Hindu. The man, however, was a devout worshipper of the village goddess Gangamma. Every Saturday he fasted, and early on Sunday he broke his fast after making a meal offering at the shrine of Gangamma. Two years ago he dreamt a dream. He saw some grand personage approaching him and taking tight hold of his arm. He heard the command: 'Go to the Christian church.' He woke, but thought no more of it, and continued as usual. This was on a dark new moon night. On the

next new moon night this dream was repeated. Still he disregarded it. The dream was repeated on the third new moon night; and the august person would not loose his grip until the man gave him a solemn promise: he yielded, but wanted three weeks' respite. He went to the chapel a week before the next new moon day. He was converted; he gave up his Gangamma and became a most regular worshipper at daily evensong. In due course he was baptized and later was confirmed, and is now a most faithful communicant and a keen witness to the living presence and power of the Lord. Such instances are not uncommon. Allegiance to Christ is in the air, and there is the general conviction that He alone is the Saviour and true God.

Then there are many who come out because in Christ they find rest from their evil past. 'We were tired of that life of drink, robbery and police torture, and we knew that our only hope was in this religion,' is a familiar answer. 'In what ways are you different now from what you were before?' was my question to an Erukula man (robber caste). 'Are we not different?' came the ready reply; 'we men and women go to prayers together every night; we do not now commit burglary; we do not drink; we enjoy heaven here and now: we were in hell before.'

Asked further whether they knew of anyone completely changed because of becoming a Christian, a man said: 'Yesuratnam in our village is a man of that sort. The caste landlords asked him to offer as usual the boundary sacrifice; they kill a chicken and pour the blood on cooked rice, and then carry the blood-sprinkled rice round the boundaries of the land. This is to invoke the blessing of the goddess on the crop. Yesuratnam refused to do this because he was a Christian. They threatened to withhold all wages, and gathered round him with sticks and threatened to beat him if he was obstinate. Yesuratnam explained that as a Christian he could carry neither rice nor the blood nor the sacrifice; but he would walk round the boundaries of the land and pray to the Lord Jesus for a good harvest.

Puzzled as they were at his firmness, they respected his convictions and permitted him to do as he suggested. Since then, the caste people respect our religion.' A woman added, ' There is one in our village also, Samuel. He gave up drink himself, made the whole village give up drink, then fought with the Sudras to get the liquor shop removed from the village. The Hindus afterwards acknowledged that Christianity was a good religion.'

In my experience the sacraments of our religion are also most important factors in the spiritual life of mass movement converts. We have proved again and again with Dr Wotherspoon that ' to a full religious life, the cultural and sacramental also is essential.' [1] Since, as the same author shows, sacraments belong to the practical rather than to the intellectual life of Christianity, they are of special importance in the religious training of communities that cannot boast of much intellectuality or rationality. The sacrament of baptism is an outstanding event in the experience of these converts. The grace received on the occasion is to them as real as to St Cyprian. One proof of this is the fact that very few become guilty of apostasy after baptism, and fewer still after confirmation and holy communion. It is the universal testimony of the pastors that the grace of baptism is palpably real when preceded by intelligent teaching, and ' lustration, illumination and regeneration,' predicated of baptism in the early Church, are no empty expressions to these converts.

Confirmation is also a splendid occasion to test the reality of religious beliefs. Baptism may be administered to infants and to many adults who are infants in the faith. But by the time they come for confirmation they have learnt the cardinal articles of the faith, they have come to know the main events of our Lord's life, death and resurrection ; they have stood their test of trials and persecution and, most of all, they have realized the ethical demands of the Christian religion.

There are exceptions here, too, but these are almost

[1] *Religious Values in Sacraments.*

always due to inadequate preparation and inefficient ministry. If all that has been taught are a few answers to certain stock questions, this is the sort of thing we get. I start with the man nearest me : ' Now, old man, where have you come from ? ' He begins : ' Confirmation is that holy rite in which . . .' (repeating, parrot-like, the answer to the first question in the confirmation catechism). ' No, no,' I say, ' that is from your lesson ; I want you to talk to me ; what is your village ? ' He begins : ' My godfathers and godmothers in my baptism ; wherein I was . . .' In such centres I have to go on for a quarter or half an hour before the candidates become their real selves and forget the *memoriter* which had been poured into their ears and mouths time without number, while on the way to confirmation.

Where, however, some attempt has been made to draw out the inner experiences of the people, the examination is easy, and the response delightful. It was Easter week, and I asked the pastor to examine the candidates in such matters as he had taught them. He began with the Cross, came on to Easter, leading up to the Ascension and Pentecost. They sang with him some most inspiring lyrics on the suffering of our Lord, on the joy of Easter and on the work of the Holy Spirit. All spiritual teaching had been given them through song. Answers to questions were often in the words of a lyric. I saw that the candidates knew what they were about ; they had grasped the cardinal doctrines of the religion. Some women were asked : ' Can you think of anything you have learnt about Jesus Christ ? ' They answered : ' He spoke many good good words.' ' Can you give me one of His good good words ? ' ' Come unto Me, all ye that labour and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest.' The truths had become part of themselves ; they felt them as they sang ; and I felt them too.

Cultural religion is easily understood by mass movement converts ; but an ethical religion demanding and issuing in conduct is foreign to their conception. When, therefore, new converts come out, they have to be most carefully

instructed in this distinguishing feature of the Christian religion. The evils notoriously connected with these labouring classes are these : petty field thefts, drink, insolence and loose marriage relationships. The last perhaps is the most difficult evil to eradicate. Abandoning a married wife or husband and seeking illegal attachment with others seems to be common among non-Christian men and women of this class. Marriage with a sister's daughter or a deceased wife's sister are also not uncommon. And yet the progress made by Christians in all these respects is indeed most remarkable.

I was holding a confirmation at one of the stations in the neighbourhood of which over ten thousand people had come out in the last few years. Two respectable-looking caste gentlemen were introduced to me as being friendly to the Christian movement. While conversing with them, I asked them for their frank opinion of Christianity as they had seen it in their own village. They said : ' We have been watching the lives of these untouchables ever since they embraced this religion, and the results have given us all genuine satisfaction. Drunkards these people were before, now they have given up drink ; we see them spending their evenings in the church singing and worshipping God ; they have learnt good manners ; they have developed self-respect and they now know how to respect their superiors '—a significant testimony indeed from a high-caste Hindu.

On another occasion a Hindu village official was watching my talk with the confirmation candidates. At the close of it all, when faced with the question as to what impression the new religion had made on the caste people, he said : ' I must tell you the truth ; these Madigas (leather workers) who have become Christians are learning to live soberly, righteously and godly in their lives. Drunken brawls with the most filthy language were the unfailing evening music of the Madiga quarters before this religion came. Now, we hear Christian hymns and lyrics sweetly sung by men, women and children. Formerly, poisoning cattle for the sake of the hides was all too common ; now all the village officials

will testify that cattle poisoning has entirely disappeared in these parts.'

How often have I heard that a great change has come over Christians in the matter of dishonesty in field produce and field work. There are cases where Christian labourers are now greatly in demand by agriculturists because of their honesty. Christians have been given extra wages, and can in many villages command higher wages because they are known to be honest and need no supervision. Honesty is the proof of real religion ; and thus true religion has come to be the best policy for economic prosperity.

Offences against the marriage law were referred to above as the most difficult to eradicate. The acceptance of the higher law of the Church to guide all marriage relationships has not been easy even in Christian lands. It is not easy in a land where unlimited looseness has been supported by the sanction of caste and religion. And yet what advances the converts have made over their non-Christian compeers. Church discipline has been one of the most effective means of maintaining this high standard, since the Indian hates social ostracism and religious excommunication. Irregular marriages there are and we have to excommunicate about two hundred cases a year for offences against the marriage law ; but what are they among ten thousand new converts each year ? Marriage with a deceased wife's sister, or a sister's daughter, have become rare. Eight such marriages in five years were all that were traceable two years ago. A clear statement of the principles underlying church discipline, firmness and impartiality in the exercise of it, and the hearty co-operation of the whole ministry in its execution are the elements that give discipline its moral and religious value.

It is undoubtedly true that, on the whole, respect of the Church's power of binding and loosing are evident in this area. When a new village asked to be admitted to the catechumenate, I gave the people a vivid picture of the price they would have to pay for joining and continuing in the Church. ' Giving up your old gods and goddesses is easy ;

you will have to attend chapel services every night—whereas in your former religion you probably attended temple worship once or twice only in a year. You will have to give up drink ; and until you do so, the teacher will be constantly at you. You will have to accept the marriage laws of the Christian Church ; it will be impossible for you any longer to change wives or husbands as you like. You ask for a teacher ; that teacher will be your constant monitor—telling you what is and what is not permissible, and reporting you for excommunication if you continue to go in your old ways. It is not going to be easy, this adherence to the Christian religion. Count the cost well before you come over.' The headman with a smile said, ' Yes, we have thought of it all, and these rules are all for our good ; and it was because we wanted all these better ways that we decided to become Christians.' This is true of many all over the area.

We have quoted some instances of remarkable testimony from caste people. The reality of this testimony is now seen in the number of people of this class who are seeking to embrace the Christian religion. Not merely one individual here and another there has come out by the witness of an out-caste Christian convert, but whole groups and villages are coming out under the leadership of once out-caste, but now Christian, teachers. A few hundreds have already been baptized, and several villages of caste people are now seeking to enter in. This new caste movement, too, is reacting on the old Christian villages. I have come across whole groups of mass movement villages where the Christians, of their own accord, have given up eating beef and pork to avoid the offence of pollution to their caste masters. Recently a high-caste trader said to our pastor : ' Now that your Christians have given up eating beef, all untouchability has been removed ; we allow them to come close to the shops and to handle the articles, and we do not hesitate to touch them.' May this spirit on both sides go forward.

Not that we are satisfied at all with what has been accomplished ; the call of the moment is clear. The instances

quoted are examples of spiritual possibilities in such unpromising material. They are proofs of the innate religiousness of even out-caste India: a promise of the coming Indian harvest. They are a challenge to the spiritual resources of the Christian Church. To foster this divinely-lit flame, to make it glow with knowledge and love and to help it to shine so brightly that, as has already begun, the dark citadels of caste, conservatism and proud philosophy may open themselves to the light that is indeed the Light of the World—that is the immediate task before the Church in India.

V. S. AZARIAH

THE MISSIONARY AND THE *RYAT*

By J. Z. HODGE

A DELIGHTFUL story is told of the late Sir Denzil Ibbetson. It relates to the time when he held high office in India, and concerns an ardent and insatiable visitor. After showing him the sights and dignitaries of Delhi, Sir Denzil in a burst of confidence said, 'Come now, and I will show you the most important man in India.' This was wine to the thirsty traveller, and he accompanied his host with alacrity to the open country. Pointing to a gaunt ploughman, ploughing placidly with an ancient plough and almost as ancient bullocks, Sir Denzil said, 'That is the most important man in India.'

To-day we make the same gesture; but with this difference, that what Sir Denzil said in confidence a generation ago we proclaim from the housetops now. All the world knows by this time that the *ryat* is India's essential man: the only person who seems to doubt is the essential man himself. In these days of diffused democracy he is in danger of becoming the most sought-after man in the community. Only last year he had a Royal Commission all to himself; the Viceroy who now guides his destinies comes of farmer stock and is not ashamed of his brethren; the politician, angling for his vote, sits suppliant on his doorstep; the social reformer is hard on his track, eager to uplift him; even in far-away Jerusalem, where long ago the Peasant of Galilee was crucified by the townsmen of His day, Christian representatives from many lands, meeting last year to consider ways and means of giving clearer definition and fuller expression to the world mission of Christianity, were drawn inevitably to state a case for the cultivator; and the enlarged meeting of the National

Christian Council of India, held in Madras last Christmastide, made a field day of rural problems, with the happy result that a secretary with rural experience will henceforth find a permanent place on the staff of the Council.

This is as it should be. The great war reminded us that 'if the life of our large towns went up in a mist of fire, the slow peasant living upon the earth, and bowing his head beneath the sky, would still go on.' That is peculiarly true of India, where agriculture is the premier and predominant industry. The slow peasant, bowing his head beneath what is often a merciless sky, will still go on though dynasties pass. His persistence is largely due to sheer force of numbers : there are two hundred and fifty million of him, and he represents eighty per cent of the population. But something more than the merely numerical keeps him alive on the earth : he has a soul that refuses to die, and in the struggle to keep himself alive he incidentally keeps the race alive.

There is an element of surprise about the Indian *ryat.* I expected to find him a transcendentalist, nobly occupied with the things of the spirit and serenely indifferent to the things of the flesh ; but I lighted instead on a materialist like myself. At nightfall as he wends his way home from the busy bazar he talks not of the quality of the soul but of the needs of the body : what he shall eat and wherewithal he shall be clothed, the oft-postponed lawsuit, the coming rent day, the last village fire, the iniquities of little officials, the fever that does not break, the prospects for the harvest, the dark and devious ways of moneylenders, marriages past and pending, the coming of the co-operative bank and the latest bazar rumour—these and kindred topics of the earth, earthy, occupy his mind and engage his speech.

If the *ryat's* 'this worldliness' has surprised me I have been no less surprised by his fortitude. He may not desire whatever happens, but he accepts it without protest. I have seen him driving his cattle to the uplands before the oncoming flood and heard never a murmur ; when fire lays

his hut in ashes he patiently sets out to rebuild with never a word of revolt ; when plague and cholera take heavy toll of his loved ones I see the tears come and hear him reverently say, ' It is the will of God.' His life is an incessant battle with the forces of nature, so terrible at times in their Indian moods, and there is little in his heritage or environment to lead him on to victory.

On the whole, the *ryat* has surprised me most by his capacity for hilarity. He is a man of many fears and few illusions ; but he is not always a pessimist. While the wind on the heath blows him little sweetness and his skies are often like brass, there are times when the clouds lift and the heart makes merry. A marriage revel, a resounding chorus from the *Ramayana*, the fierce joy of a wrestling bout, a law court triumph, a visit to a fair, a bumper harvest, a vision of Mahatma Gandhi, the annual meeting of his co-operative bank—and the *ryat* has his day. This leads me to believe that when the gates of a more abundant life open to him he will not dishonour his birthright.

It is a happy omen that the *ryat* has come definitely into our Christian thinking. In the findings of the Jerusalem Meeting I find no more pleasing passage than this : ' If the Gospel is to become the very throb of the heart of a nation, then the feelings and thoughts and needs of the rural population must be known and met alike by preachers, teachers and missionaries.' [1] To investigate and understand rural problems with a view to meeting them in the Christian way is a clear Christian duty. It is a legitimate criticism of Indian missions that they have aimed too much at the wrong man—the townsman rather than the countryman. The city with its imperious demand for schools, colleges, hospitals, leper asylums and theological seminaries has tended to absorb the missionary specialist and leave the primary task of rural evangelization to the rank and file. The Jerusalem Meeting, with its timely reminder that experts in rural evangelism are as indispensable as

[1] *The World Mission of Christianity*, p. 61.

experts in other branches of mission activity, has done much to adjust the emphasis.

I have lived with the Indian villager these twenty-eight years, and looking back I cannot recall an occasion when I have received less than courtesy at his hands. He has given me the Indian friendships I prize most, and by the same token he has destroyed some of my finest illusions. He is the outcome of religion, climate and history : what he needs is a new faith, a new environment and a new outlook. He, himself, is the great obstacle to his own uplift ; and in the carefully worded Report of the Royal Commission on Agriculture I find no wiser word than this : ' Of all the factors making for prosperous agriculture by far the most important is the outlook of the peasant himself.' That is true enough to be a platitude and therefore worth saying again. It sounds a challenge to Christian missions : have we a message that speaks to the condition of the Indian *ryat* ? He well might say with Tennyson :

> 'Tis life whereof our nerves are scant,
> Oh life, not death, for which we pant ;
> More life, and fuller, that I want.

Regeneration is the immediate need of the *ryat*, and in Jesus Christ, who came to make all things new, that need is met. ' If any man be in Christ, he is a new creature.' Our first business, then, is to re-create the individual ; but we dare not stop there : we must remake his setting. The great imperative to love our neighbour as ourselves carries with it the inescapable implication of social service, and Christian privileges no less than Christian duties call us inevitably to the task of rural re-construction.

In this connexion we do well to remember that simple Christian living is the most effective lever, as it is the most impressive Christian evidence, and could we sow these thickly-strewn Indian villages with Christian souls of good quality we should soon see a new India. I know a hamlet within hail of Motihari where the simple piety of a Christian

peasant has made falsehood a thing to be ashamed of. In my hearing an old villager paid a striking tribute to this unassuming saint. He put it in this way: 'There is not a farthing's worth of deceit in Sukhari the Christian.' But there are 700,000 villages in India, and as things are at present there are not enough Christians to go round, nor is their quality always convincing.

We are driven back to this position: that rural reconstruction, although primarily a Christian duty, is too comprehensive and too complicated to be accomplished by any single agency, even though that agency be the Christian Church. Co-operation offers the one sovereign remedy, and for its effective application we must not grudge decades of patient endeavour. 'Fifty years of hard work' is the prescription of Mr H. Calvert, a member of the Linlithgow Commission and one of India's sagest co-operators. We have only to contemplate the things that need to be put right to appreciate the magnitude of the task. What are the things that hinder the life of the *ryat*? I mention them as they fall within my ken: the universal fact of human sin, poverty, ignorance, litigation, filth, apathy and distrust. Happily, some of the best brains and some of the finest spirits in India are now bending to the task of rural reconstruction; and Government, alive to its obligations, is striving through its departments of Agriculture, Education, Public Health, Co-operation, Irrigation, Local Self-Government and Forestry to establish reforming contact with the *ryat*. With these forces, making for a better man in a better village, we Christians are called to co-operate, and from personal experience I can affirm that our co-operation will be welcomed and valued.

Of all the movements on foot in India to-day for the well-being of the *ryat* I have no hesitation in giving pride of place to Co-operative Credit, or Co-operation, as it is now popularly called. My acquaintance with it goes back fifteen years, during which time I have had occasion to study it at close quarters and come into close personal

contact with its leaders. It has opened to me the gates of village life and enabled me to know India's essential man in all his varying moods. These years of co-operative activity have brought many disappointments, and my faith in human nature has received many a shrewd blow; but were I beginning my missionary life again this is where I should prefer to begin. With a fairly full knowledge of the movement and its many defects I endorse the considered finding of the Report of the Royal Commission on Agriculture: 'If Co-operation fails, there will fail the best hope of rural India.' It is a Christian duty to see that that hope does not fail.

What, then, is Co-operation? It might be defined as 'an association of not less than ten individuals to secure a common end by honest means.' Its slogan, 'Better business, better farming and better living,' indicates its immediate and ultimate objectives. Souls of good quality are ever the end in view. The foundations of Co-operation are strongly laid in the principle of joint liability, by which the credit of the strong is made available for the necessities of the weak. Another factor making for stability is the condition that members of the association must be residents of the same village. In India, where poverty is widespread and the moneylender is abroad in the land, the co-operative movement has naturally taken the form of a popular banking system, and in the dialect of the villages where Co-operation has taken root the expressive word 'bunk' has found a home. But a Co-operative Society is more than a financing agency, it is an adventure in rural reconstruction. Here are the objects of a Co-operative Society as accepted in Bihar and Orissa: To get rid of debt; to encourage thrift; to improve business; to promote education; to discourage litigation; to seek in every way to promote the well-being of its members. It is a pleasing sign of the times that the co-operative movement in this Province has recently accepted the obligation to promote the well-being of the village as a whole, and here lies a happy omen for the future of rural reconstruction.

Here is an organization with a programme that goes to the heart of rural problems and doors wide open to all who love their country and have the will to serve her. It has behind it the prestige of Government and the goodwill of popular leaders, and it provides the necessary machinery for linking schemes of village uplift to their desired objective. Is poverty the problem? Co-operation increases production, provides marketing facilities and mobilizes the credit of the strong for the benefit of the weak. Blessed be any agency that gives elbow room to the poor. The *ryat* must borrow or starve, and as his credit is necessarily low he must borrow from the moneylender at a ruinous rate of interest, unless a happy turn of fortune's wheel brings a co-operative bank to his village.

Is ignorance the problem? Co-operation does something to solve it by emphasizing it: wherever a bank is opened the necessity for a school arises. But beyond creating a desire for education Co-operation goes on to promote it. Most central banks in Bihar and Orissa are now running village schools both for children and adults, and I know a dozen co-operative night schools that are doing well.

Is litigation the problem? Many who speak with authority would place litigation as the greatest curse of rural India. At the back of it may lie a dim but obstinate consciousness of inherent right; but there can be no doubt as to its disastrous consequences. It is an instruction to members of village banks to avoid litigation and seek relief in arbitration for which Co-operation provides the machinery, once in happier years supplied by the village *panchayat*.

Is filth the problem? In the villages of Bihar sanitation is usually left to nature, and disease could wish no better breeding ground. By indicating ways and means of disposing of the village refuse, by providing better wells and improving village roads, by showing how men can combine to tackle insanitary conditions, Co-operation shows the way to a cleaner and healthier India.

Is apathy the problem ? The following quotation from the Linlithgow Report would seem to indicate that it is :

> To break the inhibition on the will to live better, there is required a strong central driving force that will encourage enthusiasm, develop public spirit and provide suitable material for active workers in their campaign in favour of the improvement of village life.

The finest tribute I have heard to the co-operative bank was paid by a grateful villager some months ago. He said, ' The bank has brought hope to my village.'

Is distrust the problem ? In the Indian village it is too often ' every man for himself and the devil take the hindmost,' and for lack of unity many a fair prospect of village uplift is blighted.

> But O ! mankind are unco weak
> And little to be trusted.
> If self the wavering balance shake,
> It's rarely right adjusted.

So sang the greatest peasant poet of all time, and so we find it repeated in everyday co-operative experience. But Co-operation is essentially mutual trust ; credit is another name for character ; and it is not the least of the merits of this movement that it brings succour to weak and tempted human nature and teaches the weak to be strong. In all these ventures we are in the closest relation to the incalculable human factor, and anything therefore that makes for trustworthiness is more to be desired than gold.

The three immediate needs of the co-operative movement are : first, a large accession of disinterested workers, who are competent to lead and yet content to follow ; then, a thorough system of training, alike for official and non-official workers, in co-operative principles and practice ; education and still more education must be the cry ; an inrush of well-meaning amateurs would be disastrous ; and thirdly, an adequate and sustained motive ; many have set their hands to this plough and have looked back ; others have made the mistake of anticipating an early

millennium by means of Co-operation, and since it tarries they have lost faith. In these essential respects where should we turn for help but to the Christian Church? 'What we need is the missionary spirit,' is a cry I hear wherever co-operators meet, and while we who bear the Christian name are grateful for the tribute we have to admit that hitherto we have done little to deserve it. Yet we hold the great secret—'the love of Christ constraineth us.'

Let me in closing illustrate how the missionary and the bank can combine to make a new *ryat*. I take a small village not far from Motihari, tenanted by members of what are called the 'depressed classes.' We were able to establish a bank here about nine years ago. At that time the omens were altogether inauspicious: drinking, gambling, borrowing, squabbling and squandering were rampant, and among the thirty families not a single person could be found who could read or write. It was pitiful; in a whole village none was literate. Now a village bank has to contend with an elaborate system of book-keeping, and a capable clerk is a primary necessity. It looked as if our project must break on this rock; but a young missionary colleague, full of the grace of God and co-operative zeal, came to the rescue and wrote the books himself—as fine a piece of missionary service as I have seen in the East. With the bank began a quiet revolution. A school was asked for, to which at nightfall the village fathers came to make experiments in reading and writing; rents long overdue were paid up, and an astonished landlord was moved to congratulation; dram-drinking was painfully abandoned, and on the request of the bank members the village public house was removed; bitter village quarrels became less frequent, and when they occurred the bank *panchayat* intervened with a refreshing measure of success; the austere habit of thrift began to grow, and the moneylenders who had formerly held the village in their grip were gradually compelled to let their victims go; best of all, a new sense of manhood came into being. The young missionary has

long since left the district, but his work abides. He was succeeded in the clerkship by an unassuming mission preacher with a stutter and a Gandhi cap to whom much of the credit for this wholesome revolution is due. He is the village guide, philosopher and friend.

The annual meeting of this bank is one of the events of our year. I recall one three years back that bound me hand and foot to the co-operative chariot. The year had been a successful one, arrears had disappeared, and the society found itself elevated by the discerning government auditor to Class A. Business, which included the election of the working committee and the fixing of each man's borrowing limit for the coming year, was soon over, and we adjourned to the wind-swept village green for the annual sports. The schoolboys had their innings first and then the bank members took possession of the arena. The affair was purely masculine so far as the events were concerned; but the village matrons and maids lined up to see the fun, and children abounded in shoals and battalions. The hundred yards' race was run without a breath, but the quarter mile took some doing, and the sack race was a spectacle for pessimists and politicians. One old gentleman, complaining bitterly of rheumatism, stripped for the fray and came in a glorious second. The sports ended in a titanic tug-of-war conflict which opened the flood-gates of excitement and tested our powers of umpiring to the utmost. In this crowded hour of glorious life we recognized in the sun-dried and half-starved peasant the universal man, a comrade born to tears and laughter like ourselves. The night closed with a simple village play. Nature provided the stage and in place of gaudy footlights hung her golden lamp in the heavens for our benefit. The play chosen was the *Prodigal Son*, the players were the bank members, taught by the village preacher, and the community at large made up the audience. Beautiful in any setting, the old parable glowed with new beauty as these simple villagers with fine simplicity and fitting reverence re-lived the great love-story of God

before our tear-dimmed eyes. It was all real: the happy village home, the discontented son, the flight to Calcutta, the spendthrift and his friends, the unfeeling landlord, the pigs comical and important, the hour of repentance, the return journey, the welcome home, the strange behaviour of the elder brother and the final feast—all were set out in expressive detail.

The memory of that evening hour abides like the memory of a sacrament. We had touched the pathos, true and sublime, of human life and heard the language of the soul. Little wonder we turned home humbler and gladder. We had stumbled on the soul of a village and recognized in the villager a man of like passions with ourselves, a comrade born to present adversity but capable of happy laughter and honest tears, the essential man of India who will one day save his country. I invite my fellow-missionaries to help him to do so. For this service we have the highest sanction: 'And Jesus went about all the cities and the villages, teaching in their synagogues, and preaching the gospel of the kingdom, and healing all manner of disease and all manner of sickness. But when He saw the multitudes He was moved with compassion for them.'

J. Z. HODGE

THE INTERACTIONS IN RELIGIOUS THOUGHT OF EAST AND WEST

By F. F. MONK

THE note of partnership between the Older and Younger Churches, sounded at the Jerusalem Meeting last year, recalls the prophetic words with which Westcott originated the Cambridge Mission to Delhi : ' The universities are providentially fitted to train men to interpret the faith of the West to the East, and to bring back to us new interpretations of the one infinite and eternal Gospel.' Without limiting the enquiry too strictly either to church or to university categories, it is time that we attempted to articulate more clearly than hitherto the effects we are already unconsciously feeling of the general interaction of religious thought thus anticipated by Westcott. The old antithesis between East and West is giving way to synthesis, and we need to conceive more clearly the respective characteristic contributions of the two to the mutual exploration of the riches of Christ.

Another note sounded at Jerusalem was the danger from the rising tide of secularism. Some of us, laymen perhaps mostly, are inclined to think the danger is being exaggerated. Though one can certainly observe a frequent evasion of the substance of religion under a specious criticism of its forms, there is good ground for interpreting much of the present-day revolt against institutional religion, however misguided, as the blind thrust of the spirit against the letter that killeth. But, granted that the chief need of the moment is to fight materialism, the diversities of gifts contributed by East and West respectively to the common fight need to be far more clearly conceived than hitherto.

' The East is spiritual, the West material,' is an old

generalization that has wearied most of us who have seen India superficially—and superficially half of us react by denying it hotly, while the other half apparently confirm it by well-meaning but uncritical approval of Mr Gandhi's economics and of a revival of the Franciscan movement in an Indian guise. It does not seem to be recognized that both Gandhi's movement and the sadhu movement, invaluable though they are as auxiliaries in the fight against materialism, are nothing new in the religious experience of the West. The former merely repeats the phenomenon of a Rousseau or a Tolstoy, a great soul despairing of historical civilization; the latter was a definite feature of the Mediæval Church. With all honour and gratitude to these movements for recalling us to our common spiritual heritage, we are surely bound rather to give preference to those elements in that heritage which meet more directly the problems of the modern world.

The issue is well expressed in another well-known antithesis regarding the spiritual genius of East and West respectively, namely, the ideal of renunciation in the East and of consecration in the West. This is not to ignore an element of each on either side. The ideal of renunciation has already been claimed as a heritage of the West from the Mediæval Church, of which we may well be grateful to be reminded by India. But India too can contribute for its part at least one conception of consecration which has been most curiously overlooked by the champions of Hindu thought. It concerns, too, a problem: that of the place of celibate service in modern life, to which the western Church is conspicuously failing to offer a satisfactory solution. In the Anglican Communion, at any rate, the brotherhoods on which stress is often laid in the missionary appeal to-day not only are liable to frequent defections by the marriage of members, but such occurrences are almost invariably regarded with disappointment. Yet such disappointment seems inevitable so long as we harbour, however unconsciously, that mediæval ideal of lifelong celibacy

which is based on an attitude to sex that the modern biologically thinking mind quite rightly repudiates. If the Church would but adopt the psychologically far truer Hindu social doctrine of the Four Ashrams or stages of life, and preach a limited *bramhachari*, or celibate period, during which the fire of youth is utilized in untrammelled service, to be succeeded, normally, by the status of parenthood and the full responsibilities of citizenship, it would not only save much searching of heart but also provide a philosophy of the consecration of life as such which could and would appeal as much to the ordinary layman as to those called to the priesthood.

Speaking generally, however, the spiritual genius of India does seem to lie mainly along the lines of renouncing the world, while the West, particularly in the reformed churches, has definitely abandoned that ideal for the never-ending struggle to bring all things in subjection to Christ. The western Church will therefore be not only acknowledging defeat in that struggle but implicitly denying its belief in the working of the Spirit throughout human history, if it allows its spiritual leaders to turn away in despair from a view of life which is essentially sacramental in order to promote the current Indian forms of religious vocation. Once more, this is not in any way to belittle the value of those forms as complementary to the task of the western Church; rather it is to emphasize that partnership of diversities in gifts by which alone the fight against secularism can be successfully carried on. That fight is rendered more complicated by the rapidly progressing unification of mankind, a unification which is already nearly complete in the economic sphere. It can only be made effective in the intellectual and spiritual spheres by a frank recognition of diversity in unity among the co-operating forces.

The western Church, then, should certainly welcome and, in the case of individuals conscientiously called thereto, associate itself with such reminders of its own spiritual past

as the *Christa-Seva-Sangh* or the apostolate of Sadhu Sundar Singh. Such gestures of fellowship with the characteristic Indian outlook are not merely commendable but necessary steps towards the ultimate synthesis of spiritual gifts for which both West and East must work. But the Church of the West needs to beware of the dangers inherent in the tendency, observable in many quarters, to commend an ascetic life as the most appropriate form of service for the western missionary in India. To do so is virtually to evade the obligation we inherit as a Church from our own racial history, namely, to lose ourselves in the less conspicuous but infinitely harder task of aiding mankind in the never-ending struggle to consecrate the normal social organism to the purposes of God.

The same failure on the part of the western Church to recognize its own specific task is observable in the well-intentioned but often quite uncritical approbation it extends to Mr Gandhi and his movement. The man needs to be far more clearly distinguished from the movement. Let all honour, indeed humble respect, be accorded to him individually as saint and prophet. But at the same time let us pay him the compliment he would himself most appreciate of scrupulously honest and unflinching criticism on principle. And on principle, if the above interpretation of the spiritual function of the western Church in the modern world is correct, we are bound, however high a regard we pay to his personal ethic, to oppose his social and economic doctrine fundamentally.

Put the issue back in these respects to the ultimate background, Mr Gandhi's much-talked-of Christlikeness. Let us pay him unstinted honour for his demonstration, in self-imposed fasts, of the necessity for vicarious suffering, and the clearer vision he has given us thereby of the truth of the Cross. But let us not on that account blind ourselves any longer to the fact that in three of the most vital issues faced by Jesus in His public life he has taken a diametrically opposite course.

In the first place he has, whether intentionally or not, inculcated a spirit of impatience rather than of faith. In place of all those parables of the seed growing secretly—which one is tempted to believe Jesus spoke as much for His own reassurance as for the benefit of His disciples, and which He summed up later in a refusal to anticipate the Father's times and seasons (Acts 1, 7)—Mr Gandhi has encouraged a no more intensely nationalistic mentality than Jesus had to deal with by conditional and unfulfilled promises of *swaraj* on a specific date. 'When the Son of Man cometh, shall He find faith on the earth?'—Not this way, surely.

Secondly, we find Jesus, if He ever cherished the hope of a mass movement, quite definitely abandoning it, because of His faith in the Father's gradual processes, when He selected a minute band and concentrated His attention on training them as His associates. Mr Gandhi's promotion of his movement is often terribly near autocracy, as some of his closest friends admit.

Thirdly, and exemplifying the last point, those who had hoped most from Mr Gandhi's prophetic influence on a people needing above all encouragement in personal responsibility, have looked in vain for that refusal to be a judge and a divider or to apply for the individual the principles enunciated for all, by which, with such characteristic paradox, Jesus retained His authority undisputed. That Mr Gandhi, by yielding to the temptation to apply his authority to the particular, has now quite definitely lost it in general, is not the least of the tragedies with which India is faced at present.

It is not only, however, in the social and political but perhaps even more in the economic sphere that western Christian thought owes a duty both to the world and to Mr Gandhi himself, of opposing his doctrines with a far more explicit and constructive philosophy of civilization than it has enunciated hitherto. To Mr Gandhi the complexities of material and social evolution are a definite evil, and he

calls on a country in which renunciation has always been held up as the highest religious ideal to renounce those complexities, even as Rousseau and Tolstoy did before him in the West. And he will fail as they did—but before what forces ? At present it is the Philistines who triumph, both in West and East (more business, it is said, was done in the Delhi piece-goods market in twenty-four hours in 1921, when a rumour spread that Gandhi was about to be arrested, than in the whole preceding six months), and the ordinary man is condemned, in default of the better instruction which the Church should give him, to the desperately demoralizing thought that in failing to respond to the prophet of renunciation he has seen the better but pursued the worse. The Jerusalem Meeting, by claiming the whole of life as the Church's sphere not only of service but of consecration, has taken the first step at last towards justifying for the ordinary man his instinctive repudiation of ascetic doctrines. But a most persistent and explicit proclamation of this gospel is required if the western Church is to discharge the trust it holds towards the countries over which the tide of western civilization is spreading.

The principles at stake can be indicated by a metaphor. ' The train of modern civilization,' says Gandhi, ' is running away with us. Jump clear ! ' To this the western Christian must retort, and, with due deference to a different spiritual tradition, invite his Indian fellow-Christian to retort : ' If indeed it be running away, which I doubt, my duty is all the more to stand by my fellow-passengers and try to bring it under control.' It has been objected to this application of the metaphor that Mr Gandhi does not say, ' Jump clear ! ' but ' Stop the train ! ' If this is a fairer presentation it is even more illuminating. The western Church is by now irrevocably committed to some sort of evolutionary conception of the universe, and whatever synthesis is ultimately made with metaphysical concepts of Hindu origin which the eastern Church may be expected to contribute, it is unbelievable that that synthesis could ever include any

dominant concept, even within space and time, either of arrest or of reversal. Mr Gandhi, on the other hand, adheres to the eternal cycles of growth and decay which constitute the Hindu interpretation of the cosmos.

It is significant, in fact, that the issues raised by Mr Gandhi's movement drive us inexorably back to the fundamental divergence between the Christian and Hindu conceptions of the Absolute. To the Hindu the ultimate All is presented as an undifferentiated homogeneous unity, a Nirvana in which the individual is merged as 'the dewdrop slips into the shining sea.' To the Christian, on the other hand, the final Sum of Being is the infinitely differentiated heterogeneous unity of a social organism, more recognizably expressed perhaps as the Kingdom of Heaven.

In that synthesis, then, of western and eastern religious thought which has to be made to save the rapidly unifying modern world from the common menace of a universal secularism, the West is called on to recognize more courageously than hitherto its own distinctive function. Let it frankly confess itself not indeed materialistic, as the old generalization would maintain, but yet admittedly preoccupied with the material. Only so will it play its proper part in the common task of conquering the world.

Conversely let the East, while adopting from the West those ideals which may enable it to master rather than avoid the material forces that threaten to overwhelm both East and West, recognize its own contribution to be primarily concerned with the spiritual. But here too, as with the West, let the recognition of the specific nature of the contribution be far more exact than hitherto. It does not consist either in individual asceticism or in the rejection of material progress; both these, though varying in degree and date of emphasis, are features common to the religious history of East and West alike. We must rather look for something in which the eastern mind can claim to have made as distinctive a contribution to the common stock as the West can claim to have given in the concepts of organic and social

evolution and of the ultimate consecration of all concrete existence. Such a contribution from eastern thought will be found not in the realm of concrete being but, as might be expected, of abstract thought.

Writing in *The International Review of Missions* for April 1926, Mr Paton drew attention to the danger from the reaction of Hindu pantheistic thought on Christian belief,[1] and it may be granted that the adoption of vague pantheistic categories will help nobody. But that should not blind us to the definite assistance afforded to the modern mind by the metaphysical horizons which lie behind such pantheistic thought.

However much formal pantheism needs to be corrected by the complementary categories of western transcendental philosophy, the persistent emphasis in eastern thought on the immanence of spirit in matter may be expected to assist materially that exploration of the full Doctrine of the Spirit which is one of the most significant activities of present-day theology. Again, the equally persistent emphasis in eastern thought on the need to extend the mind beyond the categories of form will surely bring fresh and vivid realization, both in thought and worship, of those many implications in the Ascension, as read in the light of the Last Discourses, which have so often been obscured by a pre-occupation with questions of the Bodily Presence.

Allied with and arising out of these specifically religious contributions of eastern thought a more general but even more far-reaching co-operation may be expected from it in regard to those problems about the nature of the universe, the solution of which is probably the most imperative demand made on the Christian theologian at the present day. It has been said with some justification that the failure of religion to command attention in this scientific age is due to the fact that we think of God in one way and of the

[1] It is significant of the interactions which we are considering that another observer, writing in *The Hibbert Journal* last year, noted the recent permeation of Hindu thought by theistic concepts Christian in their origin.

universe in another. Under the scrutiny of our astronomers and physicists, the material cosmos, already expanded to incomprehensible infinitudes both of magnitude and of minuteness, now threatens to be resolved into abstract terms of energy; while the modern man, feeling himself to be more than ever 'moving about in worlds not realized,' is still offered for his consolation and guidance the mainly concrete categories of thought inherited from a pre-scientific and often naïvely anthropomorphic Semitic theism. In that revolutionary restatement of ultimates, long overdue, by which Christian theology will have to reassert its claim over the world of thought, there will almost certainly have to be included some fusion of the latest speculations of western mathematics with the great traditional abstractions of Hindu metaphysic.

There remains one field in which the interaction of East and West is likely to be more revolutionary in its immediate effects than in any of those indicated above, namely, the visible organization of the Church. Not only within the present separate communions in India, where schemes of reunion are virtually being forced on the older branches by the younger, but equally outside them, where thousands of educated men decline the name of Christian but claim a fellowship in Christ, in some degree or other which we dare not in His Name refuse outright, the situation demands from each one of those communions an early and explicit discernment of those points in which it is prepared to learn and those in which it must, in loyalty to inherited trust, retain the claim to teach.

So far as the Anglican Communion is concerned, it may yet be called on in respect of the former class of points to exercise its historic genius for comprehensiveness by accepting hitherto undreamt-of expansions in its conception of the one fold. But it is in discerning the latter points, i.e. those which it holds to be its Catholic trust, that one prays for the clearest vision among its leaders. Is it too much to hope that they will insist to the least degree possible on any

particular form of order—or even, up to a point, of doctrine—and concentrate rather on uncompromising adherence to those two basic Catholic principles in which Indian thought is traditionally weak, namely, the organic nature of the body corporate, whatever its particular form may be, and the historic continuity of that form, whatever its progressive modifications may have been ?

This suggestion is made to one section only of the western Church, but it is significant that it turns on a point which this paper has endeavoured to emphasize as particularly distinctive of western Christian thought, namely, the determination to attain to the One Spirit by means of rather than in spite of the world of sense, and more particularly by spiritualizing to the uttermost the highest forms of corporate human life. It is not, perhaps then, altogether chimerical to conceive that the western Church in general, by clearing its vision regarding its specific contribution to the synthesis of western and eastern thought here postulated as essential for the world at large, might discover simultaneously a basis for that even more urgently needed synthesis within western Christendom itself without which the wider task can never truly be advanced.

F. F. MONK

PROTESTANT BENEVOLENT GIVING IN THE UNITED STATES

By CHARLES H. FAHS

FROM the China Sea to the Gulf of Guinea, American missionaries latterly have been well aware that their supporting boards were going through a series of lean years, so far as income was concerned. The high promise of the early 'twenties was not being fulfilled, and as a result there has been a slowing down of a multitude of projects, with consequent uneasiness and anxiety of heart on the part of all concerned. Naturally, discerning students of the situation among giving constituencies in the United States were eager to discover just what was happening and why. The various explanations given were outlined in thirty-five paragraphs which constituted the larger part of an article by the present writer in this Review for July 1927.[1] These explanations or interpretations, being based almost entirely on judgment reactions of observers, left much to be desired. Moreover, the problem was too important to be left without closer and more thorough-going study. This article is an interpretation of a second stage of the effort to understand.

A decision as to method of attack involved several issues: Should an investigation be made of the attitudes of individuals comprising selected groups of givers to missions, in order to discover, if possible, what had been happening that led these givers to diminish—or in other cases to maintain, or to increase—their gifts for foreign missions during whatever period should be chosen for review? Or should a comparative statistical study be made of board incomes for foreign missions, in order to discover what light might in this way be thrown on the

[1] 'Tendencies in Missionary Giving in the United States.'

larger problem ? If the statistical study seemed to provide the better approach, would a study of gifts for foreign missions suffice, or should the study be more inclusive and cover general benevolent giving through the churches ?

A statistical study of Protestant benevolent giving in the United States was decided upon, rather than one pertaining only to giving to foreign missions. Financially the study was made possible by the Institute of Social and Religious Research, of New York City. The results of the study are now available in pamphlet form,[1] and an outline of the conclusions reached is all that will be attempted here.

Eleven Protestant bodies in the United States, each having a membership of more than 100,000, and a total membership (1927) of 16,081,854, were found to have annual statistics which would provide a fairly satisfactory basis for a comparative study of current expenses and of benevolent giving from 1913, the year before the world war, through 1927, an inclusive period of fifteen years, nine of which would cover post-war conditions. It was found that for all these eleven denominations the total giving for congregational expenses steadily and greatly advanced during this period of fifteen years. The per capita gifts for this purpose rose from $7.88 in 1913 to $14.78 in 1927. This advance in giving for congregational expenses was doubtless occasioned, in part at least, by the decreased purchasing power of the dollar, and the consequent necessity for increased gifts in order to maintain the churches as financially sound enterprises. Since 1923, however, the increased gifts per capita have more than compensated for the decreased value of the dollar.

For these same eleven denominations both the total and the per capita gifts for total benevolences increased from 1913 to 1920. Thereafter, and until 1927, the annual gifts for benevolences dropped with but a single break in continuity, and the per capita gifts for benevolences dropped

[1] *Trends in Protestant Giving :* A Study in Church Finance in the United States. C. H. Fahs. New York : Institute of Social and Religious Research. 75 cents. 1929.

continuously. These per capita gifts for benevolences in 1913 amounted to $2.15; in 1920 (the peak point) to $5.75; and in 1927 to $4.17. Even with these decreases since the peak year the per capita gifts for total benevolences have been markedly in advance of those necessary to compensate for the decreased value of the dollar.

For the eleven denominations especially studied, the ratio of gifts per capita for total benevolences to those for congregational expenses was in 1913 as 21 to 79. Thereafter this ratio shifted steadily in favour of benevolences, until in 1920 the ratio was 35 to 65. Thereafter a reverse shift began, and in 1927 the ratio was 22 to 78. Apparently the war psychology and the great post-war benevolent 'drives', culminating in the Inter-Church World Movement, tended to disturb a fairly stabilized ratio, but with the passing of the disturbing influences other forces tended to re-establish the former equilibrium.

Comparing the statistics of the Religious Census of 1926 with those of the two previous decennial census figures, it appears that in the decade 1917–26 there was an extraordinary increase in the value of church and parsonage property, this increase for the eleven denominations amounting to $868,073,585 (debt subtracted), an increase in total value free of debt for the decade of 109 per cent, as compared with a similar increase of 34 per cent for the last previous decade.

Indications are that by far the greater amount of this increase in property value represented new money, rather than reappraisal. The churches have been participating in, and probably have been focussing attention on, a vast building program, a program which has been characteristic also of commercial and domestic life in the United States in the post-war period. However, this period has also been signalized by a great increase in general buying by instalment. This has affected the churches in some measure, and the resultant growth in indebtedness on church and parsonage property, along with other indebtedness, such as that carried by benevolent boards and by church educa-

tional and philanthropic institutions, has doubtless been a factor affecting the attitude of portions of the giving constituencies toward benevolences because of a sense of increased financial load that must be carried through payments of interest and principal.

In addition to the notable movement for the rehabilitation of the property interests of the churches, the statistics available indicate an extraordinary increase in the value of property, of equipment and of endowment of church colleges and schools and, in lesser degree, of church philanthropic institutions in the United States. While gifts for these educational and philanthropic objectives are regarded as gifts for benevolent purposes by many individuals among the giving constituencies, yet these institutions as a rule do not depend for their maintenance primarily on the national benevolent boards of the churches. The appeals for these institutions, moreover, challenge local and regional loyalties and sense of need; each institution stands as a separate project in its appeal to supporting groups, and in many cases has its own promotional staff. Thus, the denominational benevolences have had to face increased competition within the churches themselves.

In the study of giving for foreign missions by living donors it is found that in the case of the eleven denominations the ratio of per capita gifts for foreign missions to the per capita gifts for total benevolences in the years before the United States entered the war was slightly above that for the years since the war. In the first year of the decade 1918–27, inclusive, the per capita gifts of the eleven denominations for foreign missions were 29·8 per cent of the per capita gifts for total benevolences, and precisely the same percentage held for the last year of the decade. The average for the decade was 28·9 per cent, which was also the percentage for 1920, the year of maximum benevolent giving. The figures available for the eleven denominations do not give evidence, therefore, that during the post-war period the foreign missionary cause has lost ground in

relation to the group of national causes provided for through the benevolent boards of the churches.

A study of total receipts for foreign missions from all sources for fifteen Protestant denominations for the period 1901–27 shows a growth in such receipts from $5,300,100, in 1901, to $29,833,727, in 1921, and with a total for 1927 for these fifteen bodies of $27,179,594. If these fifteen denominations are classed as three groups—the first, a group of three church bodies having more than two million members each; the second, a group of four bodies having more than one million but less than two million each; and the third, a group of eight bodies having more than 100,000 but less than a million each—it is found that the greatest fluctuations in receipts are in relation to the size of the denominations, the drop in total receipts, from the peak points to 1927, being respectively 33, 9 and 2 per cent.

In respect of the question whether certain benevolent agencies and organizations carrying on work overseas—Near East Relief; the Christian Associations; the union universities and colleges, such as those of the Near East and the Far East; as well as a number of missionary societies and agencies strongly conservative theologically, but not related directly to the denominations—are markedly competitive with the church foreign boards for the foreign mission gifts of the church constituencies, it was not found that the data clearly indicate such competition.

Such, then, are the specific conclusions drawn from the statistical study as such. Beyond these conclusions the pamphlet report of the study does not presume to go. A brief summary statement of the situation, based both on the results of the statistical processes and on the thinking of the writer as he guided these processes to their completion, would be as follows:

In the period immediately following the war there were extraordinary and successful efforts to press for larger giving for the benevolences. But following these efforts, the rising cost of living, and also the promotion of local

and regional building and institutional projects (postponed during the war, and in many cases further postponed during the post-war benevolent drives), tended to bring about a readjustment of balance of interest as between national benevolent programs and more localized enterprises. These latter had the advantage of being projects fully understood and with a more immediate and effective appeal and approach for financial support than had the national benevolences. Also, the local and regional enterprises tended to lean heavily on the principle of buying by instalment, with a consequent growing sense of burden on the part of the giving groups because of increased debts and the resultant demands to meet interest payments. The national benevolences tended more and more, through the reorganization of denominational benevolent agencies, to disappear behind unified benevolent budgets, and therefore to lose the power inherent in concrete and direct presentation of specific movements and projects. Also, the process of unifying benevolent budgets resulted in, or was accompanied by, related processes of unified promotion, tending to isolate the respective benevolent boards and their responsible administrative officers from the giving constituencies. The prophetic and challenging voices in any appeal for benevolent giving are likely to be the voices of those actively and immediately participant in and responsible for the enterprise to be served by the gifts, this participation being either through direct contact with needy folk or through carrying the executive burdens of the enterprise as a whole.

The study may be said to have thrown little light on the precise bearing of certain factors, regarded by many as at work in the total situation. Such, for instance, are post-war disillusionment, theological unrest, a growing irenic attitude toward non-Christian faiths, and secularist and materialist tendencies in social and national life. The study as conducted was not calculated to bring illumination with respect to these deeper aspects of the problem. CHARLES H. FAHS

MANDATES AND MISSIONS

By FINN T. B. FRIIS

I

THE present article is not intended to give the history of the mandates system, nor to set forth the many intricate legal problems to which this new experiment in international law and international politics has given or may give rise. It will only underline some of the considerations which are at the base of the whole system, set forth a few results of its working, and point to possible contacts between the work of the League of Nations in this field and the missionary movement.

First of all, it should be borne in mind that the mandates system has only a few years behind it. In December 1920 the C mandates for South-West Africa and the former German colonies in the Pacific (Nauru, New Guinea, Western Samoa, the Marshall, Caroline and Marianne Islands) were issued ; the B mandates for six territories in Central Africa (Tanganyika, Ruanda-Urundi, Cameroons and Togoland—the two last divided into parts under British and French mandate) came into force in July 1922, the mandates for Palestine and Syria in September 1923, while a special arrangement for Iraq was approved by the Council of the League as late as September 1924. It is therefore premature to draw definite conclusions as to the merits of the system.

Secondly, it must be emphasized that the mandates system is a compromise between two tendencies : the wish for annexation and that for a genuine international administration. Each of these tendencies predominated in turn at the outset and both are still making themselves felt in the working out of the system. The tug-of-war between a stricter interpretation (in favour of more or less unlimited

authority of the mandatory powers) and a more liberal interpretation (more extensive control by the organs of the League of Nations) will undoubtedly continue. The ultimate result will probably depend not only on developments in this special field but perhaps principally on the general trend in international politics, particularly on the growth or the lessening of the influence and authority of the League.

II

At the end of the war, the allied and associated powers were confronted with the problem of the disposal of the former German colonies in Africa and the Pacific, and of Syria, Palestine and Iraq (Mesopotamia). These territories were, at the time, under military occupation and administration by the allied troops. It became the task of the Peace Conference to provide for their future administration, and the plan ultimately adopted embodied the principle that these territories should be administered by different governments on behalf of the League but not by the League itself—a system of national responsibility subject to international supervision. This plan, known as the mandate system, was adopted on January 30th, 1919, by the Council of Ten, was transmitted to the Peace Conference Commission on the League of Nations and, with only slight changes, was incorporated as Article 22 of the Covenant. This Article provides that :

> To those colonies and territories which as a consequence of the late war have ceased to be under the sovereignty of the States which formerly governed them and which are inhabited by peoples not yet able to stand by themselves under the strenuous conditions of the modern world, there should be applied the principle that the well-being and development of such peoples form a sacred trust of civilization and that securities for the performance of this trust should be embodied in this Covenant.
>
> The best method of giving practical effect to this principle is that the tutelage of such peoples should be entrusted to advanced nations who, by reason of their resources, their experience or their geographical position, can best undertake this responsibility, and who are willing to accept it, and that this tutelage should be exercised by them as Mandatories on behalf of the League.

As the territories to which the mandate system is applied differ greatly, the Covenant recognizes that the character of the mandate must vary, particularly according to the degree of development of the people, the geographical situation of the territory, its economic conditions and other circumstances. The territories are accordingly divided into three classes, and the mandate for each territory as confirmed by the Council contains a series of provisions reaffirming with greater detail and precision the principles laid down in the Covenant. Certain clauses are common to all the mandates : full power of legislation and administration is given to the mandatory, subject to the provisions of the mandate ; the mandatory is to present to the Council of the League an annual report containing full information concerning the measures taken to carry out the provisions of the mandate ; the mandatory agrees that disputes arising with other members of the League regarding the interpretation or the application of the mandate which cannot be solved by negotiation shall be submitted to the Permanent Court of International Justice. The consent of the Council is required for any modification of the terms of the mandate.

As regards the actual administration of the mandated territory, the principal aims of the mandates system are : gradually to educate the native populations for self-government ; to protect them against such abuses as have sometimes resulted from colonization (liquor traffic, forced labour for private employers and the indiscriminate destruction of traditional political and social institutions, confiscation of native land and so forth) ; to secure economic equality between the nationals of all countries members of the League, both as regards entry into and residence in the mandated territories, acquisition of property, exercise of professions or trades and as regards customs tariffs. The principle of economic equality has only been made applicable to the territories under A or B mandate.

As regards the actual rules laid down concerning the administration of the different territories, they vary con-

siderably between the various categories and even within each category. While the C mandates are fairly simple, the B mandates are more elaborate and the A mandates are again of a rather different nature. Common to them all is, however, the principle of the responsibility of the mandatory power and the exercise of the supervision of the League through the Council, assisted by the Permanent Mandates Commission as an advisory body.

III

As regards one side of the mandates system—the actual administration of the territories—it is somewhat difficult to say what difference is made by the fact that they are administered under mandate, there being no adequate basis for comparison. If the present administration is compared with the administration of the same territories before the war, it may be said that conditions have changed in many ways apart from the transfer from the pre-war colonial administration to the administration under mandate. If, on the other hand, the administration of the mandated territories is compared with the present administration of other territories administered as colonies proper, it is certain that the wide differences in local conditions (geographical, ethnographical and so on) will disturb our judgment.

Is it possible to say that a particular legislative measure or administrative practice which is being applied in a mandated territory at present would not have taken place under the ordinary colonial system? Again, can it be established that there are certain abuses which have actually been avoided by the fact of the territory being under the mandates system? It is evident that any effort to pronounce upon such questions must be regarded more or less as conjecture.

The advantages resulting from the League's supervision of the mandates are easier to determine. They necessitate, however, more detailed reference to the organization of the control by the League and the experience gained in this

respect, especially through the work of the Permanent Mandates Commission.

According to Article 22 of the Covenant, each mandatory power must submit an annual report to the Council. These reports, which as a rule have been printed by the mandatory powers, are public documents, and available to the governments and to the general public through the secretariat of the League. (The observations of the Mandates Commission, the minutes of the meetings at which the reports are discussed and the relevant resolutions of the Council are also published in due course.) As a matter of fact, the annual reports contain considerably more information than the ordinary administrative reports submitted by colonial governors to their home authorities. There is no doubt that this is the result of the requests made by the Permanent Mandates Commission for more complete information on various points.

All the reports of the mandatory powers are forwarded to the secretariat of the League and to the members of the Permanent Mandates Commission, who study them individually at home and examine them in common at one of the two annual sessions of the Commission.

In accordance with its constitution, the Commission, which at present consists of eleven members chosen in their individual capacity and not as representatives of governments, examines and discusses each report in the presence of a duly accredited representative of the mandatory power. The Commission not only takes cognizance of the contents of the reports but asks the accredited representative for supplementary information as regards the points dealt with, and also raises questions which may not be referred to therein. Further, a right of petition as defined by the Council is recognized not only for inhabitants of mandated territories but also for outside persons and organizations who may wish to raise questions concerning the administration of mandated territories. In the report which, at the end of each session, the Commission presents to the Council

(the Commission is an advisory body and the Council alone has executive power), it includes its observations on the administration of each territory, the report on which has been examined during the session. Such observations may consist of requests for additional information, points raised as regards the interpretation of certain stipulations of the Covenant and the mandates, or various suggestions or criticisms.

On the other hand, the examination of one or more reports may give rise to observations of a more general character applicable to all or most of the mandated territories. In practice, the Commission has often been able to make helpful suggestions and to contribute to the solution of difficult problems to which the interpretation or application of Article 22 of the Covenant and of the mandate have given rise. Such matters have in several cases been brought to the attention of the Commission by the spontaneous action of various mandatory powers which have asked for its assistance. As examples of important problems of a general character which have found a solution, thanks to co-operation between the Commission, the mandatory powers and the Council, the following may be mentioned: the nationality of the inhabitants of mandated territories; the extension of special international treaties (of commerce, navigation and so on) to the mandated territories, in order that the latter may have the same benefits as the colonies of the mandatories; definition of the terms concerning the liquor traffic used in the Covenant and the mandates; investment of public and private capital in mandated territories. On the last point the Council, on the proposal of the Commission in September 1925, adopted a resolution calculated to allay certain fears which had been expressed concerning the security of title in mandated territories and the responsibility of mandatory administrations for the financial obligations of such territories. The Commission has also in various instances acted as a friendly mediator in questions concerning the tracing of frontiers which seemed

to be contrary to the interests of native tribes or of good administration.[1]

An effect of the mandates system, which was perhaps not directly contemplated at the moment when it originated, is the increased friendly co-operation and exchange of experience in colonial matters in general, which is facilitated by the rendering of accounts to the League of Nations by various colonial powers and by the discussions with the accredited representatives which take place at the sessions of the Permanent Mandates Commission.

Most of the mandatory powers, which in the beginning were represented only by officials of the home Government, now often send to the Commission senior officials of the administrations of the mandated territories. At its fifteenth session held in July 1929 the Commission thus had the advantage of the collaboration of the High Commissioner for Palestine, Sir John Chancellor; the Governor of the Cameroons under French mandate, M. Marchand; the Chief Secretary to the Administration of Tanganyika Territory, Mr Jardine; and the Secretary to the Administration for South-West Africa, Mr Smit.

It is evident that the personal contact thus established between the members of the Commission, several of whom are former governors with a varied and wide experience of colonial matters, and officials directly responsible for the administration of the mandated territories is a further and valuable result of the mandates system. The Commission in this way is able to get a clear view of the particular problems and special difficulties of the administration of these various territories. On the other hand, the local officials, through contact with the members of the Commission, become acquainted with the general spirit in which the supervision of the obligations under the mandates is carried out by the League, and get direct benefit from suggestions

[1] The most noteworthy example is that of the rectification of the frontier between Tanganyika and Ruanda in 1923. This matter was in the first instance brought to the attention of the Commission by two missionaries (see *Minutes of the Second Session*).

made on the basis of previous experience by recognized colonial authorities.

Another factor in the promotion of a better understanding and the exchange of experience through the agency of the mandates system is the distribution of mandates documents which is actually taking place in most of the territories under mandate. The fact that such documents are brought to the knowledge of local officials is important in several respects. It is a good means of exchange of experience. On the other hand, the perusal of the minutes of the Commission would seem of a nature to give some encouragement to officials in mandated territories by showing them that what is being accomplished is in fact widely known and appreciated. From the study of the minutes which they now get, they will be able to realize that the reports they are asked to prepare, often at the cost of considerable effort and time, are not shelved, but are really used and discussed by a body of men far removed from their daily problems, it is true, but who have, nevertheless, through their own previous administrative experience acquired the ability of appreciating the task and difficulties of the present officials.

Another more internal aspect of the mandates system may also be emphasized. The fact that the government of a country has to report to an international body, and that its administration in the mandated territory must conform to standards laid down internationally and constituting an international obligation, may also have a certain influence upon public opinion in that country itself. Experience has already shown that, at least in certain mandatory countries, the national Parliaments take an active interest in the way in which their Governments are carrying out the ' sacred trust ' confided to their countries. Many debates demonstrate this, and the press not infrequently contains articles about conditions in the mandated territories under their control, and comments on the administration by the mandatory governments.

From a League point of view this can only be greeted

with satisfaction, for it becomes more and more evident that the essence of the mandates system is publicity and the support of an active, well-informed public opinion.

IV

The activities of Christian missions on many points are based on principles in conformity with those approved by the League under the mandates system. In many lands missionaries were pioneers of European civilization. When officials and traders followed in their footsteps the missionaries often exercised their influence when political or economic conflicts arose. It has not infrequently happened that the representatives of the ' white ' governments met with suspicion or ill-will, whereas the missionaries succeeded in winning the confidence of the Natives, both by their position outside the administration proper, by their economic and political independence and by their humanitarian activities. They have often been able to obtain an inside knowledge of the ideas of the Natives; they have learned their languages and collected abundant material for the study of primitive culture and social organization. The missionaries have taken an active part in the fight against the slave trade and liquor traffic. In many parts of Africa they have been the means of bringing education to the ignorant and medical assistance to the suffering.

While the officials of the colonial powers had for a long time to limit themselves to maintaining order, administering justice and collecting revenue, the establishment of schools and medical aid was largely left to the missionaries. Recently the colonial governments have been making more and more considerable efforts in these fields, but the co-operation of the missionaries will for a long time, perhaps indeed for ever, be indispensable. No impartial observer can ignore their share in colonial development by bringing the best of European civilization to the Natives.

It is therefore only natural that the Permanent Mandates

Commission, during its annual examination of conditions in the mandated territories, should often have had occasion to underline the useful work of the missionaries in the fields of education and public health. In some cases it has suggested to the mandatory powers that they should consider whether they might not find it possible to encourage missionary activities in these fields by larger subsidies.[1]

There is, however, another more direct connexion between missionary interests and the League of Nations.

Through the mandates system freedom of conscience has been guaranteed in fourteen countries, and missionaries, nationals of all states members of the League, have been guaranteed liberty to exercise their activities on an equal footing.[2] It is true that missionary freedom had already been secured for a number of countries through international agreements before the existence of the mandates system (as regards Central Africa, particularly, through the Berlin Act of 1885 revised by the Saint-Germain Treaty of 1919). The provisions of the various mandates are, however, clearer and more detailed and—a fact which is of particular importance—an international organ is supervising their execution on behalf of the League of Nations.

Conditions are of course different in the various territories under mandate. On the one hand, we have such comparatively highly developed countries as Syria, Palestine and Iraq; on the other, primitive populations in Africa and the Pacific Islands. All the mandates contain, however, express provisions for liberty of conscience and of missionary activities.[3]

[1] See, for example: *Minutes of the Thirteenth Session*, p. 228 (Cameroons under French Mandate); *Minutes of the Fourteenth Session*, p. 272 (Togoland under British Mandate), and p. 275 (South-West Africa).

[2] Nationals of the United States, which is not a member of the League of Nations, do not enjoy this right in virtue of the mandates. The Government of the United States has, however, concluded special treaties with most of the mandatory powers and obtained for its nationals the same rights as those enjoyed by the nationals of states members of the League. The agreement between the United States of America and Japan relative to the Island of Yap, signed on February 11th, 1928, contains even more definite provisions as regards missionary freedom than the texts of the mandates.

[3] The mandates have been published as official documents by the League of Nations. Extracts from the provisions dealing more particularly with liberty of conscience and

In the mandate for Syria it is laid down that

> the Mandatory shall ensure to all complete freedom of conscience and the free exercise of all forms of worship which are consonant with public order and morality. . . . The supervision exercised by the Mandatory over the religious missions in Syria and the Lebanon shall be limited to the maintenance of public order and good government; the activities of these religious missions shall in no way be restricted, nor shall their members be subjected to any restrictive measures on the ground of nationality, provided that their activities are confined to the domain of religion. The religious missions may also concern themselves with education and relief, subject to the general right of regulation and control by the Mandatory or of the local government, in regard to education, public instruction and charitable relief.

The mandate for Palestine contains analogous conditions. On the other hand, special provisions are made as regards holy places, and it is laid down that the Administration must recognize the holy days of the respective communities as legal days of rest for the members of such communities.

In the Anglo-Iraq Treaty of October 10th, 1922, which, together with certain other documents, has been approved by the Council of the League of Nations, as carrying out in respect of Iraq the provisions of Article 22 of the Covenant, the following article (12) is found:

> No measure shall be taken in Iraq to obstruct or interfere with missionary enterprise or discriminate against any missionary on the ground of his religious belief or nationality, provided that such enterprise is not prejudicial to public order and good government.

Article 3 of the Treaty which concerns the framing of the Organic Law for Iraq provides that

> This Organic Law shall ensure to all complete freedom of conscience and the free exercise of all forms of worship, subject only to the maintenance of public order and morals.

According to the B mandates, the mandatory power shall ensure complete freedom of conscience and the free

missionary freedom will be found in the publication of the International Missionary Council: *Treaties, Acts and Regulations relating to Missionary Freedom* (London, 1293).

exercise of all forms of worship which are consonant with public order and morality. Missionaries who are nationals of states members of the League of Nations shall be free to enter the territories and to travel and reside therein, to acquire and possess property, to erect religious buildings and to open schools. The mandatory power shall, however, have the right to exercise such control as may be necessary for the maintenance of public order and good government, and to take all measures required for such control.

The C mandates contain similar provisions, but do not mention the right to acquire property, erect religious buildings and open schools. In practice, this difference has, however, been of no importance.

Generally, it may be said that the carrying out by the mandatory powers of these provisions has been liberal and has given rise to few complaints. Only in a few cases has the Mandates Commission been called upon to deal with controversial questions concerning the enforcement of liberty of conscience and missionary freedom.

In one instance the initiative was taken by one of the mandatory governments themselves: Mr Ormsby-Gore, accredited representative of the British Government at the third session in 1923, drew the attention of the Commission to the fact that the Administration of Tanganyika Territory had experienced certain difficulties as the result of competition and conflict between missionaries of various denominations. The British Government wished to know the opinion of the Mandates Commission as to whether the Administration of Tanganyika was justified, without infringing the provisions of the mandate, in applying a similar policy to that carried out in the neighbouring colony of Kenya, where spheres of interest have been allotted to the various missions. The Commission inserted the following general expression of opinion in its report to the Council:

> The accredited representative of one of the mandatory Powers informed the Permanent Mandates Commission of the difficulties which have arisen in certain districts of a territory under B mandate, as a

consequence of the competition, degenerating into rivalry, between religious missions of different faiths. The zeal which animates missionaries induces them to open, in the same place, churches or schools where the teaching is inspired by different doctrines. It can easily be imagined that this state of affairs may lead to disquiet among the natives, who are still in a condition of barbarism, and it may be the cause of serious unrest. It will be remembered that religious rivalries have in the past provoked grave incidents in Central Africa.

It therefore occurred to the Governor of the territory in question that, under a system which guarantees liberty of conscience and the free exercise of religion, it might be possible for the mandatory authority to take action in the matter, for example, by assigning spheres of influence to the various missionary bodies. This method has been adopted with success in certain colonies.

The Commission considered that it would be exceeding its duties, as laid down by the terms of the Covenant, were it to dictate to the responsible authorities administrative measures which might appear to be justifiable in such circumstances. It did not consider, however, that it should abstain from announcing the criterion which it would adopt, should necessity arise, in judging the legitimate character of any regulations which might, even indirectly, affect freedom of conscience. The Commission therefore drew attention to the fact that the mandate makes the free exercise of religion subject to the condition that it shall not be prejudicial to public order, and that, in this connection, the mandate gives to the Mandatory the right to exercise such control as may be necessary for the maintenance of public order. The maintenance of order is the first duty of the Governor, and order is a necessary condition for the full development of all freedom, not excepting freedom of religion.

Any regulations, therefore, arising out of the necessity for the maintenance of order will, if such order be genuinely endangered, be free from criticism, even should such regulations have the effect of restricting, in some measure, the free exercise of religion. On the other hand, any regulations on this subject which were to go beyond what is required for the maintenance of order, any measure of a vexatious nature or such as might have the effect of restricting the activities of the missions of any particular religious denomination, would be contrary to the terms of the mandate.[1]

The Council of the League approved this opinion and brought it to the attention of the various mandatory powers.

As regards the specific case in Tanganyika, however, it proved later unnecessary to take any special measures. The

[1] See *Minutes of the Third Session* (Annexes), p. 311.

British Government stated the following year that there were no longer any difficulties in the relations between the various missions, and that they worked harmoniously together.

The other case was of an entirely different kind. One of the annual reports on the administration of South-West Africa (under the mandate of the Union of South Africa) informed the Commission that, before granting permission to a mission to start any activity in Ovamboland (the northern part of South-West Africa), the missions were required to furnish a written undertaking to assist and support the policy of the Administration, and to encourage all Natives under their influence to seek employment in South-West Africa proper.

The report explained that the reason for the enforcement of this condition was that Ovamboland constituted the most important source of labour for the mines and railways of the country, and that nothing ought to be done which would hinder the free flow of labour. The Mandates Commission considered at various sessions whether this condition laid down for the exercise of missionary activity in a part of the mandated territory was really in conformity with the provisions of the mandate, which only contemplated restrictions necessary for the maintenance of public order. Doubts were expressed in the Commission on this point, and it asked to receive clearer explanations from the Union Government. At its fourteenth session (November 1928) the Commission was able to note with satisfaction that this measure, which seemed difficult to reconcile with the provisions of the mandate, was no longer in force.

Questions concerning liberty of conscience have not only been dealt with in direct connexion with missionary activity, but also in other connexions. Thus, the rules laid down by the mandatory Government for the organization of the Jewish community in Palestine have given rise to complaints from the most orthodox Jews, who claim the right not to be included in the general community together

with the less orthodox, but to found a separate community of their own.

On the other hand, aspects of liberty of conscience were also involved in the petition from the Bahai Spiritual Community of Bagdad, examined at the fourteenth session of the Commission. The petitioners complained that they had been illegally dispossessed of the house of the founder of their sect, Baha'u'llah; a property of the highest religious importance to them.

The Permanent Mandates Commission, as a result of this petition, made the following recommendation to the Council:

> The Commission draws the Council's attention to the considerations and conclusions suggested to it by an examination of the petition of the Bahai Spiritual Assembly of Bagdad and of the documents accompanying it.
>
> It recommends that the Council should ask the British Government to make representations to the Iraq Government with a view to the immediate redress of the denial of justice from which the petitioners have suffered.[1]

The Council approved the recommendation of the Commission and brought it to the attention of the mandatory power.

These are examples showing the extremely varied nature of the work of the Permanent Mandates Commission. Some of them also show that it is of direct interest to the missions that the administration of the mandatory powers should undergo international impartial supervision.

In this field, as in many others, it is no doubt true that the activities of the League and its far-reaching possibilities are not yet sufficiently known. A closer practical collaboration, in the form of exchange of information, would seem to be in the interest both of the League and of the missions.

FINN T. B. FRIIS

[1] See *Minutes of the Fourteenth Session*, p. 276.

THE CONSTRUCTIVE TASK OF THE CHURCH IN CHINA

By HENRY T. HODGKIN, M.B.

ON October 10th last year the Nationalist Government proclaimed the commencement of the second period of the Republic—the stage of tutelage or reconstruction. The military stage, whereby the old war-lords were to be eliminated and the unity of China established under party government, was officially ended just seventeen years after the Republic had been (nominally) established.

This new era has been accepted by China as a call and a challenge. No one can suppose that democracy is yet established in the country. The party (Kuo Ming Tang) —or at least the group of politicians who control the party organization—is supreme. The theory is that this group, or their successors, must be given a free hand until the people as a whole are educated in democratic ideas to the point where a fully representative system can be set up and worked without fear of disruption or inefficiency. During this period it is hoped that the people will be content to entrust their fate to the party, that large plans of education and reconstruction will be carried through and that, in the end, China may be able to establish a constitution guaranteeing the liberties of the people as a whole and suited to her needs as she takes her place among the great free peoples of the world. No one can say how long this stage will be, nor how many set-backs there may be through personal or party disputes, foreign complications or other causes. Men everywhere must hope that it may be carried through peaceably, and that the foundations of the China that is to be may be well and truly laid by those on whom has fallen so gigantic a burden.

I

During these momentous years in China's life, what is to be the policy of the Christian forces? Have they any distinctive part to play, and if so what are the conditions which will determine their power to play it? Such are some of the questions which press upon the mind of thoughtful Christian leaders in China to-day. It will be clear to readers of the Review that they can only be answered by the writer from the point of view of the Protestant Churches, and that in seeking an answer any one individual can do no more than offer his own contribution, in the hope that the answer may be more fully worked out by others—in consultation—and above all that the Churches may, in their activities, transcend anything which is indicated in advance as a way of progress.

To several interviewers General Feng Yü-hsiang expressed himself in the fall of 1928 in somewhat the same terms. He said, in substance: 'The Christian Churches have shown the way to China in the past by establishing hospitals and schools and many other such activities. Now these things are being cared for by China herself, and this will increasingly be the case. If the Church is to retain or recover the position of leadership she has had in such matters of public welfare she must move on into new fields and give China help in ways which are at present beyond the plans of any government, pointing the way to fresh constructive adventures.'

It need not be assumed that this statement is accepted without qualification in its reference either to the past or to the future, but it presents a view which demands our most earnest attention. That the Churches will find much constructive work to do along older and well-established lines for many years seems to me almost certain, even though notable steps in reconstruction are now being taken and will be taken in the near future. I see no prospect of China's being ready to dispense with such help for long enough,

but I do see that the moral and spiritual leadership of the Christian Churches is being put to a severe test by the happenings of to-day, and I am concerned that we appreciate the significance of that test and stir ourselves to the utmost to meet it.

When we look at the total effect of the missionary movement in China, I think it can fairly be said that it has been more successful in destruction than in construction. This is not to make light of certain constructive influences which it is impossible, in the space available, even to enumerate; nor is it to criticize the destructive work which in large part has been inevitable, and in no small measure good. When the modern missionary movement opened, there were certain features in the life of China which needed to be broken down and which could not, in any case, withstand the impact of western civilization. That missions have taken a part in this process of disintegration is no cause for complaint but rather for congratulation. Superstitions and customs that were foolish or cruel have been weakened or discontinued. No one who has China's good at heart wishes to see foot-binding, or infanticide, or the old examination system, or the elaborate and superstitious practices at funerals, for example, carried over into the new régime. Few would question the great if not predominant influence, at any rate in the early days, of the Christian missions in loosening the hold of a number of such habits and institutions upon the mind of the Chinese, nor would the generally beneficent effect of such influence be doubted.

There is, however, another field where such doubts creep in. Some of China's institutions contain elements of good and bad. There has been a tendency on the part of missionaries—shared by other foreign observers—to magnify the latter and to belittle the former element. Take, as an example, ancestor worship. To the early missionaries this practice seemed quite foolish or even quite wrong. Gradually we have come to see that it enshrines a great and noble idea. To destroy it is not enough. We have to consider

how the undoubted values contained in it may, where they are of service to the community and to the individual, be preserved and carried over into new customs. At this point the Christian movement has not shown such unity nor such strength as in the emphasis upon the danger, and as many would say the sin, of ancestor worship. As every one knows, it is vastly easier to tear down than to build up. This is true not less in the spiritual and moral realm than the physical. The greater success of the Christian forces in the former field need neither surprise nor dismay us. But we must look the facts squarely in the face and ask ourselves earnestly how, in this era of reconstruction, the Churches may show the maximum power to build up and to build into China those things which belong to her peace.

II

I propose briefly to consider four main constructive tasks that peculiarly summon the Christian forces in China to-day, beginning at the place whence I have drawn my illustration—namely, the family life. China's strength and permanence as a nation derive from no source more clearly than from her ancient clan system. Its roots go back far before the time of Confucius. It is a socio-economic structure rooted in religious ideas and calling out a degree of loyalty and a sense of social solidarity which have been outstanding characteristics of China throughout her history. The position of the patriarch and the respect paid to ancestors have been, as it were, foundation stones of this massive edifice. Both are crumbling to-day. Young China, catching the spirit of revolt from the West, no longer submits to the autocracy of the clan head. Men and women demand the right to choose their partners for life, or at least to have a say in this all-important matter. Still more urgent, perhaps, is the determination on the part of young married people to live and shape their own lives without coming under parental control in the old homestead.

Economic forces aid the educational forces in producing disintegration and the drift away from the one family centre and centralized control.

To this we add the scientific challenge to all kinds of superstition which adds its weight to the Christian decision that ancestor worship must be relegated to the lumber-room of the obsolete. The deepest religious life of China has largely centred in the home, with simple rites connected with birth, marriage and death, with the new year, the spring festival and other special occasions, with the remembrance of ancestors, protection from harm, prosperity for the family and so forth. A Chinese Christian said to me recently that Christianity had 'taken religion out of the home and put it into the Church'—so far as true (and it largely is so) a most serious indictment. While the simple rites referred to above are still practised in innumerable Chinese homes, a blow has been struck at them the full effects of which may not be felt for a generation.

I am not contending that, in the present day, the Church is the chief factor in this process of disintegration. That she is one factor, an important one, can scarcely be denied. Others have gone much further. Nothing, as it seems to me, did more to discredit the communist movement in Central China two years ago than the fear that the whole family idea was in danger of crumbling at its touch, that new and wild ideas of the relation of the sexes, utterly repugnant to the finer instincts of China, were at work to pull down and scatter to the winds the building of so many generations. Be that as it may, there is in process a change so profound in the socio-economic foundations of China's life that many are deeply disturbed, not seeing whereunto this thing may grow. Here is a call to the Christian Church, accentuated by the fact that it has had a definite share in creating the situation.

In order to make any worthy contribution to the solution of this problem, the Christian forces need to face it with much more seriousness than they have hitherto displayed.

Travelling up and down the country in the last few years, I have found scarcely any problem more frequently brought up by Chinese pastors and others. They are aware that the Christian countries have developed a home life very different in many ways from that which has been characteristic of China. The dissolution of the latter is taking place before their eyes. They look wistfully to the West. Among the questions to be answered are such as the following: What are the essential differences between the varied conceptions of the family and how far are they due to different social needs, economic conditions, religious conceptions and so on? What are the values in China's family system which should be preserved, and how far is it possible to preserve them at this period of change? In what way can Christian ideas of home life be introduced without wholesale disintegration of previous habits, and what has the Christian religion to say about sex relations, and parent and child relations, which is distinctive and valuable for China? Can religious practices used in Chinese homes be Christianized, and if so which and how? In addition to seeking the answers to these and similar questions information should be gathered along various specific lines which may show what is happening in various places and among various groups, and what is being done, with what success, to meet the situation.

It may be said that we are dealing here with a matter so far-reaching in its effects and so complex in itself that all we can do is to watch developments; in fact, that any attempt to guide them is presumptuous and may prove to be disastrous even when we most wish to be helpful. Nevertheless it must be urged that the permeation of all life by the principles of Jesus would seem to include this aspect, and that any honest and painstaking effort to discover and apply those principles will in the end be constructive in its net effect. Certainly if the Church is to show herself able to give moral guidance upon a vital national problem, here is a sphere where she should be particularly active and

where, as all will agree, Jesus Christ has during the centuries come to take a place of great significance for human development.

III

Closely related to the problem of the family is that of the new social and industrial order which must emerge out of the present confusion. The growth of western industrialism in China has only begun, and there can be no doubt that great strides will be made in the next fifty years. Reconstruction in China is largely concerned with the financial foundations of the new national state and with the improvement of transport facilities. Recently a series of startling posters was issued by the military academy in Nanking showing the contrast between China and other nations in such matters as mileage of roads and railways and telegraphs, number of motor cars and so forth. The wide use of such posters indicates China's sense of her weakness in these fundamental services, and the desire of the leaders to make rapid progress. How soon or how rapidly such development may take place is dependent upon other conditions, and in particular upon the avoidance of civil war and the power to raise fresh capital. But the constructive phase is claiming attention which was recently concentrated upon denunciation of ' unequal treaties ' and war-lords.

A year or two ago it was not so much the practical tasks of this kind that were in the mind of the people as the deeper problem of the kind of social order that China would adopt and work out in her new industrialization. Communism threw down a challenge and made an appeal to many young Chinese. Not only so, it succeeded in calling forth a degree of moral enthusiasm that put the Christian to shame. Many communists met their death with a confidence and a joy that stirred others, even among those who saw their fate, to follow in their steps. Far and wide was spread the belief that the new nationalism would bring

with it the removal of old grievances and the establishment of social justice. Of course this propaganda was associated with a preaching of class-division and class-war which was not only evil but also something new in China. Many flocked into the workers' and peasants' unions. Strikes were taking place every day and the demands were often extravagant and such as would, if granted, destroy the industry concerned.

All this has changed. Communists there still are, but they are compelled to work underground. The labour bureau of the present Government is finding it hard enough to develop its more timid plans, and still harder to secure any enforcement of them. In what direction is China to look for a new impetus and more courageous and sounder thinking on those questions? It is here that the Christian Church ought to be in a position to help, so that all that is good in the old order may, as far as possible, be preserved; all that is fine in the new passion for social justice be harnessed to purposes which are worth while; and all the wealth of experiment by Christians in other lands be brought into contribution for China's use to-day. It is quite possible for this constructive task either to fall into the hands of those who are dominated by purely material and economic aims, or to be spoiled by reckless experiments and embittered by unnecessary class struggles. Between these two dangers the Christian group should find a service in steering young China towards bold and constructive policies inspired by a sense of human values and reached through fellowship instead of through conflict.

In the last few years a considerable mass of material bearing on industrial and social conditions has been gathered, and the Christian colleges, the Y.M.C.A., Y.W.C.A. and the National Christian Council have been foremost in this collection of data. Individual Chinese Christians are contributing in different fields. But the work is small indeed and scattered, and a much greater concentration of attention upon it is called for. There is here an opportunity for clear thinking and for leadership, which cannot last long in a field

where grave decisions must be reached within a short space of time. Dr Sun Yat-sen's dream of 'using capitalism to establish socialism' may seem a wild one; but what is the alternative? Capital China demands and must have if she is to open up her great resources. Can the Christian forces look on complacently and see that capital used to establish capitalism as we know it in the West? It requires some deep insight and some brave actions if this result is to be avoided; and whence should these come if not from men and women who have caught the Spirit of Christ?

IV

The two remaining questions are best handled together as they are so closely inter-related. I refer, on the one hand, to the development of a sound patriotism and on the other hand to the moral and religious sanctions needed for the national movement. During recent years nationalism has come to be one of the watchwords of young China. It is one of the famous 'three principles.' It has entered into the mind of the leaders as an absorbing passion. When Tagore visited China about four years ago his reception was, to say the least, lukewarm in many quarters, because he dared to be a critic of the ultra-nationalism that he saw. He was felt to be suffering from limitations as the member of a 'subject race' and he found his stay distinctly unpleasant. Young China has reacted violently to the propaganda in which foreign aggression has been stressed, and to the pictures, vividly drawn, of other countries, notably Britain and Japan, draining the life-blood of the country, crushing the helpless Chinese and so forth. In Dr Sun's own lectures, so widely published and studied, there is a constant reiteration of this theme, and there can be no question that much of the patriotism of China to-day draws its strength from a hate-psychology.

This is not said in criticism of the leaders who have found a weapon ready to their hand and have used it no

whit more unscrupulously than war propaganda was used in Europe during the Great War. Has intense patriotism ever been nourished on anything but a sense of danger and fear which generally has issued in positive hatred? Yet without venturing to criticize, one may see wherein lies the peril of such a course. That the Chinese people need to be lifted up to a higher loyalty to the nation as a whole cannot be questioned if we regard patriotism in any sense as a virtue. Clan-loyalty and the provincial spirit have long split the nation and made it impossible to secure a unified and honest government controlled by men who would put the needs of the whole community above lesser claims. The generation of this higher loyalty has been exceedingly difficult among a people so scattered, so illiterate and with such strong counter loyalties. Long continuance of a foreign rule, meekly accepted by the masses, has deepened the difficulty. The reverence of Dr Sun, the welcome to the communists, the propaganda against 'unequal treaties' must all be read in the light of this necessity.

Can the small Christian group do anything towards basing patriotism on a firmer foundation? In the light of the feeble Christian witness in war-time in western lands we may well question the possibility. It is, however, significant that a number of leading Chinese Christians have been foremost in trying to create a better feeling, especially between China and Japan; that a movement such as the Institute of Pacific Relations has owed so much of its leadership in China to Christians; and that while the Churches have been eager to identify themselves with the national movement, a close fellowship has been maintained between foreign and Chinese elements in the Christian movement.

This constructive task, in the building up of a new nation, needs, however, something more than the 'gospel of nationalism'—even if that be purged of unworthy elements. There is an increasing conviction among thoughtful Chinese that the problems confronting their country can only be solved as the moral life of the people is deepened and

strengthened. To a large extent the old Confucian system has lost its former power. Its moral sanctions are to be found in a deep-rooted tradition, an attitude towards the venerable past which is rapidly yielding before the forward-looking spirit of to-day. The strength of the moral system of old China lay largely in the fact that it dealt in a practical way with actual human relationships, and showed how morality applied to politics as well as to every other sphere of human activity. The preaching of a Christian ethic that calls for withdrawal from the world is peculiarly inappropriate and perilous in such a situation. Now, as never before in China's history, there comes an urgent call for a constructive moral and spiritual conception related to the whole of life and able to meet the new conditions as they emerge. Can the Christian Church meet this demand ?

It is significant that the needs of the case are driving Chinese leaders to the institution of what might become a new religion—' San-minism.' This word is coined from the original title of Dr Sun's lectures on ' The Three Principles of the People '—the *San Min Chu I.* It stands for the whole series of steps by which these principles and the personality of their great protagonist are being brought into the life of the people. In every official function reverence is paid to the dead leader by the reading of his will, the three ceremonial bows and the silent meditation, as it were ' in his presence.' The principles are taught in every school and the ceremony performed by all once a week. Propaganda of all kinds centres around this man and his ideas. The majestic tomb, the costly road, the national mourning when Chinese of all ages concentrated on the burial rites are all part of a plan which is designed to strengthen the national will and direct it to a common end.

I am far from suggesting that any deliberate attempt is being made to form a new religion or that those who plan these things have deified Sun Yat-sen. Nevertheless it does happen that religious teaching and worship are taken out as ' required ' exercises from all registered schools simul-

taneously with the introduction of this ' required ' ceremony and instruction in the Three Principles. It is strange to see this great democrat honoured by a tomb designed to outshine the glory of the Mings, and placed on higher ground which practically overlooks their tombs, and that in making a road to it thousands were rendered homeless from the very classes whom Dr Sun lived and died to elevate and serve. These incongruities at least suggest a real danger. Will the elevation of this national hero, designed to provide a moral sanction for the new nationalism, in effect become for many a substitute for religion ? Whatever its value to-day, can it possibly replace in authority and ethical value that which is due to a supreme God, the Father of all men and nations, who is revealed to us in the spotless life of Jesus of Nazareth ?

Asking such questions leads one to the obvious conclusion that in this field lies the Church's supreme constructive task. She has no need to question or criticize what is being done to surround the national hero with honour and to enshrine his principles and his memory in the heart of the people. But she has need to give her own message unifying all the peoples of the world and giving a supreme and enduring sanction to the moral standards—such as alone will be enough to make and keep China true to her own highest ideals. Here is the greatest problem with which the Churches in China are faced. By their success or failure in this field must they ultimately be judged.

V

It is no small thing for China that a number of Christian men—far beyond the proportion in the population as a whole—now hold leading positions in the Government. Broadly speaking, it may be said that they owe their position to the fact that the Christian Church, largely through her educational institutions, has put something into their lives which, even at a time of anti-Christian sentiment, cannot

but be recognized and used by the party. It is through personalities that the constructive tasks referred to in this article, and many another, must be done. In church work and in education, through literature and through social effort, these larger objectives must be kept in view. The 'Five-year Movement' inaugurated at the recent annual meeting of the National Christian Council of China in Hangchow is no mere attempt to double the numbers in the Church, though this is greatly desired. It springs from a conviction that the Church must be equipped to-day for her mission to the nation, that a vastly larger number of persons who have the spirit of Christ and are indeed His men can be used during this period of reconstruction, and that only by seeing clearly what Christ is and what He can bring to China and by unswerving devotion to Him can the men and women of the new China give the best to their country. For such a movement, therefore, in this great day of opportunity there is need to pray in every land. How China passes through the next few years is important not for her only but for all the world. The Christian group in China, small as it certainly is, may have much to do in helping towards the right development of the country. She has leaders of great promise, but they are too few, and even when we see and appreciate their great qualities we cannot but ask, 'Who is sufficient for these things?' May they find in these days that their sufficiency is of God.

HENRY T. HODGKIN

DR KAGAWA AND 'THE KINGDOM OF GOD MOVEMENT'

By MICHIO KOZAKI, B.D.

DR KAGAWA'S social and industrial welfare work in Japan has become known all over the world. Since June 1928 he has been occupied almost entirely in evangelism, and in the early summer of the present year his suggestions as to methods of evangelism were adopted as the plan of the whole Church in Japan for a nation-wide campaign, by conferences held with Dr Mott and officially by the National Christian Council.

This article is an endeavour to show what are these methods of evangelism, and what are the implications and probable outcome of this movement.

The central passion of Kagawa San's life is for redemption. This was exercised through personal work for individuals during the first four or five years of his life in the slums of Shinkawa, Kobe, when his church-settlement methods were crystallized. To him the Church with its active evangelism is from first to last a settlement, and the settlement always a church—love to the uttermost carried into action for the neediest of human beings. Settlements in Kobe, Osaka and Tokyo, and much rural evangelism to-day bear witness to this principle, while more than thirty employed workers and a great host of volunteers are striving in discipleship to Kagawa to live it out daily.

After two years of study at Princeton, a time for meditation and perspective, Kagawa returned to Kobe and began to organize the natural groups of the slum-dwellers and factory labourers, which inevitably meant labour unions. He had discovered that one individual working for individuals could not, single-handed, save society. So

from 1917 onwards he has been organizing labour unions, until now the Japan Federation of Labour bears a partially Christian complexion due to the efforts of Kagawa and other Christians, and the labour movement is well-grounded as moderate, constructive and parliamentary, in spite of continual agitation on the part of those who hope for violent revolution.

The study of social conditions in the slums led Kagawa back to their sources in the poverty and bankruptcy of the farmers in the rural districts. Fifty per cent of the eighty-three millions of the population of Japan is engaged in farming. Each farmer has but two and a half acres, and must pay to his landlord an average of fifty per cent of his meagre harvest. He must provide his own farm implements and fertilizer. His efforts to do collective bargaining with his landlord to change these impossible conditions are often met by a rural lock-out—the revocation of the right to cultivate the land his forefathers have tilled for centuries. Bankrupt farmers drift like a laden river down to the slums from the destitute country districts. An agrarian revolution was impending when, in 1921, Kagawa brought seventy-two delegates from thirty-four provinces in Japan to his little slum chapel, and organized them into a Farmers' Union, in the Kobe Y.M.C.A., to work for rent-reduction and the abolition of the feudal power of the landlords to forbid right of cultivation. Kagawa's principle is to organize each group that needs reconstruction, and to shepherd it through the trying period of adolescence, to discipline in a fatherly way its tendency to over-radicalism, and to bring it out into a settled stability of constructive maturity, of moderate but adequate and powerful action. Give the destitute and wellnigh desperate farmers a few more years, to attain the age of the movement of the city labourers, and they are likely to be their equals in reliability.

From 1923 onward Dr Kagawa may fairly be said to have been organizing the Government itself for social service. His prompt and effective relief work after the earthquake

was discovered to be the solution of the urgent problem of how to deal with radical labourers in industrial districts, and secured him instant official recognition. He refused a tempting offer of a government position and salary, but consented to be a volunteer worker on a commission if it could be organized to suit him. From that time he has been continuously on one or another government commission, such as the one for economic reconstruction which was chaired by the Premier and has had such good results in the recovery of the nation after the earthquake devastation. At the time of writing he is on the commission on employment, studying how to help the 783,000 who migrate annually from the farms to the cities, and especially how to alleviate the condition of the 330,000 of these who are young girls going to the factories. A visit to the Social Bureau of the Government convinces one of the universal veneration for this short and stocky Christian, with his tendency to say anything he pleases and have it heeded and followed.

Recently the writer made such a visit, to hear (and later to report to the missionaries working in the Loo Choo Islands) Kagawa's report to the Head of the Relief Department of the Government. On his recent trip to the Islands Kagawa had discovered a fossil dinosaur, but he did not mention that to us while making his report in Tokyo. It was of the people he spoke and of their spiritual and economic salvation, so closely interwoven, and he urged the starting of industrial schools for them in which the Christian religion should be strongly taught along with handicrafts. 'All the rest of us have given up the Loo Choo Islands as hopeless,' said the former governor; 'no one else sees them as you do, and that they have a real hope of recovery. You must broadcast your ideas and observations through the press and give them publicity enough to change public opinion, and meanwhile I will try to work out your plans with others here.' Baptists and Methodists are working among the natives in the Loo Choo Islands, and Kagawa San urges their co-operation with the Government

in establishing industrial and Bible schools, and also medical missions. The natives are so poor that they can live on ten sen, or less than five cents, a day. Expenses would be at a minimum, and the appeal is great for conditions are deplorable. There is a population of 23,000 men and 33,000 women, of whom 3700 are prostitutes. Kagawa San and the Head of the Relief Department talked of starting the cultivation of olives as an industrial relief measure. This is being carried on in some parts of the Japanese mainland.

The milkman at the foot of the hill, from whom I get my daily supply, has just remarked, ' I met Kagawa once,' and with pride explained that the meeting had been in company with one of the proletarian candidates newly elected to the City Assembly of Tokyo. The milkman's is a Buddhist family, hitherto untouched by Christianity, but tracts written by Kagawa for the present campaign are being read with appreciation and the door is opening. Part of this government work now being accomplished by Kagawa San is the organizing of the new ten million voters under manhood suffrage.

Owing to the agitations of those working for violent revolution, there was a temporary disruption of the first organization of the total farmer-labour forces into a political party. But there are now signs of re-amalgamation, and Kagawa, who will not take political office, no matter how often urged, and who refuses to join any one of the sub-divided proletarian parties, says, ' I will be their servant ' whenever they are willing to become re-united. Meanwhile, municipal elections in Tokyo and Osaka, on February 26th and June 1st, 1929, afforded opportunity for the election of seven proletarian City Council members in the one and thirteen in the other city. Child welfare, sanitation, prohibition, abolition of licensed quarters, better labour conditions and other improvements are being introduced, and the new mayor of Tokyo made it plain on taking office that he would have nothing to do with the system of geisha dinners at which public business formerly was transacted.

A young man like Kagawa San, and working for a young city rising out of the ruins of the earthquake devastation, the mayor has asked Kagawa to be head of Tokyo's Social Bureau. This Kagawa has refused for the sake of nation-wide evangelism, but has consented to be an adviser. 'Now I can put in as many as a hundred day nurseries where working mothers need them,' he said recently with satisfaction, 'and a number of other features I have had in mind since the earthquake'; and he has just asked that letters be written 'to all the National Christian Councils in the whole world' for reports of what is being done in their countries in social service, especially in regard to good housing and juvenile protection. These reports, if promptly received, will contribute to the building of a better Tokyo—and a better Orient.

Kagawa has been working for social redemption through the Government ever since the time, in 1923, when his friends asked him to organize a political study club to prepare for the future manhood suffrage. As the extremists had all fled from Tokyo just after the earthquake, this political study club prospered. And later Kagawa went to England to study the methods of the British Labour Party, now in power, putting them into immediate practice in the strenuous months of 1925–26 which saw the organization of the first farmer-labour party. The tale is not yet finished.

But what has all this to do with the Church, and with nation-wide evangelism? Just this: that the time has come now, after his organization of labour and the farmers and their relation to Government, for Dr Kagawa to mobilize the forces of the Church for its main task of redemption. As far back as 1914, when still only twenty-six years old, Kagawa organized an Order of the Friends of Jesus, something like the Christian Endeavour Society, aiming to help the young people in and outside the churches to more Christian depth and breadth—depth of spiritual attainment and breadth of social vision and service. In Yokohama many of the younger deacons of the various churches are

members of this ' Francisco-Jesuit-Protestant ' order, which makes loyalty to the Church one of its cardinal principles and lowly service in the spirit of St Francis another, and the carrying of the monastic values into common life its main objective. Piety, labour, service, purity and peace are its five principles, and the twenty-five points of its practical social program cover similar ground to those of the social creed of the churches of the Federal Council in the United States of America. The thirteen hundred members of this Order will make their contribution to the movement just starting, especially in places where there is a good understanding between them and the local pastors; but they were organized separately and distinctly, and their Order is not identical with the Church. The time has definitely come when Dr Kagawa must begin to build together the Church of Japan.

In Tokyo after the earthquake Kagawa preached in most of the various churches on one hundred and twenty-four consecutive evenings, about three nights to each congregation, resulting in 5700 seekers for Christ. Returning from Tokyo and the political arena in 1926, he lost no time in organizing a ' Society for Christianizing Osaka,' and had some five thousand decisions enrolled in and about this greatest city of Japan in the succeeding months. Increasingly he has been called upon for evangelism in churches all over the Empire. For more than a decade these requests have been coming in. Everywhere he goes he commands the largest audiences. In general, he does not go to any city until the pastors of all the churches are ready to unite in the meetings.

The slogan of ' One Million Souls for Christ ' has been in the mind of Kagawa since his visit to France in 1925, when he saw the million Huguenots there, able to hold their own and develop their institutions and culture and guide the development of France, in spite of being only a small minority. This sight fired his imagination with the vision of Protestant Christianity in Japan, able to be a central

factor in social redemption if it could attain the minimum number of a million baptized members. Then and only then would a Christian university and an adequate educational system, Christian economics and a Christian civilization become securely established.

This slogan gradually possessed Kagawa more and more until a time of spiritual stress in Passion Week of 1928, when the rival claims of the settlements which he has all along supported by his own literary writing, and of various other localized needs, were disputing in his mind with the claims of nation-wide evangelism, to which he was feeling a divine call. He felt keenly the impossibility of leaving his thirty and more employed workers to starve, by dropping the productive pen which supported them, to go forth and win the million in fields dead ripe for the harvest. At this time of special prayer for guidance a heavenly visitation was vouchsafed him, bringing ecstasy and clarification in a night vision. He was told to go forth and win the million; that God would provide for the settlements and rural work; that the help needed would come from abroad; and that a foreign missionary associated with him was praying. True to the vision, Kagawa made his plans to go forward in the new venture of faith, though he preached his Easter sermon with tears streaming, and still in terrible anxiety for his co-workers. By friends and through miracles the funds have been provided, and the year's experience from June 1928 to June 1929 has convinced church leaders. When Dr Mott was in Japan the conferences gathered to meet him accepted Kagawa's plan of evangelism, their acceptance being later officially ratified by the National Christian Council.

Here we stand now, and almost everything remains to be accomplished. The plan of evangelism contains the concentrated experience of twenty years of Christian campaigning. It contains many social features, some of which are being demonstrated in Kagawa's various settlements, some of which are yet to be visualized. The plans are not yet

intelligible to the churches and need to be interpreted, line upon line, precept upon precept. The National Christian Social Problems Conference, a sort of a Japanese C.O.P.E.C., held in Tokyo in August, began this process.

Dr Kagawa says that the present Church in Japan is still too Confucian in complexion, for it was chiefly the educated who responded to Christian teaching in the early Meiji Era (education was Confucian in those days). The word for 'church' in Japanese is 'teaching society,' reminding one strongly of the groups of reverent pupils who sat at the feet of the Confucian scholars—a good beginning, surely, in approaching Christian truth. But Kagawa says that such a Church will not win the manual labourers. It is too cold and limited by class. The labourers need a shepherd of souls, and bodies too, who will go out from his sanctum continually to visit the sick and comfort the dying, to guide their perplexities and meet their emergencies, and organize his little flock to help one another. Love rather than teaching must be the motive force of such a Church. Mutual aid societies must flourish, economic salvation be provided through co-operative societies; and church finances must not burden the backs and blind the eyes of pastor and people as at present, sapping the energies needed for widespread evangelism and an outgoing of service to the masses. In some way the early fellowship of the Christians—the brotherhood of the early Church, the *Κοινωνία* (Acts II and IV)—must be re-established.

His own churches are indeed educational centres *par excellence*. But the Church must not stop with the function of religious education. We must restore the full meaning of the *ἐκκλησία*, the early Church which became so strong a 'love-society' as to conquer, stabilize and outlive the Roman Empire. We must collectively become again the true Body of Christ, the Corpus Christi of which Paul wrote and which Plato dimly approached. So while Kagawa evangelizes he preaches, in early morning Bible studies intended mainly for church members, the recapturing of

the ideal of the Church, to make it able to receive the masses.

Again, although individual Christian leaders have given the consent of their consciences to the idea of Dr Kagawa, we must now shoulder the heavy spiritual burden of our unhappy denominational divisions. Denominationalism is strong in the young Church of Japan, which is glorying in its new-found individualism, and transferring the recent feudalism to as yet half-understood Christianity. What can we say when the missionaries themselves introduced the denominations, and in some cases even forced them on groups of believers who wished from the start to be one Church of Christ in Japan? Unless the new plans for nation-wide evangelism can work with denominational aspirations, they will not be likely to succeed. Not in a spirit of domination, but in the utmost humility of a willing servant the movement must offer itself to the denominations—especially to the 'big three,' the Presbyterians, Methodists and Congregationalists—discovering by prolonged effort how to serve them. Not until they are officially united in it will its task be fairly begun.

'I will be their servant,' Kagawa has been saying all along to labourers and farmers, to the Government and to local churches. At great sacrifice of his own plans he co-operated last year with the nation-wide evangelism of the National Christian Council. His spirit and attitude must fully permeate all the activities and even all the thoughts of the new joint Committee of the Council's Commission on Evangelism, and the executive of Kagawa Co-operators. In fact, what is needed is that the church leaders themselves should go to school to Kagawa for a period of preparation before beginning the semi-official phase of the campaign in January 1930. 'I will be their servant,' must be the attitude of the Committee and of the Council toward the denominations. It is not sufficient to secure the attendance at committee meetings of individuals who represent them.

If the Committee should try to control the denominations

and bring them into the nation-wide evangelism movement, it would be doomed to failure. Whereas if it goes to the denominations, discovers what are their plans of evangelism, genuinely tries to assist them into closer relation with Kagawa and into fulfilment of their aims, it may become one of the most effective factors in paving the way for the United Church of Japan, of which young Christians are dreaming.

Although 'a million souls' is Dr Kagawa's slogan, his objective is the establishment of the kingdom of God in Japan and in the whole world, and the Committee has already adopted the title of 'The Kingdom of God Movement.' Numerous details remain to be worked out; for instance, the publication of Christian books, not merely by the thousand as at present, but by the million, and in 10 sen (5 cent) editions. A million copies of Kagawa's latest, *New Life through God*, is about to appear in a 10 sen edition. 'My prayer is that five million may be sold,' said Kagawa on his recent visit to Tokyo; 'there are 2,800,000 young men and 2,300,000 girls in the organizations of young people in the country districts. All are wide open to the gospel now. We must sell five million copies of our Christian books from now on.' And Dr Kagawa, as well as other young pastors, is contemplating the issue of all the Christian classics, such as the *Imitation of Christ* and *Pilgrim's Progress*, in such cheap, million editions. Newspapers must be flooded with the gospel. They are eager for Christian articles, and while country newspapers take such material and print it gratis, great city papers pay well for articles from outstanding Christians.

A worker has been added to Dr Kagawa's staff for organizing Christian education for those who decide for Christ in the meetings. Experiments must be made in ways and means. Kagawa San's plan is to hold 'gospel schools,' somewhat like schools of missions, for two or three nights a week during three months, the faculty to consist of local pastors, all serving freely, and the curriculum to

include Bible study, church history from the point of view of the brotherhood movements, Christian doctrine and so on. Others advocate correspondence courses. The need for co-ordination and organization is infinite.

Kagawa is working more and more with the missionaries. Some this year have held 'gospel schools' for the farmers, resulting in Dr Norman's and Mr Stone's new message about agricultural missions. Others are co-operating in work for special occupational groups, such as nurses. It is hoped to relate the nurses' work with the international St Barnabas' Guild for Nurses, for Kagawa San loves guilds and internationalism.

'Except ye turn, and become as little children.' 'Ye must be born again'—the challenge of old to Nicodemus comes again to the finest and most truth-seeking of modern church leaders. Both they and the cosmopolitan masses must enter 'The Kingdom of God Movement' by the same door. The Church of Japan must become meek and lowly like its Master, surrendering the lust for power so continually asserting itself in denominational rivalry, and even in inter-denominational activities. As the Federation of Labour, as the Farmers' Union, and even as the national Government, it is destined to sit at the feet of its modern prophet and learn the lore of 'love in action' from him. How can these things be? By a fresh Pentecost, and by the contagion of saintly personality. If renascent Europe glowed with the spirit of Francis of Assisi, renascent Japan can also be glorified by the Spirit of God working through His servant, Kagawa.

MICHIO KOZAKI

MEDICAL MISSIONARY POLICY AND THE HEALTH OF MISSIONARIES

I

By J. G. VAUGHAN, M.D.

THERE was a time when a considerable proportion of missionaries going to the West Coast of Africa or to the Congo, or taking up work in South China or in the Netherlands Indies, were invalided home; the death rate also was exceedingly high. In those days the watchword, 'Let a thousand fall before Africa be given up,' was a thrilling and proper utterance for one who was himself an early, and probably unnecessary, martyr to his great ideal. For it is certain that Cox, the hero of that utterance, would not to-day be accepted by the most lenient of medical examiners for mission boards. To-day the watchword that should be sounded in the hearts of missionary administrators is, rather, 'Let Africa be won without unnecessary loss of a single life.'

Melville Cox was apparently afflicted with pulmonary tuberculosis before he thought of going to Africa. He had been fighting it with some show of success for several years, but still was weak and worn when he received his appointment to Liberia. It was an invalid that his church leaders put into the hands of God to struggle for Him against the devils and principalities and powers of benighted Africa.

He nearly died on the four months' voyage out. Finally he reached Liberia on March 8th, 1833, greatly weakened by the voyage but thankful to have survived that strenuous four months. On April 12th he had his first attack of African fever. He lived on rice morning, noon and night, because he would not indulge himself on the beef, mutton,

goat and pork which were available but expensive. In May and June repeated attacks beset him with brief respites, and on July 21st, four and a half months after his arrival, this first missionary of his Church to foreign lands laid down his valiant life. With what mingled feelings we read his story, thrilled by his courage yet questioning the judgment of those who appointed him to his grave.

Although the case of Melville Cox cannot be considered typical of the total group of early missionaries, yet it does suggest an all-too-frequent error of pioneer missionary administration. There prevailed too often the conviction that if one's heart was deeply moved, therein alone lay the call of the Lord, and if the Lord called a man, He would preserve and largely provide for him. Occasionally entire families, under the impulse of some fervid camp-meeting address, would be transplanted from their native land to the jungles of Africa. Terrifically high death rates and tragic losses resulted.

All hail to those heroic martyrs and saints! May their spirit of courage and devotion be with us yet. But in the mercy of God the sacrifices of those days have been largely eliminated through the revelations of preventive medicine which God has enabled us to bring to the service of man. Now little children can be reared in the interior of Africa and can enjoy health equal to or better than that of many children in the West. The fevers of the West Coast of Africa, through long study, have revealed their deadly secrets and are no longer called 'West African fever.' The dysenteries of the Orient have been studied in thousands of cases until gradually their etiology has become clear, and more adequate treatment both preventive and curative has been evolved. Malaria, one of the greatest causes of disability in the early years of missionary history, has been curbed by a better understanding of its cause and control. Blackwater fever is almost unknown in missionary families to-day. The deadly yellow fever has been gradually circumscribed into smaller and smaller areas and its menace

checked. Cholera and bubonic plague are rare in the health records of modern missionaries.

Great progress has thus been made, but to preserve for the future the progress we have made in the past requires the price of eternal vigilance and the exercise of more than ordinary care and intelligence. Bright as appears this picture of advance in health, the sad fact remains that deadly foes to health still lurk in many mission lands.

In 1923 a study of this question was made among a staff of 1200 missionaries, 560 of whom reported all causes of ill-health during a two-year period. It was surprising to learn that the greatest loss of time was due to the nervous group of disabilities. The loss from nervous causes reached 24 per cent of the total loss. The combined respiratory diseases caused 23 per cent of the ill health.

It is especially the preventable diseases in this list of disabilities which arrest our attention. The financial losses with which they still burden us reach considerable figures. This one missionary board was paying $5000 a year for the ravages of tuberculosis, merely for lost time of its workers; and large sums also for malaria, typhoid fever and dysentery. The total time loss for all causes of sickness averaged twenty days per year for every man and woman on the staff, and represented a financial loss to this board of between $75,000 and $80,000 annually.

In August 1927 a study was completed of 200 missionaries who had arrived on furlough in the United States during the previous six months. They came from 28 different countries, but the majority (59 per cent) were from China and India. The length of missionary service of each individual prior to this arrival in the United States, varied from 1 year to 44 years.

At the time of arrival on furlough not one of these 200 missionaries was reported by his examining physicians to be in 'excellent' health; 80 per cent were in 'good' health and 20 per cent were in 'fair' or 'poor' health. Among the various types of disability, nervous fatigue

symptoms were predominant, and were found in 26 per cent. Lesions in the lungs were found in 18½ per cent, but in nearly all the cases were mild or inactive. Two persons had active tuberculosis; 13 per cent showed heart lesions; 16 per cent had suffered from malaria; while 30 per cent had suffered from alimentary diseases.

Here was a group of 200 people, only 32 of whom had suffered from malaria, and only 61 from dysentery. Most of these attacks had been mild. How different this record from one that might have been reported in the earlier days of missionary service. Yet even these figures indicate much too great a disability resulting from such preventible diseases.

In our desire to discover the measures necessary to attain better health results in the coming decade than our missionaries have experienced during the past, careful study should be given, among other factors, to the methods of acclimatization and initiation into the full burdens of missionary life; and to the routine health safeguards on the field, as found in sanitary houses, wise distribution of work, adequate summer vacations, sufficiently frequent furloughs, and periodic physical examinations with necessary preventive inoculations.

Much needs to be done in the way of co-operative effort that requires group conviction. Some leaders on the field as well as at the home base are quite apathetic to this need, and their apathy seriously blocks effective team work. They fail to recognize how much their thoughtlessness, indifference and non-co-operation are responsible for deaths and invalidism among their fellow-workers.

One seasoned veteran leader in his missionary group told me that he never boiled his drinking water when touring his circuit, but drank the unboiled and unfiltered water of the streams. It is easy to understand that such experience carries weight with some young missionary who is not so lucky and succumbs to dysentery. The home of this veteran, in a port city where missionaries frequently

stopped *en route*, was a source of sickness to many a visitor.

It is of further significance regarding carelessness and neglect on the field that of the 200 missionaries, 36 per cent had neglected definite instructions regarding typhoid re-inoculations once in two years, and 26 per cent had neglected smallpox revaccination.

An important starting point for more effective health conservation is a wiser selection of candidates. Appraisal of the health possibilities of a candidate involves much greater detail and elaborate observation and record to-day than it did fifteen or twenty years ago. The modern blank for recording a physical examination has about fifty items of information for the physician to supply after the examinee has himself previously supplied answers to about seventy-five questions. Constantly new questions are being added to the list as new means of health appraisal are discovered and made available. If we can in the future avoid misfits and temperamental abnormalities we shall save much of the loss at present suffered from the neuroses.

Unnecessary tragedies of death and disease on the mission field have not yet reached the irreducible minimum. A study of 140 deaths among the missionaries of one society since 1900, from causes originating on the field, shows a distribution of the health hazards in missionary life that deserves careful consideration. Of the total death losses, 69, or 49 per cent, were due to the infections generally regarded as the more preventible of the diseases; but the largest loss from a single cause, and the most pathetic, is the 15 deaths recorded consequent on pregnancy and childbirth. All but two of these pitiful tragedies occurred during the first five years of missionary service. Every possible, reasonable safeguard should be established to reduce this mortality.

A distressing feature of all the deaths, indeed, is the fact that 42 per cent of them occurred during the first five years of missionary service. This danger period must be

better safeguarded. A slower process of acclimatization, including definite health instruction for hygienic living in the land of adoption, would be a great aid. In the second five-year period 15 per cent of the deaths occurred; 15 per cent in the next ten years; and 28 per cent in the period beyond twenty years.

Great hope for maintenance of personal health lies in the movement in behalf of annual physical examinations. Every missionary should lend personal support to the campaign. The discovery of incipient disease will result in saving many lives. Mission boards should press the campaign until the ideal of a physical examination for every missionary every year is a realized fact.

Although typhoid (enteric) fever is largely eradicated in the West, it still appears in the casualty lists of our missionaries on the field; and in such cases it can practically always be noted that renewal of preventive inoculations has been neglected. In one small field under my observation more than eight cases of typhoid have occurred in five years, and in every case reinoculation within two years, as directed, has not been carried out.

When we compare the medical intelligence and experience of this day with that of 1833 when Melville Cox valiantly dared death, our failures are undoubtedly more blameworthy than the failure of those missionary administrators who appointed him to his all-too-brief service. We plead, therefore, with the older missionary leaders on the field, and with all missionary administrators in the sending countries, to bring missionary policy and practice abreast of the latest and best medical intelligence and to maintain constant alertness. We need vigilant health sentries who are just as watchful before a much-discomfited and fleeing foe as when confronted by a bold and daring enemy. Let us guard the health of our missionaries unceasingly and with increasing vigilance.

J. G. VAUGHAN

II

By E. M. DODD, M.D.

MEDICAL missionaries have a dual responsibility: toward the people of the land, and toward their own associates as health and sanitation officers and family doctors. This is a unique duality in missionary work. The educational or evangelistic missionary is only incidentally concerned with the care of his associates.

The primary object of ministering to the people of the land is reaching an increasingly complex and exacting stage of development in most fields. Steadily rising professional standards are demanded. We can hardly fail to recognize the inevitable trend to a more sophisticated, critical and competing environment as contrasted with the ignorance, deference and unchallenged professional pre-eminence of the past. If our place of professional standing and influence is to be maintained, certain advances have to be made, of which one phase is the staffing of our hospitals and the distribution of our medical personnel. More advanced work means larger staffing, more concentration. A staff of two doctors and one nurse is admittedly the ideal for most of our hospitals.

With regard to the second responsibility of a medical missionary, a strong case can be made out for the principle that all missionary families should be within reasonable reach of competent medical attention. We are not considering emergencies or temporary situations, but average sustained conditions; nor are we considering regions where medical attention for missionaries other than that from their medical associates is available. The discussion, therefore, does not apply with as much force to India and Japan as to China (broadly speaking), Africa, Siam, the Near East and Malaysia. In Latin America we have the sharp contrast between large coastal cities with a well-trained profession, and huge neglected inland areas without medical aid.

The numerical ratio of medical to other missionaries is low. If we think in terms of the average mission station of not more than ten or a dozen, the impression lingers that there is probably less than one doctor per station, and the ratio does not show signs of any immediate marked increase.

What, then, is the best distribution of our medical missionaries ? Which takes precedence—a carefully planned policy for the people of the country, or one of providing a health officer for the missionary body ? Shall the medical work be reasonably free to develop a policy of its own as a co-ordinate and equal entity in the missionary scheme, or shall the distribution of medical men be primarily conditioned by the location of other kinds of work and workers ? Is not a dilemma involved ?

In many organizations and in many places this question will seem merely academic. If the medical personnel in proportion to other work is adequate, as may occasionally be the case, the question has no force. If we are content with one doctor per hospital, it has little force. If we do not believe in medical missionary work as integral, but simply as subsidiary, the question again has no force. But for many organizations and for many areas the question has a definite bearing, especially as new work is contemplated.

For example—to take a fictitious illustration—a mission is considering opening a new station at X. The existing stations at A, B, C and D have each one doctor, with the exception of A, which has recently acquired a second. No families will go to X, an isolated post, without a medical missionary. They have a good case ; the board owes it to them and to its trusteeship to the Church to provide them with this safety factor. But the medical opinion of the mission is that both at A and B there should be at least two doctors, or the work will suffer in quality and influence.

Assuming that there is adequate reason for continuing the medical mission work in A, B, C and D, and meagre prospects of reinforcement, the situation calls for special attention. There are, of course, many places where such

actual problems have not yet arisen; but they are bound to arise, and it is the part of constructive imagination to prepare for them.

A special and exceedingly important, although more limited, application of the question is in connexion with medical education, which may be considered, in the broad sense of the term, the crown of medical missionary work. It is for medicine what the theological school and the lesser grades of evangelical training are to the pastor and the evangelist, or what the university and normal school are for the teaching profession. It is one of the indispensable contributions to eventual devolution. The question is not so much whether there is to be any medical profession in the countries concerned, for there will be some sort of profession eventually, but whether that profession shall be predominantly one of three types: poorly trained in scientific medicine; well trained in scientific medicine, but with no association with religion and with a minimum of ideals; or well trained and with a strong leavening of Christian ideals, including many definite Christian practitioners.

The third is, of course, our aim. We covet the future medical profession of these countries as a friend and ally of the national Church. If we neglect medical education we court the two first alternatives. A good medical school constitutes one of the most exacting tasks in the whole missionary enterprise, and the question of staff at once arises. Shall the medical school have equal claims with other undertakings? Shall its needs be taken into account just as the needs of a seminary when new work is contemplated and the allocation of personnel is being considered? Much could be written on this one phase of the subject of medical distribution as applying to medical education. It is numerically a more limited field than that of the general mission hospitals. There are dozens of hospitals to one medical school. Many boards have no relation with any medical school. In one board, with a

medical personnel of one hundred and thirty, only sixteen are connected with medical schools, and this is probably a high ratio.

That this question of distribution exists can be attested by more than one board. In the case of one large board it was proposed gradually to consolidate the medical work from seven stations to four, feeling that the health of the missionaries could be cared for by nationals or by neighbouring mission hospitals. The suggestion brought a forceful protest from the non-medical missionaries. Their contention was that there would not be adequate medical care in the three medically relinquished stations.

To take another situation: In a certain mission in mandated African territory there is a decided shortage of medical missionaries. The mission has tried to develop a well-thought-out medical policy, centring in a large and well-equipped central hospital to be staffed by two or more doctors. The outlying stations do not look for more than one doctor each. The pressure of appeal for expanding the work of this mission has been almost irresistible; great needs and great response have pressed upon the members of the mission for opening new posts until the line of missionaries has been drawn out to attenuation, and not all the outlying stations, by any means, have even one doctor.

They are faced with a real difficulty. On the one hand are the appealing calls for expansion of the work. On the other are the medical needs of the scattered families and single missionaries, and the desire for the greatest usefulness of the central hospital, together with the improbability of any great additions to the medical force. In this instance not only the question of developing a strong medical unit, but also the adequate care of the missionary staff is at stake. What can they do when more and powerfully appealing calls come to them to go out still further into outlying territory?

I would not for a moment wish to be misunderstood as under-estimating the importance of the function of health

officer and the duty of the medical missionary toward his colleagues. It is essential to guard and strengthen this function. It is vital and it is indispensable; humanly speaking, it undergirds the whole missionary enterprise. But the question is how far to sacrifice the other function of the medical missionary—which after all is his primary one—his work for the people of the land, to the exigencies of a distribution of personnel based on considerations other than those of medical policy. Not that medical policy should be paramount, but that it should be equal and co-ordinate in importance, is my plea.

The official request of the China Medical Missionary Association—that splendid and invaluable body—that missionary organizations should consult its authorized representatives before starting new medical work, has undoubtedly something of this general thesis in mind. It is worth noting that the Baltimore Medical Missions Conference took special cognizance of and heartily endorsed this request.

To sum up: the claims of medical missionary work should be put on an equal footing with other forms of missionary work when new activities are being contemplated or reviewed, in order that the dilemma indicated above may be avoided.

E. M. DODD

THE COURTESY OF GOD

By R. O. HALL

THE story of the world is the story of the courtesy of God. The Bible is the clue to the story. Some signal act in a man's life reveals his heart and inmost character. The work of the great Dutch Masters reveals the soul of Holland. Fra Lippo Lippi was right when he said :

> For, don't you mark ? we're made so that we love
> First when we see them painted, things we have passed
> Perhaps a hundred times nor cared to see ;
> And so they are better, painted. . . .
> . . . Art was given for that ;
> God uses us to help each other so,
> Lending our minds out.[1]

Mr John Galsworthy in the *Forsyte Saga* has revealed for us the heart of the late Victorian era and its change into the post-war world. The Bible reveals to us with all the vividness of a great work of art the heart of God and the secret of His courtesy. The Bible is the saga of the courtesy of God. The missionary movement is its sequel. The *Swan Song* is not yet written to that saga.

Nothing is more amazing to our man-made minds and world-conformed habits of thought than this courtesy of our Creator. Again and again we must go back in humble awe and reverence and worship before it, if our minds are to be transformed into His mind and the missionary movement of our day reflect this amazing courtesy of our God. If we look back from this picture of the divine courtesy to the experience of all that is truest in the manhood He has made, we cannot but find there the footsteps of the same courteous lover and the echoes of the same courteous word.

There is in all true human love a deep reverence for the

[1] Browning, 'Fra Lippo Lippi.'

beloved person. We can see it in a parent refusing to interfere with the growing personality of a beloved child beyond the limits of love's care, love's eager suggesting and love's prayer; or in a man not daring, for years perhaps, to breathe to the woman whom he loves any word which may break in upon the sanctuary of her soul. In this, perhaps, Victorian novelists were truer to life, life at its best, than our modern writers. To-day, in novels at any rate, there is a reckless readiness to thrust oneself in upon another soul. The book deals with the frantic endeavours of adjustment which follow the hasty coupling of the first chapter. The other way, which in human life at its best is the more common way, shows love clothed in a much greater reverence and respect, giving to each side that freedom which comes from the deep courtesy of reverent love.

So it is with our Lord and the humanity He loves, but will not force to love Him back. The devil tempted Him to take mankind by storm. He yearned to gather us under His wing as a hen her chickens. We would not ; so He, too, would not. How often the father of the prodigal son must have yearned to send a servant, to go himself perhaps or to send the older brother, to win the prodigal home again. But he would not. In that deep courtesy of his love he would not press his claim upon the son of his heart.

The Bible shows God to be the same courteous lover of His chosen people. They are His people, the chosen instrument of His purpose for all mankind. It is vital that they should understand, vital that they should respond, but He will not take them by storm. He will not force their love. They are to be His lovers, the bride of His love. But above all things they are to be free, they are to be themselves. Only if they remain free, absolutely their own free selves, can they be His people. If they are to reflect His love and reveal it to the world, they must have the same initiative, the same independence, the same freedom that is His.

It is a story of endless disappointment, of endless refusal,

of back-sliding and waywardness, of little remnants of faithful folk who alone within the whole can understand His heart. Often it is a story of one soul alone who understands—Elijah or Isaiah, Jeremiah or Ezekiel. Sometimes it is one soul seeing so far beyond his time that he must speak in parable, that what he has to say may live to the after ages, that they may hear and understand the message that comes so gently and so patiently from the courtesy of the heart of God. In this way the parable of Job, preserved, perhaps, partly because of the moral it was not meant to teach, still unfolds, to those who seek, more and more of the heart of God, and of the true relation of suffering to goodness and punishment to desert. And the parable of the book of Jonah has been preserved and taught and loved by many because of the wonder of a whale giving back its prey, misunderstood again by an early Christian scribe as a prototype of the three days' tombing of our Lord, but speaking still its true message to the ears of all those who have ears to hear, that behind the world is a courteous lover, an insistent wooer of mankind who willeth that His love should be made known to all men for their redeeming. Whether in Nineveh or Nottingham, in Nanking or in Natal the sign of the prophet Jonah is the same : all men must have the chance to turn to the Father of all—and the most unlikely will often be the first to come home.

The New Testament takes up the same tale. The Incarnation is still in our time incredible because of the gentleness of the courtesy of God. Mary the insignificant, Joseph the simple, Nazareth the despised, Galilee of the Gentiles, Jesus the artisan whose mind was of bullocks and yokes and of the craft of His hands, His schooling only the homely schooling of the village synagogue—these are God's chosen. 'These shall maintain the fabric of the world,' says the writer of the book *Ecclesiasticus*, 'and all their desire is in the handywork of their craft.'

Yet the courtesy of our God speaks to the world through humble folk to show the humility of His own heart and the

courtesy of His love. Mr Hilaire Belloc has captured the spirit of it in his little poem 'Courtesy': [1]

> Of Courtesy it is much less
> Than Courage of Heart or Holiness,
> Yet in my Walks it seems to me
> That the Grace of God is in Courtesy;

and, again, he writes of 'our Little Lord':

> He was so small you could not see
> His large intent of Courtesy.

There is always a great daring about courtesy, a readiness not to be accepted, not to get one's own way. Courtesy does not mind if it is not introduced. In infinite courtesy God Himself came into the world in Jesus. The world's Creator was so small that He escaped the world's notice. But herein was a courtesy so infinite in its depth of love that it reveals His inmost heart.

Some one has suggested that 'God is first power,' and defined power as meaning that God 'can and will realize His purpose.' The purpose is so much a courteous purpose, preferring complete rejection to acceptance which is not whole-hearted, that from another angle one must say God is before all things courtesy. In His courtesy is His power. Rejection of His courteous way is not failure. God cannot fail. He would fail only if He attempted to force acceptance of His love upon His children:

> Of Courtesy it is much less
> Than Courage of Heart or Holiness,
> Yet in my Walks it seems to me
> That the Grace of God is in Courtesy.

The Incarnation compels us continually to think again and to re-examine our accepted standards. The words 'power,' and 'achievement,' and 'purpose' reflect the ordinary successful human being, whether Napoleon, Oliver Cromwell or even W. E. Gladstone. They were men of

[1] In *Verses*, published by Messrs. Duckworth, quoted by permission.

power, men of achievement, men of purpose. Over against them Socrates, Gandhi and Tolstoi, essentially men of courtesy, seem ineffective, less purposeful and in that sense lacking in power and directness. They are like our Lord in their dependence upon the way of courtesy; but they do not give the same impression of purposefulness that is in our Lord's courteous way. His is a courtesy that is less wistful, less plaintive than theirs. It has more directedness. It is a courtesy so determined and unfailing that it reflects the power of the courtesy of the purpose of God.

Mr Belloc at first admits as greater than courtesy that eminent human virtue, courage of heart, and that supreme expression of human goodness, holiness. You see them there, knights of the Round Table. And courtesy you hardly notice—she is but a slip of a beggar maid. Yet in his next sentence the beggar maid is become the queen and the stalwart knights 'Courage of Heart' and 'Holiness' are her devoted courtiers. 'The Grace of God is in Courtesy.' Therein is the revolution that Christ has made for us. Not only courage and holiness but every human virtue remain knights of the Round Table, servants of courtesy, the beggar maid upon the throne. There is a reckless, long-suffering, patient courtesy in the heart of God, and if we miss it we miss the heart of His power and the meaning of His coming to us in human life and finally in His own human form.

So we come to the missionary enterprise, continuing the work of the Incarnation, bound by its very nature to tread the paths which Christ trod, defeating its own end whenever it fails to go His way and His way only. But how seldom does the word 'courtesy' naturally arise in connexion with our movement. We say bluntly we are propagandist. Jesus was a propagandist, but He did not say it bluntly. He was a courteous propagandist.

To our shame it has been true again and again that those to whom we have gone have shown us more courtesy than we have shown them. Enthusiasm, devotion, energy, courage of heart and holiness, all these things seem to us to

matter more than courtesy. We keep courtesy in the kitchen washing dishes. But if we are to do the will of God we must crown her queen again. We are pleased with achievement, with notoriety, with evidence of success, even sometimes with popularity. God understands; He is pleased too. He knows as Jesus knew the joy it brings when the Gospel of Christ is proclaimed upon the housetops and all men hear Him eagerly. But we are far too prone to batter down doors, instead of standing like our courteous Lord, gently knocking and waiting for one to open for Him. We are prone to tread too carelessly upon the sacred things of others. We have an immense conviction of our own rightness and (God forgive us!) of our own importance. But God keeps calling us back to His courteous way, to His patience, His content to wait for years and years and years, His determination that no single soul shall be hustled or hurried or bothered into His kingdom.

And as we steep our soul and mind in the wonder of His courteous wooing of the world down the countless ages of the years we shall find a great content, a great rest and a great peace. And if, numerically, we have no success, we shall at any rate know that the word we have spoken is God's word, the life we have lived is God's life, and the love we have unfolded not our own but the very love of God Himself. Love never faileth. There is no end to love's courtesy and therefore no limit to love's power.

R. O. HALL

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

GAIRDNER OF CAIRO

TEMPLE GAIRDNER OF CAIRO. By CONSTANCE PADWICK. Illustrated. London: S.P.C.K. 7s. 6d. 1929.

MISS PADWICK has made a notable contribution to biographical literature in her life of Canon Gairdner. There is not much to tell of world movements or of romantic missionary adventure, but there is of a life painfully, joyously and abundantly spent in the quest of God, and in the service of the Kingdom. No one can read this vivid volume without seeing Gairdner live again in its pages, and without feeling the thrill of the greatest of all adventures. You see his abrupt, absent-minded entrance into the society of others, his infectious enthusiasms, his encompassing affection, his boisterous laughter, and the glowing mysticism and poetry and music of his mind. Through diary and letter windows are opened into the secret longings of a soul whose centre is Christ, and for whom all the world is transfigured by Christ.

He was not a man whose personality had become known by public speech, though at the Glasgow Congress of 1922, one of the greatest impressions was made by his address on 'Brotherhood: Islam or Christ's.' His staccato sentences, uttered with a great passion and envisioning a great ideal, made many a man think furiously. But he was known to a great circle by three of his books which commanded a large sale. There was his *Douglas Thornton*, a living study of a burning personality; his *Edinburgh, 1910*, which made the World Missionary Conference a dramatic scene with real actors for thousands who were not there; and his *Reproach of Islam*, which through study groups turned the attention of the churches of Britain and America to the Mohammedan world as it had never been turned before. The wonderful thing that is revealed in this biography is the speed with which each of these books was produced. Possibly that added to their influence, for the pages are lit with the fire of his own flaming soul, before they had been dimmed by a cool deliberation and more careful style.

These are the books best known to the home reader, but in the

appendix the list of his books, articles and pamphlets in English and Arabic extends to nearly four pages.

Temple Gairdner was the son of a famous physician, Sir William Gairdner, Professor of Medicine in Glasgow University, a man of so wide culture that Principal Caird declared he could have filled with equal distinction any one of half a dozen other chairs in arts and theology. From him Temple received his habit of honest thinking, the honour he gave to truth and his passion for music.

His mother gave him the gift of laughter, and a strong dramatic instinct. For his home and his parents a love and devotion shines brightly in his letters, and though the family must have wondered at the religious extravagances of his Oxford days, his home-coming at vacation brought merriment and boisterous fun to every one, and filled the house with music. For effervescing joy was ever the immediate expression of his deeper fellowship with Christ. Now it was the waves that danced in the light of God ; now the flowers of the garden that sang His praises ; now ' a bush of privet smelling divinely ' ; now ' the pure air from the mountains, scented with wet bracken, heather and myrtle, and all things clean and health-giving ' all shouted ' Glory ' ; now it was some great music that ' shook him like an aspen leaf,' and opened to him glories in Christ undreamed of ; or later the dancing of Pavlova and her troupe, which seemed to him a joyful thing of truth and genuine beauty.

For on the day when the wonder of a life yielded to God burst upon him, the text he set up in his room in Oxford and carried with him to Cairo was, ' Behold, I make all things new.' The world was brighter, the children of men more lovable, duty more joyous, because Christ had interpreted all. Yet it must not be thought that all this came to him easily and without effort. Music filled his soul, because he had carefully prepared a place for it, for he loved it. His high place in Arabic scholarship was won by arduous study and years of concentrated effort. And that joyful, patient, humble saintliness which blessed those who knew him, grew through hours of discipline and humiliation and long vigils of prayer. For the earnest missionary there is no more stimulating message in this thrilling volume than the glimpses that are given of the agonizing and continuing prayer that made his evangelism effective and attuned his spirit to the fellowship of God.

Miss Padwick makes a delicious contrast between fastidious Walter Pater sitting in his room choosing so carefully words for his

Plato and Platonism, and the tense religious fervour of a group of Oxford undergraduates, members of the Christian Union, who swing past his windows shouting a crude chorus: 'It is better to shout than to doubt . . .' Temple Gairdner may have been in such a group, but he never assimilated their phrases, though he was one with them in their glorious enthusiasms. And in after days as he looks back on the abandon of those undergraduates he rightly sees that out of so fervent, experimental evangelicalism, if development and honest thinking were given freedom, there grew those forces that greatly influence the world. A fervent conviction which has grown out of experience is more likely to go far and to do much than a too early synthesis which should be the fruit of maturity and experience.

As we follow Gairdner to Cairo where he was appointed to work among educated Moslems, we trace relationships with others, plans for work, experiences of the soul, methods of approach which make this volume a textbook which should be in the hands of all missionaries. Not that he becomes a perfected saint without human weaknesses. Every now and then his eccentricities, which made 'Gairdy' a man with foibles and perhaps a little trying to others at times, are all there. His absent-mindedness scattered his belongings over the homes and hotels of Britain when he was travelling. His abrupt and absorbed attitudes made him often misunderstood. But through all there was his humility which sent him apologizing when he gave unintended pain, and his laughter that disarmed the awe of those who feared him.

To those who find close and constant contact with fellow missionaries a difficulty, no better tonic could be given than the idyll of his sharing house and family with Mr and Mrs Thornton. To those who find ideals lowered by too near association with the lower standards of non-Christian peoples one would show the pain and shame that Gairdner felt for the sin that was about him, and the purification and relief in his retreats into the desert to be alone with God. To those who find themselves with parched and narrowed lives because of the absorption of their missionary service, one would speak of Gairdner's ever new enthusiasms: for geology, for music which burst forth on every side and made his home attractive to men and women of all races and types, who found beauty and glory in music because its interpreter heard God's voice in it.

Gairdner became one of the greatest of Arabic scholars. With

infinite pains he studied the language in its literary forms and in its vernacular. He saw new avenues of approach to the Moslem world through good Arabic literature. So, besides his book room and his numerous books and pamphlets, apologetic, but never with a trace of bitter attack, he published without a break *The Orient and Occident*, until it won for itself a place of influence greater than any other Arabic magazine. Though he knew that were he to get time and opportunity to be a scholar, a missionary scholar for Moslems, he could do unique work, and though he had been set apart for this by special preparation, yet shortness of staff and one disappointment after another compelled him to give his time and powers to the little details of a secretarial office. Even this diversion from the work he loved most to do he accepted, making his duty a holy service to Christ's kingdom.

His dramatic gifts found expression in the wonderful series of Bible plays which he prepared for acting in his own church. The vast congregations that gathered to hear and see them, the profound impressions made, the deep religious atmosphere created, filled his soul with a sense of great opportunity. Yet when the day came when his society forbade them he accepted without a murmur the terrible disappointment, though it seemed as if he aged and lost his spring of life when the loved children of his own creation were thus strangled in their infancy.

This wonderful biography of a unique man closes in dramatic fashion with the most touching painting of the sunset of his life. As he lay in his room through months of suffering, ' wonders and beauties were working out among his people, and amongst more than they. Their love was passionate. By day and night in his own church, and in the hospital chapel at Old Cairo, prayer was made without ceasing. . . . Coptic priests, American missionaries, Armenians, Greeks, . . . even Moslems were united in a great wave of love and prayer.' And prayer was answered abundantly, for in one of his last messages he says, ' I am lying back resting on the ocean of God's love, borne there by the prayers of friends.' And again, ' Everything in the room says " Glory " . . . all songs, all songs.'

And so he passed, and when he fell asleep, his son, looking at his face, could only say, ' Your joy no man taketh from you.'

DONALD FRASER

GLASGOW

CHRISTIAN MISSIONS IN CHINA

A HISTORY OF CHRISTIAN MISSIONS IN CHINA. By KENNETH SCOTT LATOURETTE. Map. Bibliography. New York and London: Macmillan. $5. 18s. 1929.

PROFESSOR LATOURETTE has produced a monumental book. In a short introductory chapter he takes his readers on a rapid tour of China and points to some of the outstanding Christian institutions, which, indeed, can hardly escape the attention of any observing traveller. Having convinced them of the reality and magnitude of the missionary movement in China, he proceeds to arouse their historical curiosity by proposing a magnificent set of questions on the origin, the diversity, the methods and the effects of that missionary work.

The subsequent thirty chapters are largely an attempt to answer these questions. The history of missionary activities in China is roughly divided into several periods, from the Nestorian missions in the seventh century to the diversity of communions and societies in the year 1926; and within each period, wherever the author finds available source material, he has attempted to give a sketch of the secular and religious background both in China and at the 'home base,' some careful enquiry into the numerical strength of the missionary force, a conscientious portrayal of the methods of the missionary work and a dispassionate discussion of the results obtained. References are given in copious footnotes. We have here, then, a systematic work written by a trained student of history.

The present reviewer can heartily recommend the book for the author's spirit of impartiality as well as for his admirably sympathetic judgment of some of the difficulties of the history which he treats. Although a Protestant himself, he has written some appreciative accounts of the work of the Roman Catholic missionaries. Although once a missionary himself, he has, in most instances, tried to understand sympathetically the attitude of those non-Christian Chinese who oppose the missionary movement. He has not attempted to cover up the weak spots of missionary work, or some of the unworthy features of the Christian community in China, but instead of pronouncing upon them harsh judgments of indignation he has endeavoured to discuss patiently their causes and circumstances. There is in the book none of the affected tone of piety so frequently met with in missionary literature, and none of the

spirit of propaganda which so easily creeps into the work of an author who writes on a movement of which he counts himself a part.

In a book of such size, covering so long a period and involving such a mass of source material in several languages, it would be too much to expect that it should be completely free from errors and inaccuracies. These are, however, relatively few ; but among those which have caught the attention of the reviewer some might be mentioned. The central power of the Chou dynasty had declined quite a while before the sixth century B.C. (p. 9). Celibacy was not one of the main features of the Nestorian Church (p. 34). When the new Jesuit mission came to Shanghai, the land at Zikawei was bought by them (pp. 95, 308). The accuser of the missionaries in 1664 (Yang Kuang Hsien) was not a Moslem ; recent research has shown that the earlier missionary writers are in error on this point (p. 115). Emperor K'ang Hsi died in 1722, not 1723 (p. 158). The Hakkas are also ' pure Chinese,' and any assertion to the contrary has been silenced by them (p. 287). Tsêng Kuo-fan's transfer to Nanking was not a part of the settlement to appease the French (p. 351).

A number of statements are likely to be open to objection. The statement that it was Jesus' confidence in God that gave Him ' a power which in turn awoke faith in many of those whom He touched . . .' is capable of provoking a theological controversy (p. 27). It is doubtful whether the teachings of the *Tao Tê Ching*, ' like Confucianism, . . . believed that the universe is moral ' (p. 12). The author was evidently not thinking of the emphasis of the Confucian school on ancestor worship, and the pretension of the Taoist ' saints ' to immortality, when he wrote : ' They had, however, very little to offer him who wished definite assurance of personal immortality and who longed to know what was beyond the grave ' (p. 14). It is probably due to insufficient acquaintance with recent studies on Nestorius and the Nestorian Church that the author has been led to use the once current characterization of the ' heresy '—' a belief that in Jesus the divine and the human existed as two distinct persons ' (p. 47).

It is open to question whether ' the conception of higher education back of these [Christian] arts colleges was not basically different from that of the older education which had prepared Chinese for the civil service examinations ' (p. 634). It is hardly the inflexibility of Roman Catholicism and the fear of schism that will account for

the comparatively fewer Chinese Roman Catholics in important places of church leadership (p. 830); it is the comparative slowness in promotion of collegiate and graduate education that has not given Roman Catholics a sufficient number of Chinese leaders to meet the present exigency; in spite of the recent pronouncement of Rome against too close co-operation with Protestants, the Catholic University at Peping has now for the last few years a Protestant scholar as its vice-chancellor.

Judging from his bibliography, the author does not seem to have made a study of the writings of the Chinese Christians, and this alone will show that it is somewhat hasty to pronounce: 'Little first-class Christian literature had yet appeared from Chinese pens. No outstanding apologia, no great work of devotion had yet been written by a Chinese' (p. 833). It is also *a priori* reasoning to assert: 'Had the Church made its peace with some of the more important existing religious practices of China, deterioration would almost certainly have followed' (p. 154). Throughout the book as a whole, however, the author is cautious and well balanced. He is unusually charitable towards persons. Phrases like 'the masterly and irreligious Napoleon' (p. 169), and 'the weak and contemptible Hsien Fêng' (p. 286), are exceedingly rare.

The book is well printed. A few misprints are obvious, and need not be mentioned. The author's spelling of Halde, Mailla, and Vargas instead of du Halde, de Mailla and de Vargas might be confusing, and the giving of both Moshemius and von Mosheim might be misleading. These are, however, unimportant. The map is certainly unsatisfactory.

There is a long bibliography of the works which the author has consulted. While it contains a great many secondary sources and is altogether too poor in Chinese works, it is, nevertheless, a valuable supplement to the older and more exhaustive lists. The reviewer has not endeavoured to estimate the author's range of source literature. The use of the incomplete and rather unsatisfactory translation of Huc's history, which does not cover the fourth tome of the original work, has led to a claim (p. 845), which in view of Huc's work and some other books, is not justified. The author has, however, rendered a great service in examining many missionary periodicals and a large number of the reports of missionaries and missionary societies.

While, because of the mass of semi-statistical information and

the tiresome lists of persons and societies, the book is not as readable as Abbé Huc's *Le Christianisme en Chine*, and, because of the author's modesty and moderation, it is not as challenging as Professor Richter's *Das Werden der christlichen Kirche in China*, it surpasses both of the other books in breadth of interest, in wealth of material, in systematic construction and in the application of the technical historical method. It is certainly a book which should be on the reference shelf of every student interested in missions or China's cultural relations with the West.

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THE VEDĀNTA

THE VEDĀNTA AND MODERN THOUGHT. By W. S. URQUHART, D.Litt. (The Religious Quest of India Series.) London : Oxford University Press. 12s. 6d. 1928.

STUDENTS of Indian philosophy have long been looking forward to the appearance of Dr Urquhart's book on the Vedānta. A great many volumes have been written on this subject, some by such eminent philosophers as Dr Deussen and Professor Radhakrishnan ; but Dr Urquhart has won a special place for his writings by the lucidity of his style, by the earnestness of his desire to appreciate the best in his opponents' views, and by his interesting habit of relating ancient systems to modern thought. *The Vedānta and Modern Thought* is a worthy successor to *Pantheism and the Value of Life* and *The Upanishads and Life.*

The interest of the book is primarily philosophical ; but Dr Urquhart does not omit to show that Vedantic ideas, systematized by Śaṁkara, Rāmānuja and others, had their roots in the Vedic hymns, the Upanishads, the Brahma Sūtras, the Bhagavadgītā and the Kārikās of Gauḍapāda. He points out that, for the Indian, the Vedānta is practically identified with the teaching of Śaṁkara ; the system of Rāmānuja, Śaṁkara's only serious rival, can number only one adherent to five of Śaṁkara's school. He therefore deals entirely with the Śāṁkara Vedānta, occasionally using the views of Rāmānuja as a basis of criticism.

It is possible that Dr Urquhart's eagerness to attribute only the

best motives to those with whom he disagrees leads him to make out a case for Śaṁkara's conception of authority which that astute philosopher hardly deserves. Like all founders of Vedantic schools, Śaṁkara felt bound to profess allegiance to the Prasthānatraya, or Triple Canon of the Upanishads, the Vedānta Sūtras and the Gītā. But the Upanishads present such a diversity of doctrine, and the Sūtras are so obscure, that a philosopher so adroit as Śaṁkara found no difficulty in selecting from the former, and wresting from the latter, doctrines to coincide with his own opinions. Dr Urquhart barely mentions Śaṁkara's treatment of the Gītā—a book much less open to distortion than the other two sections of the Canon. Here Śaṁkara proves that he had no intention of letting authority override him; he constantly reverses the obvious intention of the text, and when (as in vi, 1) the text is disastrously opposed to his main contentions, he is capable of inserting a word in his commentary to force agreement with his own ideas.

Nothing could be more lucid than Dr Urquhart's statement and criticism of Śaṁkara's teaching, and of parallel ideas found in western philosophy. He estimates the value of the doctrine of the two orders of knowledge, criticizing the too strict line of demarcation drawn between these two orders and between the unqualified Ultimate and the qualified God. He deals with the validity of external experience, and the place of the individual in this life and the next.

He writes:

> We have found that the inclination of speculation has been strongly in a monistic direction and that it has been associated with a predominantly intellectualistic point of view. We have seen that the same tendency is strongly marked in the philosophies of Spinoza, Hegel, Bradley and Bosanquet, etc., and that the most striking resultant might be described as, in general, a merging of the part in the whole, a sacrifice of the many to the One, and of the individual to the Universal. Our study of parallels between the Vedānta and other allied modes of thought has compelled us to recognize the principle of identity as their fundamental conception. . . . We found that the Vedantic basis for ethics which this principle affords was decidedly insecure, and we have reached practically the same conclusion as regards the Hegelian school of thought.

Dr Urquhart, in accordance with the spirit of this Series, concludes that the Vedānta is 'a very definite preparation' if not for formal Christianity at least 'for the Christ Himself.' The author's

criticism of practically every important Vedantic conception has been so courteously destructive that, although in the final chapter he tries to save something from the wreckage, it is difficult to understand his view that the Vedānta, according to Śaṁkara, is in any real sense a *praeparatio evangelica*, except in so far as any honest quest is born of a divine discontent, and therefore prepares the seeker for the reception of truth. Such a statement might be made with far more meaning of the system of Rāmānuja. Jesus Christ, unlike the Hindu *avatāra*, is the antithesis of all that Śaṁkara means by *māyā*; He taught that sin is a stern reality, not, as the Kaushītaki Upanishad puts it, no more than one of a 'pair of chariot-wheels,' on which the man on the road to Brahman looks down as on an illusion now happily 'shaken off.'

The book possesses a full and useful index. The large number of misprints among the diacritical marks does not reflect credit on the Press.

W. D. P. HILL

AGRA

ESSENTIALS OF CIVILIZATION

ESSENTIALS OF CIVILIZATION: A Study in Social Values. By THOMAS JESSE JONES. New York: Holt. $2.50. 1929.

THE introduction to this book consists of a series of reminiscences under the title of 'Experiences in Civilization,' which are offered as indicating the author's qualifications for dealing with his subject; and assuredly they are varied and extensive enough to justify his claim.

In his first chapter he defines what he regards as essentials of civilization; from the essentials of primitive society he advances to those of a civilized society.

> These, then, are the essentials of primitive society: (1) health and sanitation; (2) appreciation and use of environment, material and human; (3) effective development of the home and the household, the chief factors for the transfer of racial heritage; (4) the processes of recreation—physical, mental and spiritual (p. 10).

To secure these community essentials, social organizations are necessary.

Society functions through organizations—governmental, economic, educational, religious, philanthropic and art. It is, therefore, necessary to show the relation of the 'four essentials' to these social organizations. The purpose of the remaining chapters is, therefore, to explain these basic relations as they have been actually realized, and as they should be realized by each type of organization (p. 31).

The following chapters, the content of which is thus indicated, are written from the distinctively American standpoint with occasional references to the author's wider experiences, and contain interesting information and valuable suggestion. The spirit which he desires in the survey of social organizations is the consciousness of community (p. 32), by which he means what Paul expresses in his analogy of the body in I Cor. XII. The end of social effort is given in the last sentence of this first chapter: 'The way to peace—national, international and intercontinental—is in the realization of the essentials of life for all the people in all parts of the world' (p. 34).

I have read the book with interest and appreciation, especially the chapter on education, where as an educationist Dr Jones is on his own special ground. He insists on the need for the synthesis of knowledge and training, the humanizing of knowledge and the selection of mental and character traits required by the individual in modern society (pp. 114–15), and the dominance in the teacher of 'a consciousness of community' (p. 119). While the author recognizes the value of the social service of the religious organizations (chapter V), I could have wished that in his closing chapter, in which he insists that world unity can be reached only through co-operation, he had stressed a little more what he does mention in a few phrases, namely, that the consciousness of community among men as the motive of world-wide co-operation finds its most effective inspiration in the consciousness of God as Father over all.

The Jerusalem Meeting has shown how great is the share of the missionary in advancing the civilization of the world, how imperative it is that he should realize his responsibility in co-operation with other agencies for securing these essentials of civilization for all men. The book is a timely guide by one who has qualified himself for the task, and can be commended to all interested and engaged in this supreme task of bringing the kingdom of God on earth.

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THE RACE QUESTION IN SOUTH AFRICA

GOD'S STEP-CHILDREN. By SARAH GERTRUDE MILLIN. London: Constable. 7s. 6d. 1924.

GOD'S STEP-CHILDREN is the terribly forbidding title of a terribly forbidding book.

But why read it if it is terribly forbidding? If you do read it, why go further and call attention to it? The answer is that the book must be read, at least by those interested in the welfare of South Africa. The questions raised must be faced. I am thankful that before I read this book I had already read a later book by the same author, *The South Africans*, in which Mrs Millin gives us a vivid, living picture of the varied elements of humanity which meet in South Africa. They meet to intermingle and, to some extent, to intermarry. Inevitably they also meet to strive, to struggle and to compete. The book is primarily concerned with facts but necessarily it suggests problems. After reading it you will feel that South Africa will have a difficult task before she can be a 'city at unity in itself.' *God's Step-Children* is concerned with the same country, but it singles out the offspring of the mating of Europe with Africa. Such people are commonly known in South Africa as the coloured people—distinct on the one side from the pure white and, on the other, from the Native or full-blooded African.

An amazingly sad book it is. It was lent to me to read during a little holiday spent at a beautiful spot on the so-called 'wild' coast. The book left me feeling numbed and paralysed. 'Abandon hope,' it seemed to say, 'all ye who have one trace of dark blood. Abandon hope of happiness, of fellowship, of equality, of opportunity, of justice, of progress, of victory. There may be hope for the criminal, for the vicious, for the abandoned, but not for the half-caste.' The verdict seemed beyond revision. It is the coloured people who are 'God's step-children.' If they were children there would be hope, there would be a future before them. But, no, they cannot be children.

'We are all God's children,' the Rev. Andrew Flood said.

'But is God Himself not white?' asked Caehas.

And as the Rev. Andrew Flood hesitated for a reply she made a suggestion.

'Perhaps we brown people are God's step-children.'

In this book it is Andrew Flood, a poor, weak-minded, eccentric missionary who makes the first move in the tragedy. He it is who seeks to adapt himself to the wild Hottentots to whom he was sent by marrying one of themselves. It is not difficult to imagine the immediate result, but the author carries along through four generations springing from the fatal fusion. The tragedy is not too tragic where there is mere acquiescence, with little consciousness, little questioning of the meaning and results of mixed origin. The tragedy is acutely, poignantly tragic where there is a deep consciousness of affinity with the European stock and an eagerness to claim that side of the birthright. It is with this that the book is primarily concerned. In chapter after chapter we see the longing for freedom, the helpless, hopeless, endless beating of the wings of aspiration against the cruel bars of race taint. There is, in these poor people, the bitter sense of being entrapped, ensnared, with no hope of freedom. Picture after picture haunts the mind with its concentration of misery.

In the second generation we meet with Kleinhans, a grandson of Andrew Flood. Kleinhans is less obtrusively coloured than others of his friends. He is also restive with the urge of his white blood. Away from his relations might he not pass for a white man ? Might he not marry a white woman ? Might he not enter the forbidden paradise of ' white ' liberty ? He cherishes his hopes. He fondles the beard which brings him so near to the European. He works hard and saves his money. Then he makes the great venture. He inspans his oxen and starts off in his wagon for the newly-discovered diamond diggings. Surely there, in that great concourse of all sorts and conditions of people, he will find a chance of starting level with his fellows. Kleinhans meets with not just a closed door, not merely a firm refusal. He meets with harsh insult, with cruel injustice, with wrong which finds no redress.

And yet he has not learned his lesson. He marries a light-coloured Cape girl. One of the children she bears to him is so white that, away from her family, she would pass muster as a white child. Why should she not ? Why should she not be educated like the child of a white man ? With the friendly help of a European the girl is received at a convent school for Europeans. Her parents remain unseen. At that school Elmira shares the lessons, the play, the social life of the European children. Even amongst her schoolmates colour prejudice is already strong. There is the unthinking

readiness to emulate the attitude of their elders in their pride of race, their contempt of colour. Elmira alone cannot speak of father or mother or home. She can only think with dread of the awful possibility of exposure. But why should there be exposure ? She is in the white fold, and in that fold she means to remain. Alas ! Elmira contracts a serious illness. She is thought to be dying. A telegram is sent urging her parents to come without delay. How could they do otherwise ? They arrive : Elmira recovers and the doors of the school are closed to her for ever.

The tragedy reaches its climax in the fourth generation with Berry, who is so white that he can safely be adopted by a pure white step-sister who carries him off to Cape Town. Berry takes his degree at the South African College and then he goes to Oxford. Ultimately he is ordained and he marries an English girl. Unwisely he brings his young wife to South Africa. He has said nothing to her of his ancestry. Even if he had done so there might have been little faltering on her part. Ancestors are fairly vague and Africa is very big. Besides, in England the question of colour is not of vital importance. But in South Africa Norah learns that the colour question is supreme. Polite society does not open its doors to coloured folk. Even that might be faced, but Norah had to learn that there was a far more serious matter than ancestry. There was the terrible possibility that her own children might be obviously coloured. In England even this might be condoned, but in Africa there could be no condoning, no forgiving, no forgetting.

The facts must be faced. I doubt if there is any one single detail of the book which could not be matched by fact. It does indeed seem that the coloured people of South Africa have the hardest of all burdens to bear. In all the probing of the misery I do not think that the author exaggerates, except that there are certainly instances among the Dutch where character has finally obliterated the ' stigma ' of colour still visible. I believe that Kleinhans, Elmira and Berry are all to be found. But I venture to think that the book misleads because it ends on a note of despair. It misleads because it accepts the title ' God's step-children ' ; it misleads because it seems to imply that the only aspiration of the coloured man is to be accounted white ; along that path, it would appear, lies his only escape, his only hope of happiness. And, finally, it misleads because it gives no hint of a Christian triumph. No code of really human morality, much less of Christian

morality, could justify the final tragedy of the desertion of Norah by Berry. It is the one impossible dénouement in this otherwise almost photographic record of human folly, passion and prejudice.

GODFREY CALLAWAY, S.S.J.E.
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AFRICAN SCHOOL BOOKS

THE SOIL AND PLANT LIFE. (English-Tonga.) By J. R. FELL. London: Baptist Missionary Society. 10½d. 1923.
CATTLE MANAGEMENT. By J. R. FELL. 1s.
FIELD CROPS OF CENTRAL AFRICA. By J. R. FELL. 1s.
POULTRY AND HUSBANDRY. By J. R. FELL. 1s.
PLANTS AND ANIMALS OF TROPICAL AFRICA. By M. D. AINSLIE. 2s.
GEOGRAPHY OF AFRICA. By W. R. KIRBY. 1s. 6d.
COLLOQUIAL ENGLISH. By E. F. GRIMWOOD. 6d.
All London: Christian Literature Society.
THE AFRICAN LIFE READERS. Edited by JAMES L. SIBLEY. 4 nos. London: Ginn. 1s., 1s. 3d., 1s. 6d., 1s. 6d. 1929.

THE thin trickle of textbooks for African schools has become a steady stream and threatens to become a torrent. The Africans are crowding to school, and, to keep pace with the demand for education, textbooks of various kinds are being rushed through the presses.

The majority of the books named above make some pretence of adaptation, though between Kirby's *Geography of Africa*, which does not differ much from the kind of textbook used in English schools twenty years ago, to such admirable specimens of specially prepared bookmaking as Sibley's *African Life Readers* there is a great gulf fixed. Compilers of books for Africans have not yet realized that the watered-down English textbook will not do. To be of real value to the African the book must deal with his folk and his problems in his way and in a language he can understand.

How far should textbooks—as distinct from readers—be in English, the vernacular or a lingua franca? On the whole it seems as if the use of English is best. The market for vernacular textbooks is small, the lingua franca is restricted in its scope, and any pupil who has got to the textbook stage has probably acquired enough English to understand.

Mr J. R. Fell, the Principal of the Jeanes School at Mazabuka, Northern Rhodesia, seems to have solved the problem of writing on adult subjects in children's English. Mrs Ainslie's is a brightly written book on nature study with a special African appeal. Miss Grimwood's resembles one of the famous Berlitz books for the teaching of English to foreigners, and has some admirable suggestions for teachers.

The African Life Readers are a real contribution to the school literature of Africa. The stories deal with the day-by-day lives of the people of the West Coast and have been prepared or supervised by writers who have first-hand knowledge of the actual conditions. Useful information of the kind the African loves is blended with interesting stories. The best feature of all, perhaps, is the long series of sensible questions at the end of each lesson to make sure that the pupils have understood what they have read and to give practice in composition. Too often the African uses English words the meaning of which he does not fully understand. Two criticisms of an admirable series may be allowed—the delightfully artistic covers will not long stand the dust of the African schoolroom nor the fellow contents of the African's school bag; the charming illustrations do not give the real African flavour, and the persons depicted are white children with brown skins. Mr Sibley's death from yellow fever last July is deeply regretted by all who knew him.

C. T. LORAM

PRETORIA, SOUTH AFRICA

AGGREY OF AFRICA

AGGREY OF AFRICA: A Study in Black and White. By EDWIN W. SMITH. London: Student Christian Movement. 7s. 6d. 1929.

THIS is a notable book worthy of careful reading and study by colonial officials, settlers and traders; by missionaries, educationists and students of human relationships; by Europeans, Americans and Asiatics; and above all, by people of African origin, whether in Africa, America or elsewhere in the world. The justification of this all-inclusive observation is, first of all, in the quality and attainments of the man described in the book; secondly, in the interesting, scholarly and accurate presentation and interpretation

of the life and services of this unusual African ; and thirdly, in the acute and universal need of our generation for the statesmanship and inspiration of Aggrey's remarkable career in Europe, America and Africa.

Officers of government will find in this book a clue to the mind and character of the Native citizenship necessary to the success of their efforts. Settlers and traders will be introduced to the human qualities of the people whose exploitation has been their chief concern. Thus both government and business may discover the advantages of economic and political partnership for the good of all.

To Christian missionaries this biography is an eloquent confirmation of their faith and their devotion. In physique, in mentality and in spiritual power Aggrey strikingly realized the hopes and ideals of missionary effort both in Africa and in America. But it is not only confirmation that missionaries will find in this book. If they are open-minded and alert they will receive a new vision of their opportunities and their responsibilities.

Aggrey's life, as interpreted by Mr Smith, was a friendly and constructive presentation of the larger possibilities of co-operation between the Native Africans and the Europeans who have gone to Africa for various purposes. This is undoubtedly the outstanding message of the biography. Both the methods and the ideals of co-operation are attractively revealed in Aggrey's words and deeds.

Africans, whether of Africa or America, who read this volume will have greater faith in their own potentialities. As in the case of that illustrious American Negro, Dr Booker T. Washington, Africans may now learn the distinguished services and attainments possible to a Native African. Similarly they will understand from Aggrey's experience and teaching that contact with white civilization has many advantages despite the too frequent irritations of prejudice and selfishness. Aggrey's was a life of faith—faith in humanity surpassing the bounds of colour, nationality, language and religion.

The friends of Africa and of Aggrey are grateful to the author for his scientific discernment and for his spiritual appreciation both of Aggrey's unique personality and also of his extraordinary background of heredity and environment. Mr Smith's anthropological knowledge of Africans through long and intimate study enabled him to understand the subtle influences of the primitive society where Aggrey spent his early life. As a missionary educator Mr Smith's experiences revealed to him the extent of success and

failure of missionary and educational efforts. The book is thus not only a notable biography of an extraordinarily interesting African; it is also anthropological, interpreting the merging of primitive society with western civilization; inter-racial, illustrating the successful co-operation of divergent groups; educational, showing the variety of trainings and knowledge required for the full development of manhood and womanhood; and above all religious, revealing the vital power of Christian faith and experience. The volume is well written, well illustrated, well printed and altogether a real credit to author, printer and publisher.

T. J. JONES

NEW YORK

HUMAN NEED AND CHRISTIANITY

HUMAN NEEDS AND WORLD CHRISTIANITY. By FRANCIS JOHN MCCONNELL. New York: Friendship Press. $1.50. 1929.

IN reading this latest book of Bishop McConnell's, there comes to mind a college study where there were two book-cases, and over each was a Latin legend. One indicated that the books on the shelves were to be read dutifully, but the other meant that the books under it were to be read and re-read, tasted and enjoyed. *Human Needs* comes in this second class. Of course there will be people who will read it only once, but to the many believers in missions throughout the world who are longing to have their cause stated in fresh and convincing terms, with the appeal from the angle, not of Christian duty, but of those needs which any right-minded person in any part of the world must recognize, it will be a welcome reinforcement. It is a well-pointed arrow, too, to let fly at minds hitherto closed to missionary interest.

It is a book based on wide knowledge and deep sympathy, marked throughout by restraint of statement and great respect for all the nations of the earth and all types of civilization. Bishop McConnell has accurate and often intimate first-hand information about the subjects of which he writes, and he uses his material with fine discernment. From cover to cover there is not a trace of that condescension which has sometimes marred missionary arguments, and which is all too prone to creep into the mental attitudes of even very good people, when their lot is cast for long periods with groups for the most part uneducated. Jean Mackenzie was a success, both

as a missionary to Africa and as a writer about its people, because she was so free from this taint. She saw the beauty and the meaning in the life of the so-called ' savages ' among whom she lived. Bishop McConnell points out this principle at the beginning: ' As a matter of fact, workers from outside, among the least favored of peoples, soon arrive at hearty respect for such people.' In the long evolution of the race, those who have travelled furthest are not so far beyond the most backward, and it is the most intelligent among us who realize that the pot is unwise to call the kettle black. Nothing showed more clearly the level of the Jerusalem Council than this common recognition of universal need. There was no tendency to take motes from the eyes of others, and there was a frank facing of the size of the beam we all carry, as nations and as individuals, in our own.

The book is not a book about Jerusalem, but it refers often to the meeting there last year, and it is written to help the cause for which the Jerusalem Council was called together, and is saturated with the Council's discussions and reports. In the Introduction Bishop McConnell notes that the meeting indicated what is likely to happen in the effort for world-evangelization from now on, namely, a recognition that human values and human needs are the same the world over, and that these common needs can only be met by divine redemption. ' Already the inability of any section of the Church to live by itself is clear.' . . . ' On the basis of mutual human understandings we arrive at a firmer grasp on the indispensability of the message of Christianity as divinely redemptive in all fields.' The core of the book is the same as the core of the thinking at the Council: ' For us the vision of God was revealed once for all in Christ Jesus, but the revelation of the revelation has not yet more than begun.' ' We must have the world-wide vision of God, because any other vision is too small to give us the essential truth.'

One wishes that in the list of human needs: better health, more wealth, sounder knowledge, larger freedom, closer fellowship and the vision of God, the need for beauty might have been included. It is a need as universal as the need for bread, and is increasingly stifled by the tides of industrialism and machinery. Perhaps Bishop McConnell would answer that beauty being God's first approach to the human spirit, it would return as the vision of God became clearer.

The sections on nationalism are in some ways the most interesting

in the book. It is seen as the greatest foe of Christianity, and yet capable of transformation through the Spirit of Christ.

In the whole book one is reminded of a great sentence in the Moderator's address to the last General Assembly of the United Free Church of Scotland: 'One has read of the Christian Church "struggling for its life in the modern world": let it struggle for the world's life and its own life is secure!'

E. B. SPEER

ENGLEWOOD, NEW JERSEY

MISSIONARY ESSAYS

ESSAYS CATHOLIC AND MISSIONARY. Edited by E. R. MORGAN. London: S.P.C.K. 8s. 6d. 1928.

THIS collection of sixteen essays on missionary subjects is a composite work produced by a group in what we are accustomed to call the 'High Church' wing of the Church of England. In speaking of themselves the term they use is 'Anglo-Catholics.' The opening essay is by Miss Evelyn Underhill, well and favourably known in Europe and America for her studies in Christian mysticism and the concerns of the inner life, and she is followed by a widely scattered array of bishops, missionaries, heads of religious communities, educators and lay workers, the editorial work having been done by Mr Morgan, Warden of the College of the Ascension at Selly Oak, Birmingham.

In a book of this nature the point of view is the main consideration. It is, as one would expect, frankly Anglo-Catholic, and yet by no means exclusively so, certainly not offensively so. The first impression one receives is of a broad catholic spirit in the sense of including the best in every school of thought as this may shed light upon the missionary problem, including the findings of modern psychology and of social science.

There appears to be a four-fold point of view: In the first place, the authors are keenly alert to the modern aspects of missionary theory and procedure—all that since the Edinburgh Conference of 1910 goes under the name of 'the science of missions.' Then, they maintain that they are free from restrictive interpretations of doctrine: 'Anglican Catholicism by claiming the Creeds as a

sufficient doctrinal basis of unity is free from the restrictions of elaborate Tridentine definitions, and thereby affords opportunities in the younger churches for indigenous theological expression.' Thirdly, we find a hearty appreciation of 'the apostolic labours' of other branches of the Church. And finally, the special point of view which led to the publishing of the essays, while unequivocally stated and held in strong confidence, is offered as a humble witness rather than as an assumption of superiority. The most assertive statement, possibly, is that of the preface :

> It [the Catholic presentation of Christianity] bears witness to the living transcendent God at work in history, to the need of the worshipful life, to sacraments as necessary to a sacramental view of the world, to the unity and continuity of the Church as guaranteed by Apostolic Scriptures, Creeds and Successions.

On p. 55 we find a slight lapse from the usual high level of appreciation, when, in speaking of the Anglo-Catholic practice of admitting converts to baptism at an earlier stage than many other religious bodies do, these bodies are characterized as 'failing to apprehend the fulness of the Christian revelation,' this statement being based upon their sense of 'the value of sacramental grace.' The same author (chapter III) alludes to 'the drama of the Mass set forth day by day,' and remarks that, 'the saints, with Mary as their Queen, take their places with the angels round the throne of the Most High, and communion with them at the Christian altar is realized in a way dimly foreshadowed by heathen rites.' Another writer observes, 'It is the Mass which matters,' and argues in favour of reservation, statues, holy water and so on.

The essays cover a wide range, including topics such as : Christianity and the claims of other religions ; Christianity and nationalism ; Christianity and education ; missions and governments ; the development of the native church in worship ; the religious community as a missionary instrument ; the spiritual life of the missionary.

Nearly all the essays invite comment, either by way of approval, question or dissent. Miss Underhill, as one would expect, writes with spiritual insight and scholarly balance of Christianity in relation to other religions, taking a moderate ground between those who hold the ethnic faiths in contempt and those who regard them as preparations for the Gospel. Mr Laurence Browne, who writes on the same theme, argues for not less but more synthesis in the mis-

sionary message, his point being that 'the religion of Christianity is a perfect synthesis,' whereas the other faiths are in a state of unstable equilibrium. Such a position might easily be misunderstood, if we are to use the term 'synthesis' in the usual missionary sense, as encouraging what Professor Hocking at the Jerusalem Council called 'patch-work thinking.' The discussion of missions and governments is discriminating, and the position taken is that, in certain circumstances, missionaries may decline to accept governmental protection and help. The essay on the spiritual life of the missionary, by the Bishop of Southampton, is penetrating and helpful. We wish it could be printed separately for distribution among missionaries everywhere, and for use at training conferences for candidates.

As representing what may be considered the opposite wing of the Universal Church, the reviewer finds this collection of essays a distinct and timely discussion of 'live' missionary themes. Not only is it not as 'Anglo-Catholic' as one would expect, but it reflects in a most encouraging and truly Christian way the tolerant, inclusive and understanding spirit which has come to characterize the modern missionary movement. In nearly every chapter we detect the influence of the Jerusalem Council.

CORNELIUS H. PATTON

BOSTON, MASSACHUSETTS

CHILDREN AND RACE

RACE ATTITUDES IN CHILDREN. By BRUNO LASKER. New York: Holt. $4. 1929.

THIS important book contains the results of an enquiry carried on by the questionnaire method, and in other ways also, in order to determine the fundamental basis of race prejudice, and the best manner of combating that prejudice. It belongs to a class of scientific work more common in America than in England, where we have not yet learnt to take psychological investigation seriously.

Mr Lasker shows, by means of a wealth of detailed evidence, that race prejudice is not an innate and ineradicable factor in the human mentality. It is not an 'instinct.' It is something which is acquired by the child from his environment. The child is extremely ready to adopt the attitude of those with whom he associates towards

alien groups and individuals. The experiences of childhood, even of early childhood, are of fundamental importance in this connexion. Too often the child's parents, whilst professing an attitude of racial broad-mindedness, in practice hold themselves and their children aloof from the members of other races. In such cases the child will infallibly take his race attitude not from the professed principles but from the actual practice of his home environment.

This unconscious hypocrisy is to be found not only in many homes which pride themselves upon being racially enlightened, but (according to Mr Lasker's evidence) even more markedly in such organizations as the Boy Scouts (he is speaking, of course, only for America), the Y.M.C.A., Sunday schools and even the Christian Churches. In all these cases professions of broad-mindedness are frequently coupled in practice with social exclusiveness on racial issues. The Church, for example, tends to become a religious club whose membership is limited to one racial group. Those who do not belong to that group, whether immigrants from Eastern Europe or the Levant, or Negroes, are not in practice permitted to join the group, or at any rate its social activities. The discrepancy between principle and practice in this respect is regarded by Mr Lasker as a serious factor in the creation of race prejudice amongst children and adolescents.

Frankly, the Christian in modern society has never faced the dilemma that arises from the contrast between the standards of value inherent in his religious faith and those inherent in his cultural traditions. Obviously a native white American community seeks to defend certain cultural heritages; but these are not necessarily Christian. They are not necessarily democratic either. For example, on Christian and democratic grounds it may be desirable that the child of such a group should associate with the children of other groups, if only that he may be prepared by personal understanding for future contact with them in adult life. But on the ground of cultural integrity it is undesirable that the child should have his language corrupted or his good manners impaired.

The value of this book is greatly increased by the courageous fashion in which such problems as the above are faced and dealt with; and also by the fact that no single panacea is proposed for the curing of race prejudice. What is needed, Mr Lasker insists, is the development in home and school of a spirit ready to seize every opportunity of inculcating and expressing right racial attitudes.

SELLY OAK, BIRMINGHAM J. S. HOYLAND

PITCAIRN ISLAND

THE PITCAIRN ISLAND REGISTER BOOK. Edited, with an Introduction, by Sir CHARLES LUCAS, K.C.B., K.C.M.G. Map. London: S.P.C.K. 7s. 6d. 1929.

IF anyone had written a rousing story of South Sea mutineers of the *Treasure Island* type, bringing it down to the settlement of the last survivor on a small island, with a Tahitean wife, the Tahitean widows of his fellow mutineers (some of whom had suffered a violent death with which he was not unconnected), and a growing generation of half-caste children; if the writer had then proceeded to a sequel, painting the community some twenty-five years later as strictly religious, 'shocked with horror when they heard some of the crew of an American ship swear,' and generally approximating in moral standards to the inhabitants of Miss Macaulay's *Orphan Island*—if, I repeat, anyone had conceived such a story, his effort, it is safe to say, would have met with derision. But the thing actually happened and may be read in this 'Register Book.'

The Alexander Smith who, after nine years on the island, in 1799 together with Edward Young decided that they were justified in killing Matthew Quintal ('which they did with an axe') for having threatened and attempted to take their lives, re-emerged in 1814 as John Adams, the respected head of a godly community which —and here is the marvel—owed to him all its knowledge of God and to what must have been his almost superhuman self-restraint, its ignorance of blasphemy.

Sir Charles Lucas states truly that a parallel case of sound conversion would be difficult to find:

> He had no human guide or counsellor to turn him into the way of righteousness and to make him feel and shoulder responsibility for bringing up a group of boys and girls in the fear of God. He had a Bible and a Prayer Book to be the instruments of his endeavour, so far as education, or rather lack of education, served him. He may well have recalled to mind memories of his own childhood. But there can be only one simple and straightforward explanation of what took place, that it was the handiwork of the Almighty, whereby a sailor seasoned to crime came to himself in a far country and learnt and taught others to follow Christ (pp. 15–16).

In 1814 two of His Majesty's ships visited the island, and John Adams was prepared to go back to England to stand his trial for the

crimes of his unregenerate days, but it is a satisfaction to read that 'no attempt was made by the Government to call him to account for what was long past or to interfere with his good work.'

The 'Register Book' makes excellent reading and a few quotations cannot be resisted. From the 'summary' of 1842 comes the following: 'The public school have been regularly kept and thinly attended, from causes easier to be accounted for than remedied'; and from the 'summary' of 1844: 'Sickness have been prevalent at times. Weeds overrun the island, worms infest the potatoes and there is a comet in sight.' A moving entry is that for December 5th, 1825, thirty-five years after the mutineers reached the island: 'Arrived H.M.S. *Blossom*, Captn. F. W. Beechey Esq. during the stay of the *Blossom* John Adams married'; and the editor in his commentary, quoting from Captain Beechey's account, adds: 'old Adams . . . having long wished for the marriage ceremony to be read over himself and his blind, bedridden wife' (p. 15). In the entries for 1829 we read:

March 5th John Adams died aged 65.

. . . . . .

April 14th Mary wife of John Adams died

The after history of the Pitcairn islanders is sketched in the introduction and appendices. For deep human interest it would be hard to match this record.

M. M. UNDERHILL

LONDON

SHORTER NOTICES

The Missionary Education of Primary Children. By Wilhelmina Stooker. (New York: Missionary Education Movement. $1.00. 1929.) The aim of this book is to help teachers to cultivate in children a real sense of world friendship rather than an attitude of condescending sympathy which is too often called 'missionary.' The style is attractive: a somewhat heterogeneous collection of people is supposed to be discussing the problem of missionary education, while trying to arrive at suitable methods for young children. The author puts into the mouth of her speakers questions, criticisms and proposals which show a first-hand knowledge of and insight into child nature. The group arrives at conclusions which prove that

stories, pictures, handwork, drama, debates, acts of friendship, service and so on are not merely the trimmings of teaching, but fundamental methods. Moreover, the value of co-operation with the home is given due emphasis. The book can be strongly recommended as the textbook of a study circle, for Sunday school teachers or helpers in a missionary organization for children.

C. R. N.

The Shrine of a People's Soul. By Edwin W. Smith. (London : Edinburgh House Press. 2s. 6d. 1929.) The 'Shrine' of the title is a people's mother tongue, and the way by which foreign feet must travel, to find the shrine, is laborious and beset with difficulties. Mr Smith gives a graphic picture of missionaries (who include himself) who have reduced African languages to writing ; watching, questioning, listening, noting, seeking as eagerly and untiringly for the words which clothe African thought as any merchant for 'goodly pearls.' He describes the literary work of a missionary as only one of them could do, and goes on to write of the work of translating the Bible. He adds a chapter on the spread of the Bible in the world, and its influence on the human race. It is an admirable book.

The Secret of the African : Lectures on African Religion. By Edwin W. Smith. (London : Student Christian Movement. 3s. 6d. 1929.) In this small book are collected the lectures given by Mr Smith in London in 1927–28 under the James Long Lectureship. Those who heard him speak of the African's religious perceptions will be glad to have the lectures in permanent form. Others also will welcome the opportunity of reading them and, if they be missionaries, of learning to their comfort that it is possible for a man to arrive at a knowledge of the African's thoughts about God.

M. M. U.

NOTES ON CONTRIBUTORS

The Rev. Dwight M. Donaldson, D.D., Ph.D., a missionary in Meshed, Persia, of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America, has made a study of the relations of the Roman and Parthian Empires.

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The Rt Rev. Vedanayakam S. Azariah, Bishop of Dornakal, includes in his diocese one of the largest mass movements towards Christianity in India. He is the Chairman of the National Christian Council of India, Burma and Ceylon.

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In the preparation of the bibliography the Editors have the advantage of the co-operation of M. le Pasteur Allégret (Paris), Mr Chr. Dons (Oslo), Rev. E. Folke (Drottningholm), Miss Hollis W. Hering (New York), Professor Arthur Jeffery (American University, Cairo), Professor H. M. van Nes, D.D. (Leiden), Rev. Frank Rawlinson, D.D. (Shanghai), Professor Kenneth Saunders, Ph.D. (Berkeley, Cal.), Rev. Fr. Schepelern (Denmark), Professor Dr M. Schlunk (Tübingen), Missionsdirektor M. Tarkkanen (Helsingsfors), Rev. S. H. Wainright, D.D. (Tokyo), Canon A. Lukyn Williams, D.D. (Cambridge).

While the bibliography is concerned primarily with missionary literature, published matter on other subjects closely related to the progress of Christianity is included when it is of exceptional value.

Entries of magazine articles are distinguished by †.

Abbreviations of magazine titles are explained on p. 634.

Annotations in the bibliography do not preclude a subsequent review.

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XIII. Hortatory and Practical

†THE COURTESY OF GOD. R. O. Hall. IRM, 1929 (Oct.), 595–600. *425.*

ABBREVIATION OF MAGAZINE TITLES

CO = *Church Overseas*
CR = *Chinese Recorder*
EMM = *Evangelisches Missions-Magazin*
IRM = *International Review of Missions*
JCQ = *Japan Christian Quarterly*
MRW = *Missionary Review of the World*
MW = *Moslem World*
MZW = *Mededeelingen Tijdschrift voor Zendingswetenschap*
NAMZ = *Neue Allgemeine Missionszeitschrift*
NCCR = *National Christian Council Review*
NMT = *Nordisk Missions-Tidsskrift*
SMT = *Svensk Missionstidskrift*
ZM = *Zeitschrift für Missionswissenschaft*
ZMR = *Zeitschrift für Missionskunde und Religionswissenschaft*

When other magazines are referred to, the full title is given.

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QUARTERLY NOTES

BEING THE BULLETIN OF THE

INTERNATIONAL MISSIONARY COUNCIL

Africa

West Africa and Congo Jubilee Conference

IN 1878 missionary work was begun in Congo almost simultaneously by the Baptist Missionary Society of England and the Livingstone Inland Mission, now the Congo Mission of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions.

To mark the fiftieth anniversary a nine days' conference was held last September in Leopoldville-Est, Belgian Congo, attended by missionaries and others not only from the Congo area, but representing also French Equatorial Africa, Cameroons, Nigeria, Liberia, Togo and Angola. Representatives of mission boards from America, Europe and Great Britain were also present. The conference received an official welcome from Governor Engels of the Congo-Kasai province.

Questions relating to education occupied much of the time, and among the recommendations agreed upon were co-ordination of the school work of the different missions ; closer co-operation with governments in education, through provincial education committees ; and the adoption by mission schools of curricula approximating to those of governments. At the same time, the importance of giving the first place to religious education was emphasized, and the appointment of a special committee was recommended to study the findings of the Jerusalem meeting and adapt them to Congo conditions. The conference also outlined practical methods of teacher training, a course of study for use in agricultural education and a health programme for use in village schools.

The conference considered that the establishment of a truly spiritual indigenous Church should occupy an increasingly large place in missionary work. Discussion centred round such questions as the definition and status of an indigenous Church, its organization, leadership and the place of women in it.

A statement was made respecting co-operation of missions with governments in combating sleeping sickness ; recommendations were made for the medical education of Africans, and it was suggested that the attention of philanthropic foundations in America and Great Britain might be called to the fact that if funds were forthcoming the medical service now rendered by missions could be greatly expanded.

Questions relating to land and labour were also considered, and the conference recommended action by local groups in getting into touch with the proposed bureau to be established by the International Missionary Council at Geneva, and also in presenting to governments cases of infringement of laws for the protection of Africans.

India

Rural Education

THE publication of the Report of the Royal Commission on Agriculture in India [1] marks the culmination of a steadily strengthening recognition of the necessity of a new orientation of education in this country. The Viceroy has described this Report as 'the most complete and creative document ever issued affecting the welfare of the agricultural population'—and that means, of course, the overwhelming majority of the population—in India.

Following upon the publication of the Report, the Government summoned to meet in Simla at the beginning of October an Agricultural Conference representative of all the Provinces of India and Burma. Lord Irwin set before the conference the ideal of 'kindling in the breasts of seven-tenths of the subcontinent a desire for a better and fuller life.' Among the pioneers in this whole movement has been the American Mission School at Moga, which trains village teachers who may be able to create such a better and a fuller life. The influence of Moga has extended not only throughout the Panjab but to almost every province in India. The Report pays a tribute to its work and cites it as 'but one example of the valuable pioneering and experimental work accomplished by missions, to which education in India owes so deep a debt.'

The urgency of the need of creating a new type of education has been tragically demonstrated of late by the widespread unemployment among the educated classes. The saturation point for employment in clerical posts has been reached, and in various provinces committees of enquiry have been trying to find remedies. One of these must be to make life in the village worth while, and experiments in this direction are being made in many parts of India from those described by the Commissioner of Gurgaon in the north [2] to those carried on by the Y.M.C.A. in the neighbourhood of Coimbatore in the south. Missions, by means of such schools as those described in *Fourteen Experiments in Rural Education*,[3] are taking an important part in this whole movement.

Provincial Christian Councils

The Burma Christian Council held its annual meeting in Rangoon in July 1928; the Representative Councils of Bombay and of Mid-India held their annual meetings in September—the former at Bombay, and the latter at Jubbulpore. One of the most important subjects considered was that of moral hygiene in its relation to India. A report on the subject was submitted to the Mid-India Council by its medical committee. Attention has been drawn to this subject by the Report of the Royal Commission on Venereal Diseases recently issued, as well as by sweeping charges brought against the people of this land in various books on India recently published. Whether the situation is worse in India than it is elsewhere need not be discussed; what is important is that the subject has hitherto been too greatly neglected and demands attention. The National Christian Council, at its meeting in session as this issue appears, has the matter before it.

N. M.

[1] Cmd. 3132. London: H.M. Stationery Office. 11s.
[2] *Village Uplift in India.* F. L. Brayne. Allahabad Pioneer Press. Rs. 2.
[3] Edited by Miss A. B. Van Doren. Calcutta: Association Press. Rs. 2 and Re. 1.4.

Japan

THE organizations interested in acquiring a building in Tokyo as a headquarters for Christian activities have asked the National Christian Council to undertake the responsibility for carrying out the scheme, which the Council has consented to do. The enterprise will involve, for land and building, an expenditure of Yen 1,000,000, of which the sum of Yen 325,000 is in hand. The co-operating groups have tentatively assumed responsibility for Yen 275,000, and an appeal for the balance of Yen 400,000 is being made to New York. The prospective co-operating organizations are : the National Christian Council, the Christian Literature Society, the National Sunday School Association, the American Bible Society, the Y.W.C.A., the Episcopal Methodist Missions (North and South), the Presbyterian Mission (North), the Baptist Mission (North), the United Church of Canada Mission and the Japan Mission of the Church Missionary Society.

With regard to the national evangelistic campaign mentioned in the last issue of *Quarterly Notes* (p. iv), requests have come to the National Christian Council from some seventy cities asking for help and co-operation in carrying through the campaign locally. Meetings already held in a number of places have been characterized by keen interest.

The Council has been asked to consider the possibility of conducting an industrial survey, by which data could be collected leading to the setting up of Christian ideals and standards in the field of industry. The matter is in abeyance for the present owing to the expense it would involve.

Korea

WORK which was formerly cared for by the Federal Council of Missions, especially that relating more particularly to the Churches, is gradually being passed over to the National Christian Council. For example, the National Christian Council is taking over editorial responsibility for the *Christian Messenger*, the organ of the Presbyterian and Methodist Churches in Korea. The Council has also undertaken the superintendence of evangelistic work among the many Ktorean emigrants to Japan, funds being provided by the organizations participating in the Council.

The Federal Council of Missions held last year a conference on ' Rural Problems of the Church in Korea,' which, it is hoped, will prepare the way for active co-operation by the Church in dealing with some crying needs.

China

THE National Christian Council met in October and agreed to the proposed new constitution of the International Missionary Council.

The uncertainty which has been felt in some quarters in the West as to what need and place exists to-day for missionaries in the Christian movement in China led to a definite pronouncement by the Council that in practically every kind of work missionaries are and will for some time be needed. The question of the necessary qualifications and training, and of their work, was referred for study and report to a special committee.

At Louvain and Würzburg

ROMAN Catholic missionaries and students of missions held two weighty conferences last summer—one at Louvain, the other at Würzburg, Bavaria. Both were international, but they differed in outlook. That at Louvain had the practical aim of seeking, by an examination of the facts, methods of missionary work more efficient than those hitherto employed. The congress at Würzburg, on the other hand, aimed at expressing in the abstract the manifestations of the missionary spirit of the Catholic Church down throughout the ages.

'*L'Ame des Peuples à Evangéliser*' was the subject of the Sixth Missionary Week at Louvain, and among the speakers were a Panjabi Capuchin, an Oraon Jesuit and a Dahomeyan seminarist. The reading of the papers was followed by discussion, which illuminated the fact of the preparation of pagan nations by Providence to receive the Incarnate Light, Jesus Christ. It was shown in detail how this preparation varies with geographical, ethnological, historical and other conditions, and why, therefore, it is important that the missionary should make himself familiar with its details in order to discover in the pagan soul the ideas and emotions to which he must appeal, to open the way for the Gospel. To this discovery the five hundred missionaries, representing some thirty nations, who took part in the Week made an appreciable contribution.

The congress at Würzburg was in two parts: The International Conference on the Science of Missions (September 24th to 26th), and the Fifth International Students' Missionary Conference (September 26th to 30th). The first, organized by the *Institut für die Missionswissenschaft*, treated generally the history, theory and different branches of the science of missions, missionary law and methods. This congress, like that following it, took in general the lines of a course of lectures. It marked the great development of the science of missions in Germany. The second congress emphasized the interest with which students are watching the development of this science.

Foreign Missions Conference of North America

THE Conference is to be held in Detroit, Michigan, from January 15th to 18th. Careful preparation has been made to ensure the largest possible result from the issues that were raised at Jerusalem. The following quotation is taken from the *Foreign Missions Conference Bulletin* of October 15th, 1928:

Letters are being sent to all of the mission boards detailing the plan which the Committee on Arrangements suggests should be followed in each board in preparation for the January meeting. In brief, this involves the appointment at an early date of the members of each board who will be delegates to the January meeting. Each of these board members will be asked to take one of the themes under discussion at Jerusalem and study that subject and its relation to his own mission board policy in the light of the discussions at Jerusalem, as found in the printed volume of the report dealing with that subject, and with the help of questions which are being sent to each of the boards. It is proposed that each board member so appointed gather around him a group of like-minded men and women in his local community who will study this subject with him; and it is also suggested that at some meeting of the board previous

to the January meeting the members of the board who have been studying these different questions should bring in a report of their discussions in the smaller groups. At the January meeting plans will be made for a discussion of some of the major topics by the whole conference, and for the other subjects sectional groups will be formed so that those who have studied these problems for their own denominations can bring the benefit of their experience and suggestions to the conference in this way.

Official Report of the Jerusalem Meeting

THE eight volumes of the official report are available as under, separately or as a complete set:

I. The Christian Life and Message in Relation to Non-Christian Systems (5s. or $1.50).
II. Religious Education (3s. 6d. or $1).
III. The Relations between the Younger and Older Churches (4s. 6d. or $1.25).
IV. The Christian Mission in the Light of Race Conflict (3s. 6d. or $1).
V. Christianity and the Growth of Industrialism in Asia, Africa and South America (3s. 6d. or $1).[1]
VI. The Christian Mission in Relation to Rural Problems (4s. 6d. or $1.25).
VII. International Missionary Co-operation (3s. 6d. or $1).
VIII. Addresses and Other Records (3s. 6d. or $1).[2]
The set, 25s. or $7.00.

Reports are appearing in various languages, of which notices of the following have reached the London office of the International Missionary Council:

Dutch.—*De Boodschap van Jeruzalem.* f. 0.90.
French.—*Pour la Conquête du Monde: Message de la Conférence Missionnaire de Jérusalem.* Fr. 1.
La Conférence de Jérusalem. Fr. 1.50.
Le Monde et l'Evangile, Jérusalem, 1928: Résolutions votées par le Conseil International des Missions (Mars-Avril 1928). Fr. 2.
German.—*Auf den Höhen des Oelberges.* M. 6.
Norwegian.—*Til Jerusalem (Missions-Verdenkonferensen).* Kr. 1.50.
Swedish.—*Den Evangeliska Missionens Självprövning.*

The report can be obtained from the Oxford University Press, London, and from 419 Fourth Avenue, New York City. The Continental books can be obtained from the office of the national missionary organization in the country concerned, of which a list is printed on pp. vi, vii.

[1] The title in the American edition is: The Christian Mission in Relation to Industrial Problems.
[2] The title in the American edition is: Addresses on General Subjects.

Officers of the I.M.C.

WITH effect from November 1st, 1928, Dr John R. Mott resigned the General Secretaryship of the National Council of the Young Men's Christian Associations of the United States of America. He has also resigned the Chairmanship of the World's Student Christian Federation. He has taken this course in order to give his whole time to the work of the International Missionary Council.

As this issue of *Quarterly Notes* appears, Dr Mott is attending the meeting of the National Christian Council of India, Burma and Ceylon, in session at Madras, India. He hopes to leave India during February and visit Malaysia and the Philippines *en route* for the Far East, and to attend there National Christian Council meetings, returning to New York in June.

The Rev. W. Paton is also in India attending the Madras conference. He expects to confer with other groups in India, and return to London by way of the Persian Gulf, Baghdad and Damascus about the end of March.

National Missionary Organizations and Secretaries

REVISED DIRECTORY

(*Cancelling all former lists*)

Australia.—National Missionary Council of Australia.
Rev. A. T. Thompson, Bible House, 241–3 Flinders Lane, Melbourne.

Belgium.—Société Belge des Missions Protestants au Congo.
M. le pasteur Henri Anet, 34 Rue de Stassart, Bruxelles.

Brazil.—Committee on Co-operation in Brazil.
Dr Erasmo Braga, Rue I de Marco 6, Rio de Janeiro.

China.—National Christian Council of China.
Dr C. Y. Cheng, Dr K. T. Chung, L. D. Cio, Rev. D. Fang, Dr Henry T. Hodgkin, Miss T. C. Kuan, Rev. E. C. Lobenstine, Missions Building, 23 Yuen Ming Yuen Road, Shanghai.

Congo.—Conseil Protestant du Congo.
Rev. Emory Ross, Bolenge, Coquilhatville, Congo Belge.

Denmark.—Dansk Missionsraad.
Professor Friedrich Torm, Nordre Frihavnsgade 27, Kobenhavn.

Finland.—Suomen Lahetysneuvosto.
Miss Aina Johansson, Kapteeninkatu 26C, Helsinki.

France.—Société des Missions Evangéliques de Paris.
M. le pasteur Elie Allégret, M. le pasteur Daniel Couve, 102 Boulevard Arago, Paris (XIV^{e}).

Germany.—Deutscher Evangelischer Missionsbund.
Professor D.Theol. M. Schlunk, Albrechtstrasse 2, Tübingen.

Great Britain.—Conference of Missionary Societies in Great Britain and Ireland.
Kenneth Maclennan, 2 Eaton Gate, London, S.W.1.

India.—National Christian Council of India, Burma and Ceylon.
Dr N. Macnicol, Rev. P. O. Philip, 1 Staveley Road, Poona.

Japan.—National Christian Council of Japan.
Dr W. Axling, Rev. A. Ebizawa, 10 Omote Sarugaku-Cho, Kanda-Ku, Tokyo.

Korea.—National Christian Council of Korea.
Rev. P. S. Chun, Y.M.C.A. Building, Chongno, Seoul.

Latin America.—Committee on Co-operation in Latin America.
Dr S. G. Inman, 419 Fourth Avenue, New York City.

The Netherlands.—Commissie van Advies.
Ds. John Rauws, Zendingsbureau, Oegstgeest, bij Leiden.

Netherlands Indies.—Zendingsconsulaat.
Dr N. A. C. Slotemaker de Bruine, Weltevreden, Batavia, Java.

New Zealand.—National Missionary Council of New Zealand.
Rev. David Calder, P.O. Box 930, Wellington.

Norway.—Norsk Missionsraad.
Chr. Dons, Post Boks 548, Oslo.

Philippine Islands.—Evangelical Union of the Philippine Islands.
Dr G. W. Wright, Box 437, Manila.

South Africa.—General Missionary Council of South Africa.
Rev. J. W. L. Hofmeyr, P.O. Box 1012, Cape Town.

Sweden.—Svenska Missionsrådet.
Jacob E. Lundahl, Barnhusgatan 10, Stockholm C.

Switzerland.—Délégation des Missions Suisses pour les Rélations Internationales. Schweitzerische Missionsverband zur Pflege der Internationalen Beziehung.
M. le pasteur Abel de Meuron, 2 Chemin de Cèdres, Lausanne.

United States and Canada.—Foreign Missions Conference of North America.
L. B. Moss, Rev. M. T. Stauffer, 419 Fourth Avenue, New York City.

Western Asia and Northern Africa.—Council for Western Asia and Northern Africa.
Dr R. P. Wilder, D. Partoghian Building, Rue du Télégraphe, Cairo.

Notes and News

Meeting of the Committee of the International Missionary Council.—The Committee of the Council has been called to meet at Williamstown, Massachusetts, from July 11th to 21st of this year.

Universal Week of Prayer.—The World's Evangelical Alliance has published its annual Call to Prayer for the week January 6th to 12th. Missionary work is the subject of prayer on Thursday, January 10th.

Deutscher Evangelischer Missionsbund.—The Council met in October at Tübingen and considered the recommendations of the Jerusalem meeting. The proposed new constitution of the International Missionary Council was agreed to, with the hope that at least one of the officers should be from the continent of Europe and at least two of the Committee should be German.

Sudan Pionier Mission.—This has taken over a worker in Persian Kurdistan and has changed its name to Evangelische Muhammedaner-Mission, with headquarters at Wiesbaden.

British Conference on the Jerusalem Message and the Churches.—A small conference representing almost all the denominations met near London in October to consider means for bringing home the message to the different Churches. A common lecture scheme which had been drawn up was approved in general, and each group decided upon plans to be submitted to its own denominational council with a view to being carried into effect.

Obituary

On September 7th, 1928, at Bournemouth, England, as the result of an accident, Eugene Stock, D.C.L., historian and former Editorial Secretary of the Church Missionary Society, and a leader in missionary co-operation, aged 92.

Subjects for Intercession

January to April 1929

The Work of the International Missionary Council

Let us pray for the officers, and especially for Dr Mott and Mr Paton visiting the Near and Far East and part of the Pacific area (see p. vi).

Let us pray for meetings of national Christian and missionary organizations, at which the message from Jerusalem will be considered.

The National Christian Council of India, Burma and Ceylon is meeting as this issue appears, December 31st to January 4th.
The Foreign Missions Conference of North America meets January 15th to 18th.
The Council for Western Asia and Northern Africa meets April 15th to 19th.
The National Christian Councils of China and Japan meet with Dr Mott during the spring.

Let us pray that an ever-widening circle may read and study the publications carrying the message of the Jerusalem meeting: the eight-volume Report, *The World Mission of Christianity, Roads to the City of God* and other books (see p. v).

Let us pray for all the follow-up work of the Jerusalem meeting, by various means and in many countries.

Reunion in the Church

Let us pray that God's blessing may rest upon the deliberations of the Continuation Committee of the Bangalore Conference on Church Union in South India, to meet early in January.

Students

Let us remember, on Sunday, February 24th, to pray with and for the students of the world, who will be observing that Sunday as a day of prayer; also for the quadrennial conference of the British Student Christian Movement, in session as this issue appears, in Liverpool, January 2nd to 8th.

Havana Conference

Let us pray for God's blessing on all the arrangements now being made for the Congress on Christian Work, called for June 22nd to 30th in Havana, Cuba, by the Committee on Co-operation in Latin America.

Japan

Let us pray for a wide response to the call of Christ through the national evangelistic campaign now in progress; and that, if God will, a central headquarters building for Christian work may be obtained (see p. iii).

Quarterly Notes, being the Bulletin of the International Missionary Council, is in no sense an official organ of the International Missionary Council. It is intended to be a brief record of the facts of national and international missionary co-operation. It is issued *gratis* as an inset in the *International Review of Missions* and also separately. National organizations and missionary societies who desire to put it into the hands of committee members or missionaries can order it from the International Missionary Council, Edinburgh House, 2 Eaton Gate, London, S.W.1, at 8d. (15 cents) per 10 copies, post free. Applications for single copies should be made to the Mission Houses.

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No. 22 April 1929

QUARTERLY NOTES

BEING THE BULLETIN OF THE

INTERNATIONAL MISSIONARY COUNCIL

International Missionary Council

Ratification of the New Constitution

THE national missionary organizations or Christian Councils in the following countries have ratified the revised constitution of the I.M.C.:

Australia.	France.	New Zealand.
Belgium.	Germany.	Philippine Islands.
China.	Great Britain.	South Africa.
Congo.	Japan.	Sweden.
Denmark.	Latin America.	Switzerland.
Finland.	Netherlands Indies.	

Korea

THE scope of religious education throughout Korea is being steadily enlarged, and is every year enlisting more and better talent. The Korea Sunday School Association is this year increasing its staff, its budget, its literature and its programme of work. One of the activities of the Association in recent years has been the conducting of 'institutes,' or short course training schools for Sunday school teachers. A large number of such institutes has been arranged for the present year, and an All-Korea Sunday School Convention is being planned for the autumn, to be held in Pyeng Yang.

China

Higher Education

THE Council of Higher Education of the China Christian Educational Association has put forward a proposal for a correlation of policy in higher educational work. Dr E. W. Wallace has been discussing personally, with missionary societies in America and in England, the 'correlated programme' drafted by the Council. The programme proposes that no institution should attempt to cover the whole field of higher education, that the number of students in each institution should be limited, that in certain cases several institutions should be combined into a federated or union university, and that post-graduate work should be centralized in one or two places. The programme

is subject to revision by the missions in China in the light of Dr Wallace's consultations, and the final form of the proposals will be submitted in due course to each board concerned.

Christian Education in East China

Of 108 middle schools for which statistics were given in the autumn of 1926, 45 have been closed, some permanently. A few are expected to open shortly, and others may be re-opened later. Most of those which have been closed are among the smaller schools. Between 1925 and 1927 the total numbers attending middle schools fell from about 11,000 to about 5600. Boys' schools suffered more heavily than girls', the reason being that as far back as 1922 boys' schools were overcrowded, so much so that in some cases efficiency was sacrificed. Many boys, too, were non-Christians ; a decrease was to be expected. The girls' schools, on the other hand, have drawn chiefly upon the Christian community, and have been gradually growing, until they are in a stronger position than the boys' schools. A few schools at the beginning of the session for 1928–29 showed an increased enrolment.

The need for reorganizing Christian secondary education in East China is under consideration. It is suggested that concentration and strengthening might be brought about by reducing some of the weaker schools to schools of a lower grade with a more limited programme ; by eliminating certain schools and transferring their resources ; and by establishing union schools. Mutual co-operation between churches and missions is necessary to carry out these suggestions.

Relations with Japan

Dr C. Y. Cheng, Chairman of the National Christian Council and also Moderator of the Church of Christ in China, attended the annual meeting of the National Christian Council of Japan and also had opportunities of conferring with Japanese political and Christian leaders. His plea for a better understanding between Japanese and Chinese Christians, and for co-operative efforts on their part to bring about better relations between the two countries met with a hearty response.

The Church

Active opposition to the Church has to a large extent died down, and there is a great opportunity before the Church, if she on her part can rise to it. The question of leadership, which was a prominent subject at the meeting last October of the National Christian Council, is still being discussed. The situation calls for Christian leaders who can make a strong appeal to the present generation of younger men and women, many of whom are taking up government service, some with a Christian outlook, all with alert minds.

Famine

News from China makes it evident that the famine has been more acute and widespread during the past winter even than was anticipated, and the suffering will continue into the late spring of this year. In Kansu, in the far interior, we hear of missionaries of the China Inland Mission and of the Roman Catholic Church working together on the provincial Famine Relief Committee. Famine conditions have been reported in ten provinces, involving a population of many millions of people. The China Famine Relief organization has been

doing its utmost to provide and distribute funds, and to finance relief works, and the Nationalist Government has made a grant according to its restricted revenue.

Secretariat

Dr Hodgkin has resigned from the General Secretaryship of the National Christian Council. After spending the summer in England, he will go to America to help in the foundation, near Philadelphia, of a college on the lines of Woodbrooke, one of the Selly Oak group at Birmingham. No information has reached London, at the time of going to press, as to his successor.

India

THE National Christian Council met in Madras from December 29th to January 4th. Representatives from other countries were among those present, including Dr Mott and the Rev. W. Paton, Mlle de Dietrich (France), Mr Shen (China) and the Rev. Max Yergan (America and South Africa), all of whom took part in the meeting.

The Council spent the first four days in considering the subjects dealt with at Jerusalem in 1928, concentrating especially on the relations of the younger and older Churches. Four groups were formed for discussion, their conclusions being presented to the Council and adopted as findings.[1]

The Council accepted the recommendation of the Rural Conference held in Coimbatore in December—that a whole-time secretary for promoting the interests of rural work should be appointed—provided that special funds were raised for the purpose, outside the regular budget of the Council. A similar step was taken with regard to a request for a whole-time worker to study mass movements.

The survey of medical mission work, which the Council has been furthering for two years, is now completed, and the report is about to appear. Various matters affecting the future arise out of the report and are to be brought to the attention of the missions.

An encouraging report was given from the Committee for Work among Muslims. The Christian School of Islamic Studies which is about to be established at Lahore, hopes to start work in November of this year, under the Principalship of the Rev. L. Bevan Jones.

The Council's Commission which has been surveying industrial conditions in India has almost completed its investigations and will publish its report during the present year.

The Council has elected the Rt Rev. the Bishop of Dornakal as its chairman for the next two years, in place of the Metropolitan ; the Rev. J. Z. Hodge, of the Regions Beyond Missionary Union, Bihar, was invited to become a secretary in place of Dr Macnicol, who is retiring by his own request, when his furlough becomes due next October ; and Miss B. C. Oliver, M.D., C.M., of the United Church of Canada's Rajputana Mission, as a secretary in place of Miss Van Doren, who reverts to her former mission and goes on furlough shortly. Miss Van Doren was invited to return as a secretary as soon as she can be relieved from her mission duties. Miss Van Doren and Mr K. T. Paul were elected as representatives of the National Christian Council to the Committee of the International Missionary Council.

[1] As we go to press these and other findings have not yet been published.—Ed.

Missions in Rural Areas

South Africa

THE Jerusalem meeting of the International Missionary Council in its statement regarding 'The Christian Mission in Relation to Rural Problems in Asia and Africa,' adopted the following recommendation :

We recommend that as soon as practicable the Committee of the International Missionary Council employ a competent staff member to give full time to the service of rural missions in all parts of the world (*The World Mission of Christianity*, p. 62 ; Complete Report, vol. VI., American ed. p. 255, British ed. p. 299).

Plans are being made by the officers of the Council to carry out this recommendation, but it is still too early to report the full accomplishment of it. The Committee of the Council at its meeting in July will doubtless consider these plans, and it is hoped that they may be consummated at that time.

Meanwhile, partly as the result of representation made by the officers of the Council, the Carnegie Corporation in New York City have commissioned Dr Kenyon L. Butterfield to visit South Africa for the purpose of studying rural conditions there. Dr Butterfield left New York early in February and is to spend three or four months in South Africa.

Dr Butterfield is well known as the former president of two of the foremost American Agricultural Colleges, Massachusetts and Michigan, and is now president of the American Country Life Association and of the World Agricultural Society. He was a member of the Educational Commission sent to China by the missionary boards in 1921, and attended the Jerusalem meeting as a specialist on rural problems, and made contributions of value to the discussion.

Holland

Vrouwen-Zendingsbund

(Women's Missionary Union)

AT a meeting in Utrecht on January 18th, attended by delegates from thirty different circles, the Vrouwen-Zendingsbund of Holland was constituted. The Union is representative of five Churches and includes both home and foreign missions (in the East and West Indies), medical missions and missions to Jews. The total membership of the affiliated groups exceeds 450. A scheme for a Home Preparation Union has been adopted and applications have already been received from candidates for Bible study.

The organizing secretary is Miss A. E. Adriani, who was a missionary in Java for a number of years. The new Union is largely the fruit of the efforts of Miss Adriani herself, who recognized the need for organizing the many isolated groups and circles of women in Holland who were interested in and working for missions. This unified group will undoubtedly strengthen the women's side of missionary work in the Netherlands, by making known the need for women to fill posts on the field, by encouraging offers of service and directing courses of preparation. It will be remembered that both in America and in Great Britain similar organizations of women were a prelude to the full co-operation of men and women in missionary organizations.

North America

Foreign Missions Conference

THE thirty-sixth annual meeting was held in Detroit from January 15th to 18th, the first since the Jerusalem meeting of the International Missionary Council. The Conference heard several presentations of different aspects of that meeting and felt strongly the need of 'a new crusade of missionary teaching' in the sending countries. The following recommendations were made:

(1) That the Committee of Reference and Counsel so apportion its time and energy during the coming year as to help the boards in interpreting and getting before their constituencies the message of the Jerusalem Council.

(2) That the boards study their own work and problems in the light of the chief emphases of the Jerusalem meeting.

(3) That the theological seminaries and other schools for the training of Christian leadership, both faculties and student bodies, be urged carefully to consider the claims of the Jerusalem Council utterances.

Mr C. H. Fahs presented a report of a study he has been conducting on 'Trends in foreign mission giving during the last twenty-five years,' which showed that although contributions for church work have rapidly increased in recent years, gifts for foreign missions have decreased. The report is to be published shortly by the Institute of Social and Religious Research.

The Conference accepted the offer of hospitality by the Union Theological Seminary for the Missionary Research Library, which will therefore in due course be removed to its new quarters.

It was decided to recommend to the missionary boards to bring to the attention of their constituencies the observance of the fifth Sunday after Easter (Rogation Sunday), annually, as a 'Rural Life Sunday,' on which prayers should be offered for the people of the rural areas of the world, and for their work.

Great Britain

Conference to be held at York, April 2nd to 6th, 1929

A CONFERENCE representing the heads of theological colleges, leaders of the Church and some of those intimately acquainted with the prevailing intellectual currents of to-day and with conditions in foreign lands, will be held at York during the first week in April. The conference, at which the Archbishop of York has consented to preside, is under the auspices of the Conference of Missionary Societies in Great Britain and Ireland and the International Missionary Council. Its object is to consider the preparation of the ministry in view of the world challenge to Christianity revealed at the Jerusalem meeting of the International Missionary Council. The programme is being evolved in consultation with those who will be present, and it is proposed that the subjects dealt with should include the Modern Christian Apologetic; the Content and Method of Christian Education; and the Problem of the Relation of Christianity to Industrialism and all for which it stands. The numbers will be limited to about fifty, and though the delegates will be mainly British, appointed in consultation with the heads of the different church bodies, invitations have also been issued to a few leaders of theological thought in Europe and overseas.

Syllabus of Lectures on the World Mission of Christianity

Lectures on subjects discussed at Jerusalem have been prepared by an interdenominational group for the use of lecturers at missionary ' schools ' or conferences where special conditions can be ensured. They have been planned as a course, and no lecture is complete by itself. The lectures are not intended to be used as sermon material or by speakers at isolated meetings.

The syllabus comprises seven lectures dealing with the Changing World, Christianity and Race, Industrial and Rural Problems in the Mission Field, the World at School, the Christian Message, the Older and Younger Churches and the Opportunity and Task of the Home Church. In each lecture copious references are made to books, particularly, of course, to the Jerusalem meeting Reports, and to *The World Mission of Christianity, A Faith for the World*, and *Roads to the City of God*.

Beside the seven lectures there is a memorandum on their use, a two-page synopsis, a bibliography, and group discussion questions on each lecture. The synopsis and the questions have also been reprinted as separate leaflets.

The syllabus was published in February by the United Council for Missionary Education (price one shilling), and copies are obtainable from the leading missionary societies.

Brazil

DURING the last ten years there has been a revival not only of civic life but also of religion, which is becoming a great issue. Both the Roman Catholic and the Protestant churches are attended by increasing numbers. The Protestant churches realize that the time calls for co-operation among the various denominations if advantage is to be taken of the opportunity for constructive work which has opened up. For example, it is generally recognized that the educational system of the country needs to be reformed. Co-operation between the missionary and national church schools and colleges would make possible a definite contribution from the former to any educational scheme which may be drawn up.

In religious education through the Sunday schools, in literary output, in evangelistic work among the aboriginal Indians, in theological education, in movements of social reform and in other ways the Committee on Co-operation has been able to promote constructive work.

It is not only in the promotion of co-operative work in Brazil between the denominations, but in constituting a link with the Church in other lands, that the Committee on Co-operation has proved of value : ' To-day, school children of Brazil correspond with school children in Portuguese Africa and Japan. . . . A letter from the Transvaal missions announces the liberation of an exiled believer in India, a case in which our intervention had been asked. . . . It was our committee that made it possible to intervene with the authorities in Japan in favour of liberty of conscience of their emigrants to Brazil. . . .'

The revised constitution of the International Missionary Council, as proposed at the Jerusalem meeting and since ratified by a number of national organizations, would give a place as a member of the Council to the Committee on Co-

operation in Latin America, with three representatives on the Committee of the Council. Both the President and the Secretary of the Brazilian Committee on Co-operation were delegates to the Jerusalem meeting of the Council in 1928, and the event was full of significance for the Protestant Christian community of Brazil, which saw in it their full adoption into world missionary co-operation.

Notes and News

The Rev. William Paton was expected back in London about March 11th. He has visited some of the mission stations in Iraq, Syria and Turkey on his way back from India, and also met members of the Committee of the Council for Western Asia and Northern Africa, at Beirut, in February.

The Rev. E. Stanley Jones, D.D., is to spend a week of April in England, speaking at many meetings which have been arranged.

The Report of the East Africa Commission, of which Mr J. H. Oldham was a member, was published in January and is receiving much attention in political and missionary circles.

Missionary Exhibition.--An international exhibition illustrating the work of missions, from their historical, ethnographical, philanthropical and educational aspects, is being arranged by the Roman Catholic Church in Barcelona, for May.

An Example of Missionary Fellowship.—M. Maitre of the Paris Missionary Society has gone to a district in French Togo, to care for the work formerly carried on by the North German Missionary Society, as missionaries of the latter society are not yet able to return to their stations there. M. Maitre will work in close correspondence with the German society, and also in co-operation with the German missionaries in the adjoining British territory.

National European-Bantu Conference.—The Conference was held at Capetown, February 6th to 8th, under the auspices of the Joint Councils of Europeans and Natives and Native Welfare Societies. The subjects for discussion included agricultural development of native areas, industrial organization, health organization (to which two periods were allotted), social activities, administration of justice and the pass laws. It is hoped to give some account of the conference in our next issue.

Prizes for African Books.—With the object of encouraging African writers, the International Institute of African Languages and Cultures is offering prizes annually, from 1930, to African writers in African languages. Five prizes will be given each year for books in five different languages, which will vary from year to year. We hope to publish further particulars in our next issue.

Conference on Recruiting, Selection and Preparation of Missionaries.—A conference on these subjects, which are becoming urgent in North America, was held at Pocono, Pennsylvania, from January 31st to February 3rd. A summary of the discussions and findings has come in as we go to press, but cannot be adequately treated here. We hope to refer to the conference in our next issue.

Subjects for Intercession

April to July, 1929

Spreading the Message of the Jerusalem Meeting

Let us Pray: That God's blessing may be with the conference on the preparation of the ministry to be held in York, April 2nd to 6th.

That the committee appointed in North America to consider the question of arranging for a similar conference may have God's guidance.

That missionary boards, in considering plans for spreading the message and interpreting it to their constituencies, may receive divine wisdom.

That the members of study circles, missionary summer schools, conferences and other groups which are studying the message may have their minds enlightened and their wills stirred to action by the Holy Spirit.

That leaders of all such groups, ministers and missionary speakers may not grow weary in passing on the message, but come to every meeting with renewed zeal and enthusiasm.

The International Missionary Council

Let us Pray: For God's blessing on the deliberations of the committee of the Council, to meet at Williamstown, Massachusetts, July 11th to 21st.

For His blessing, too, on the officers of the Council in all their work.

Christian Work in Many Lands

Let us Pray: For the religious education which is being developed in Korea (p. i).

For all plans for Christian education in China, especially for right action in regard to the proposals for a 'correlated programme' (pp. i–ii).

For all the work of the national Christian councils, and for the new officers of the councils recently appointed (pp. i–iii, vi).

For Dr Butterfield's study of rural conditions in South Africa (p. iv).

For the new Women's Missionary Union in Holland (p. iv).

For continued revival of religion in Brazil (p. vi).

For Dr Stanley Jones in his visit to England (p. vii).

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No. 28 July 1929

QUARTERLY NOTES

BEING THE BULLETIN OF THE

INTERNATIONAL MISSIONARY COUNCIL

International Missionary Council

THE Committee of the Council is to meet at Williamstown, U.S.A., from July 11th to 21st, to review the plans and decisions formed at Jerusalem, and in the light of the experience gathered since April 1928 to reformulate those plans as definite projects of the Council.

The main subjects which were before the Council at its Jerusalem meeting—The Christian Message, Religious Education, The Relations between the Younger and Older Churches, Industrialism, Rural Questions—which have been widely discussed and studied during the past fifteen months, will be before the Committee. Other subjects will also be put forward for discussion, including reports from the chairman and secretaries.

Dr Mott will have visited in the course of the eight months preceding the meeting the whole of the Middle and Far East. Mr Paton has visited India and the Near East. Mr Oldham, Dr Warnshuis and Miss Gibson will also have reports to make.

A further matter which must necessarily come before the Committee will be the ratification of the new Constitution of the International Missionary Council by the constituent bodies.

The chairman and secretaries are planning to be together for about two weeks before the meeting to make final preparations.

India

THE Executive Committee of the National Christian Council met in Poona on March 25th and 26th and had before it several important questions. Perhaps the most important was a request from a widely representative Educational Conference convened by the National Christian Council at Agra at the end of January. This was a request for the appointment of a Commission to consider the present position and the future development of Christian colleges in India. The suggestion was that such a Commission might be appointed jointly by the Conference of British Missionary Societies and the Foreign Missions Conference of North America, and might consist of two deputies from Europe, two from North America and two representative Indians, besides the chairman. The Executive Committee of the National Christian Council found itself in cordial agreement with this proposal and resolved to forward it to the appropriate bodies with its endorsement.

The Provincial Christian Councils that have held their annual meetings since the Agra Conference—those of Behar and Orissa, Bengal and Assam, the United

Provinces and the Panjab—have approved generally of this proposal ; so have various gatherings of those engaged in higher educational work in various parts of the country, which have been convened to consider it.

Another important resolution of the Executive Committee conveys an urgent request for the appointment at an early date—if the funds necessary can be obtained—of an experienced missionary to devote a period of about two years to a careful survey and investigation of mass movement work.

Early in March the Joint Committee of the South India United Church, the Church of England and the (English) Wesleyan Mission, which has been engaged in preparing a plan for a union of the Churches in South India, met in Madras and completed its Report, which proves to be unanimous. At the time of writing, the Report is in the press and will be read, when it is published, with much interest and hope not only in India but throughout the world. It will be submitted to the negotiating Churches for their consideration. An interesting indication of the steadily growing movement towards union in India is afforded by a ' round table ' conference on the subject held early in April in Lucknow. Among the Churches there represented were the United Church of Northern India, the Methodist Episcopal Church, the (English) Wesleyans and the Baptists.

N. M.

Union in Worship

The Hyderabad Missionary Conference arranged a service which was held on Good Friday, on the maidan at Secunderabad. The service was taken by Anglican, Baptist and Wesleyan ministers, and the music was led by the band of a British regiment. Over two thousand, both Christian and non-Christian, attended. The service sheet bore the title of *Nineteen Hundred Years Ago*, the hymns and prayers being printed in English, Tamil, Telugu and Urdu.

Africa

National European-Bantu Conference

Cape Town, February 6th to 9th

MEN and women of all races in South Africa met in February to discuss a number of questions vitally affecting the life of Africans. The Conference was divided into seven sections, which were severally occupied with consideration of the following topics : agricultural development, industrial organization, health organization, social activities, administration of justice, pass laws and franchise.

Among the most interesting recommendations were those urging the Government to inaugurate a medical service for Africans (see Dr Loram's article in the current issue of the *International Review of Missions*), to repeal the existing pass laws, and to appoint a commission to enquire into the operation of the jury system in cases where Europeans are charged with offences against Africans. The section discussing social activities brought forward a recommendation to universities to encourage their students to undertake settlement work for Africans in urban areas, to help in the Pathfinder and Wayfarer Movements and in other social work.

The Conference deprecated ' any alteration of the law which would result in depriving the Natives of the Cape Province of the franchise in its present form.'

Prizes for Books in African Languages

The International Institute for African Languages and Cultures, desiring to encourage the production of an African literature, has decided to offer annual prizes for the best books in African languages.

For the year 1930 prizes are offered for manuscripts in the following languages: Xosa, Swahili, Hova, Kongo and Akan (Twi or Fante). Manuscripts must reach the offices of the Institute by October 1st, 1930.

Each book should contain as a rule between 40,000 and 60,000 words, and must be written by an African. One money prize will be awarded in each of the chosen languages, which will vary from year to year, five being chosen for each year. It is hoped that missionaries and others in contact with Africans who might compete will do all they can to make these prizes known. Details can be obtained from the office of the Institute (22 Craven Street, London, W.C.2).

North America

Conference on Recruiting, Selection and Preparation of Missionaries

POCONO MANOR, JANUARY 31ST TO FEBRUARY 3RD

THIS Conference was called by the Committee on Missionary Preparation. Fifty-three delegates were in attendance, representing fifteen denominations and twenty-two different Foreign Mission Boards.

The Conference opened with several carefully prepared reports on the available supply of missionary candidates, followed by a general discussion on missionary recruiting and the attitude of young people toward the appeals of the boards. The situation as disclosed was disquieting enough to provoke earnest enquiry and to call at the not distant future for a conference of candidate secretaries, Student Volunteer Movement representatives and leaders of the two Christian Associations to consider together ways and means of more effectively confronting the youth of our schools and colleges with the missionary life appeal.

When the Conference took up its discussion of the two major subjects, the selection and preparation of new missionaries, it soon became evident to every one that situations and demands have changed so rapidly both here and on the mission fields during the last decade that practically all the questions raised by the old Board of Missionary Preparation in the years following Edinburgh and before the war must now be faced afresh, and new work must be done. One significant recommendation which bears on mission board personnel came out of the discussion on selection:

> We are convinced that the wise selection of missionary personnel is largely dependent upon a certain skill in judging personality. This skill may be best acquired by extensive experience and study. We therefore recommend that the boards endeavor to secure greater continuity in the service of Candidate Secretaries and consider the advisability of occasional visits of their Candidate Secretaries to the mission fields.

Copies of the complete findings and recommendations of the Pocono Conference may be secured on request from the Committee on Missionary Preparation, 419 Fourth Avenue, New York.

[For the above we are indebted to the *Foreign Missions Conference Bulletin* No. 12.—ED.]

Japan

AT the conference held in June 1928 under the auspices of the National Christian Council, it was decided to launch a national evangelistic campaign to be conducted through the winter. The latest number of *The Japan Christian Quarterly* (April) to come to hand contains notes on the progress of the campaign, together with a more detailed account of Mr Toyohiko Kagawa's part in it.

As the campaign proceeded it won the co-operation of the local churches in the happiest way, so that, although it was planned to bring the campaign to a close in April, requests were made that it be continued for some weeks longer, until all districts were reached. Mr Kagawa has thrown the whole strength of his personality into the campaign.

The same issue of the *Quarterly* contains an article on the latest Religions Organizations Bill, which, like the Religions Bill of 1927, contained clauses which would probably have proved to be unacceptable to Christians. The Bill, however, again like that of 1927, has been shelved.

In the Japan section of the Survey published in the issue of the *International Review of Missions* for January of this year it was stated that 'the Kwansai Gakuin (for women), founded at Kobe in 1875, has attained to university grade.' It should have read 'the Kobe College,' which is for women, the Kwansai Gakuin being for men.

Great Britain

Conference on Training of the Ministry

YORK, APRIL 2ND TO 5TH

A CONFERENCE to consider the training of the ministry in relation to the world situation, as set forth in the Report of the Jerusalem meeting of the International Missionary Council, was held under the joint auspices of the Conference of Missionary Societies and the International Missionary Council.

The Conference was presided over by the Archbishop of York and was attended by leading representatives of the different churches, the majority of whom were engaged in the work of theological training. There were also present Dr Francis Wei from China and Professor Kohnstann from Holland. The number of those attending was forty-five.

The question which the Conference was called upon to discuss was how the Christian ministry can most effectively fulfil its task in relation to the major problems of human life to-day.

It was clear that there are two distinct problems which need attention. The first is that of an intellectual restatement of the Christian Gospel in relation to modern thought and conditions, which is primarily the task for Christian thinkers who have the equipment and leisure to work out this problem; and the second is the question of the training of the ordinary working minister to fulfil his ministry in relation to modern conditions.

With regard to the first of these tasks, attention was called to the literature of fine quality that is being issued in exposition of the outlook of what may be described as scientific humanism. There is no output from the Christian side in any way to compare with this literature.

It was pointed out by those who had been present at the meeting at Jerusalem

that the problems dealt with at that meeting were of such a nature that the leadership of the missionary movement which was specially needed at the present time was that of Christian thinkers and theologians.

A brief report of the Conference will shortly be available and will be brought to the attention of those concerned with the training of the ministry in the different denominations. It transpired that copies of the eight-volume Report of the Jerusalem meeting have been placed in the libraries of practically all the theological colleges, and that copies of *The World Mission of Christianity* have been circulated widely among theological students.

[From the report made to the Conference of British Missionary Societies.]

Following up the Jerusalem Meeting

DURING the year that has followed the Council's meeting, the delegates as well as the co-opted members from the NETHERLANDS have in different ways tried to make their fellow-Christians realize the significance and the volume of the work done at Jerusalem, speaking at missionary and other conferences, at public meetings and at special gatherings of different organizations, for old and young, earnestly trying to enlarge the understanding of what Christian missions stand for in the changing world of to-day.

At the National Missionary Conference held in October at Amsterdam, the programme was chiefly filled with the subjects discussed at Jerusalem. The opportunity thus offered was largely used to make known the existence, the object and the usefulness of the International Missionary Council in places where knowledge of Christian missions is lacking. Articles were published in daily, weekly and monthly papers; not only in Christian but also in secular papers. This still continues.

A letter signed by the two official delegates was sent to the ministers of the Churches of all the Protestant denominations, urging them to find an opportunity during this year to pass on the Jerusalem message to their Churches.

Great pains were taken to make known the Report of the Jerusalem meeting. The libraries of almost all the universities ordered a complete set, and a special effort to reach the public libraries was not fruitless, though the response might have been larger. The number of individuals who took it is not unsatisfactory. From the fact that it is written in English the number of people who can study it is limited, though perhaps larger than in countries where the knowledge of foreign languages is less general.

There has been a strong feeling of the urgent need for better organization of the central body (*Commissie van Advies*), and a Missionary Council is coming into being. This is, perhaps, the most important and promising result for the development and strengthening of missionary activity in the Netherlands. And yet we feel strongly too that spiritual results are not only the most needed, but that they actually were the principal object of all that was said and done at the Jerusalem meeting: without these it would be a failure indeed.

When we realize the amount of work the delegates found after their long absence, when we think of the handicap of ill-health of two members in their group, and remember the general mentality of our people who are not naturally inclined to listen to a message clothed in other forms than those to which they have been accustomed during many generations, we can only be thankful for what really seems to be a new interest and a growing zeal among the Christians of our country.

The time has not yet fully come when we are able justly to measure and appreciate all that the Jerusalem meeting has meant for the deepening, strengthening and spreading of the Spirit of Christ in the missionary enterprise of our country. Yet God works here as elsewhere, according to our special needs, as He knows the weaknesses as well as the hidden possibilities in a small nation. Therefore we are full of hope for the future.

[From a communication from the Baroness van Boetzelaer van Dubbeldam.]

The National Missionary Council of AUSTRALIA has held a day of conference and prayer, and for consideration of the 'Messages and Recommendations,' which were also discussed at the annual conference of the Layman's Missionary Movement of the Methodist Church, a strong body. Facilities for broadcasting the Message were also granted to the Australian delegate to Jerusalem.

The 'Messages and Recommendations' have been published in practically every evangelical periodical in LATIN AMERICA and SPAIN. The section dealing with the Christian message and industrial questions has been translated into Spanish and widely distributed; for it is recognized that in no other country in the world is life being more rapidly industrialized than in Latin America.

Comparative Missionary Finance

IN accordance with the recommendations of the International Missionary Council meeting at Oxford in 1923, the following table has been drawn up by the Rev. A. L. Warnshuis, showing the aggregate income of those missionary societies co-operating in the national missionary organizations represented in the International Missionary Council.

The column showing rates of exchange gives the value in United States dollars of the unit of currency in each country.

		1925	1926	1927	Average	Rate of exchange	Average aggregate income in dollars
Australia	£	332,886	332,886	285,701	317,158	4·86625	$1,543,370·12
Belgium	Fr.	90,135	145,684	145,684 [1]	127,168	·0278	3,535·27
Denmark	Kr.	2,521,000	2,131,106	2,021,713	2,224,606	·268	596,194·41
Finland (3 societies)	M.	4,990,038	5,599,421	6,170,506	5,586,655	·025185	140,699·91
France	Fr.	2,799,000	2,320,796	3,835,834	2,985,210	·039175	116,945·60
Germany	M.	3,799,158	4,320,000	5,728,059	4,615,739	·238	1,098,545·88
Great Britain	£	2,180,541	2,326,243	2,349,502	2,285,429	4·86625	11,121,468·87
Latin America	$	..	..	..	3,332,591 [2]	..	3,332,591·00 [2]
Netherlands	Fl.	1,327,961	1,346,210	1,385,317	1,353,163	·402	543,971·53
New Zealand	£	97,118	95,000	95,000	95,706	4·86625	465,729·32
U.S.A. and Canada [3]	$	38,927,339	35,000,000 [4]	31,346,972	35,091,437	..	35,091,437·00
Norway	Kr.	4,102,556	3,894,000	3,894,000 [1]	3,963,518	·268	1,062,222·82
Sweden	Kr.	3,863,943	3,859,374	3,847,327	3,856,881	·268	1,033,644·11
Switzerland	Fr.	1,499,335	1,141,568	1,594,925	1,411,943	·193	272,505·00
South Africa	£	100,000	100,000	100,000	100,000	4·86625	486,625·00
						$	56,909,485·84

[1] Figures for 1926.

[2] These figures show the expenditure of the mission boards represented in the Committee on Co-operation in Latin America, and are the average for the five years 1920–25, compiled in 1926, and are the latest for this area.

[3] Exclusive of expenditure in Latin America.

[4] The North American Conference collected its statistics for the year 1926 to show the total income of the missionary boards represented in the Conference received from 'living donors' amounting to $32,689,084. With this figure as a basis the above estimate of $35,000,000 aggregate income has been made.

Missionary Work in Northern Europe

THE Northern European countries, viz. Denmark, Finland, Norway and Sweden, have a great deal of common interest in missionary work. National character, language (each language can be understood in the four countries), and a common Christian outlook, have made it natural for the missionary leaders of the four countries to co-operate in their common task.

To promote this co-operation the Northern Missionary Council was formed in 1923, with representatives elected by the respective national missionary councils. One function of the Council is to arrange general conferences. In 1925 such a conference was held in Stockholm (Sweden), and in 1928 in Helsingfors (Finland). It is proposed to hold the next conference in Oslo (Norway) in 1931.

The addresses delivered at the Helsingfors conference have been published under the title *Nordiskt Missionsarbete : Motiv och Metoder* (Missionary Work of the Northern Countries : Motive and Methods). The book also includes reviews of the missionary work of the northern countries. C. D.

Notes and News

Korean National Christian Council.—The Rev. J. S. Ryang being unable to continue to give time to the correspondence of the Council, pending the appointment of a general secretary all correspondence should be addressed to the chairman, the Rev. J. K. CHUNG, c/o Korea Sunday School Association, Seoul.

National Christian Council of China.—The solution of the rural problem of the Chinese Church has for some time been a task which the Council was facing, and Mr F. L. CHANG has recently been appointed Rural Secretary to the Council.

The Near East Christian Council is the new name adopted by the Council for Western Asia and Northern Africa.

Kennedy School of Missions, Hartford.—On the new campus an 'apartment building' is being erected and will be ready for occupation, it is hoped, in September. Apartments vary in size from two to five rooms, and are fully furnished. Accommodation will be available for twelve families, and will enable married missionaries to attend the School of Missions.

Newman School of Missions, Thabor, Jerusalem.—The *Occasional Paper, No. 1*, published in February, reports that during this first year, since the opening of the school, about 100 students have attended, representing 16 missions and 12 nationalities. Of these, the majority were Arabic-speaking missionaries, the remainder being Hebrew-speaking. The library, which began with a nucleus of some 250 books, has grown to over 900.

Institute of Pacific Relations.—The third session of the Institute will be held in Kyoto, Japan, from October 28th to November 9th.

Obituary

On March 27th, at Lausanne, the Rt Rev. CHARLES H. BRENT, D.D., Bishop of Western New York and President of the World Conference on Faith and Order. Bishop Brent took part in the World Conference at Edinburgh in 1910.

On March 16th, suddenly, in South Africa, Mr J. C. GIBSON, Chairman of the Executive Committee of the South Africa General Mission, a delegate from South Africa to the meeting of the International Missionary Council at Oxford 1923.

Subjects for Intercession

July to October, 1929

The International Missionary Council

Let us Pray: For God's blessing on the deliberations of the Council, meeting at Williamstown, Massachusetts, July 11th to 21st (p. i).

That in planning the future activities of the Council right decisions may be taken (p. i).

The National Christian Councils

Let us Pray: For the Japanese Council, in all the work of conserving the results of the national evangelistic campaign (p. iv).

For guidance in the choice and appointment of a general secretary for the Korean Council (p. vii).

For the Chinese Council in planning its work for the Church in rural communities, and for the new secretary who is to care for this work (p. vii).

That the Indian Council may be enabled to carry out the proposed survey of mass movement work (p. ii), and may be guided in taking action on the recent surveys of medical work and of industrial conditions.

Co-operation and Unity

Let us give Thanks and Pray for all movements towards unity and understanding, especially remembering: The steadily growing movement towards church union in India (p. ii).

The development of co-operation among the missionary forces of the peoples of Northern Europe (p. vii).

The European-Bantu Conference in South Africa, and all it may accomplish for the welfare of both races (pp. ii, iii).

The forthcoming session in Kyoto of the Institute of Pacific Relations (p. vii).

Education

Let us Pray: For God's guidance in all plans for the proposed Commission to consider the present position and future development of Christian colleges in India (p. i).

For missionaries in preparation, and theological students, and for all engaged in training men and women to carry the Christian message (pp. iii, iv, v, vii).

For all who are seeking to bring the message of the Jerusalem Meeting into the life and thought of the Church (pp. v, vi).

Quarterly Notes, being the Bulletin of the International Missionary Council, is in no sense an official organ of the International Missionary Council. It is intended to be a brief record of the facts of national and international missionary co-operation. It is issued *gratis* as an inset in the *International Review of Missions* and also separately. National organizations and missionary societies who desire to put it into the hands of committee members or missionaries can order it from the International Missionary Council, Edinburgh House, 2 Eaton Gate, London, S.W.1, at 8d. (15 cents) per 10 copies, post free. Applications for single copies should be made to the Mission Houses.

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QUARTERLY NOTES

BEING THE BULLETIN OF THE

INTERNATIONAL MISSIONARY COUNCIL

International Missionary Council

MEETING AT WILLIAMSTOWN, MASSACHUSETTS, JULY 11TH to 21ST, 1929

THE Committee of the Council met at Williamstown in delightful surroundings. Representatives were present from all the constituent national organizations except those of France, Australia and New Zealand, whose delegates were prevented from attending.

The main work of the Committee was to consider the programme outlined at the Jerusalem Meeting, and in the light of discussion and experience in all parts of the world to make definite plans for carrying it into action.

The meetings were opened by the chairman, Dr John R. Mott, who outlined the principal issues brought to his notice during his tour of the East last winter. Mr Paton dealt similarly with his tour in India and the Near East. Mr Oldham opened up the subject of the Christian Message, with special reference to the problem of 'secularism,' in a speech which was unanimously regarded as of high significance, and which it was decided to print and circulate widely.

Important decisions were taken in regard to three matters arising out of the Jerusalem resolutions: In order to help in the development of work in rural areas, particularly in Asia, it was decided to invite Dr Kenyon L. Butterfield to give his services for two years, for work particularly in India, Siam and China. In the sphere of industrial and economic problems it was decided that the plan for the establishment of a Department of Social and Industrial Research and Counsel should be sent to the national organizations for their approval. (The hopes entertained in this connexion of securing the unofficial help of Mr Grimshaw have been dashed by his sudden and lamented death.) It was further decided that the work of following up the conferences on missionary work among Jews, held in 1927 at Budapest and Warsaw, demands the services of a full-time worker, and it was agreed to proceed with such an appointment. In all these three cases the provision of funds will be apart from the regular budget of the Council, and without contingent liability to the supporting bodies.

A further development was to invite Mr Basil Mathews to work in connexion with the Council as a literary interpreter of the missionary enterprise, both through writing and contacts with publicists in different countries.

On two important subjects, namely, religious education and Christian literature, long resolutions were passed full of concrete suggestion which cannot be summarized here. At no meeting of the Council has so full attention been given to the problem of Christian literature.

Plans were also carried forward a further stage for the study of the problems adherent in the relation of the younger and older Churches. Of other matters

with which the Committee dealt, reference may be made to the proposed Higher Education Commissions to be sent to India and Japan ; the study of religious and missionary freedom in the Near East ; and the whole African situation (see below).

The meeting was conspicuous for its entire unity of spirit, for the profoundly religious tone of its discussions, and for the way the importance of evangelism was insisted upon in connexion with the whole range of missionary work. The dominant impression left by the meeting was that the Committee knew itself called simultaneously to a great extension of the range of its work and also to a great deepening of spiritual power.

Conference on Africa

A meeting was held at Bronxville, New York, on July 7th, 8th and 9th, of representatives of the American boards having work in Africa and some of the delegates from the Continent of Europe to the Williamstown meeting, with the officers of the International Missionary Council. A programme of work for Africa was discussed, and it was agreed that such a programme should include the following items :

1. Exploration of the best means of furthering and realizing the evangelistic aims of the Christian missions in Africa.
2. The development of a programme of Christian education in Africa as a means of realizing this missionary purpose, with special reference to : (*a*) the improvement of religious education ; (*b*) the Christianization of Africa's womanhood and home life ; (*c*) the development of African leadership ; and (*d*) meeting the needs of rural communities ; and, in connexion with this, the study of the educational policy of governments and of the relation between the educational policy of missions and that of governments.
3. The development of a health programme for African missions with special reference to : (*a*) a comprehensive programme for use in schools ; (*b*) co-operation with governments in attack on disease ; and (*c*) the creation of an African health staff of doctors, medical assistants, dressers and nurses.
4. Furtherance of the work of the International Committee on Christian Literature for Africa.
5. Co-operation with other agencies in the endeavour to understand, conserve and develop what is valuable in African cultures and institutions.
6. The occupation of the field and the avoidance of overlapping.
7. The encouragement and development of Christian councils in the Continent of Africa, and co-operation with existing councils.
8. Approach to governments where necessary, in regard to questions involving the relations of missions and governments.
9. The bringing to bear of Christian influence for the establishment of right racial relations, and co-operation for this purpose with the proposed Industrial Institute.
10. Prayer for the raising up of men and women of outstanding gifts for positions of leadership in Africa, and support for efforts in different countries to secure for African missionaries the best possible equipment for their task.

These proposals were afterwards approved by the meeting of the Committee of the International Missionary Council at Williamstown.

International Committee on Christian Literature for Africa.—At Williamstown the constitution of this new committee was approved and submitted to the national organizations for their approval. The Committee will be financed by special funds already raised in America and Great Britain, and Miss Margaret Wrong has been appointed secretary with headquarters in London (Edinburgh House, 2 Eaton Gate). The Committee will serve all the national organizations.

India

A Survey of Medical Missions

AN important publication just issued by the National Christian Council is a *Survey of Medical Missions in India*, prepared by a Committee of the Christian Medical Association.

It has long been felt that medical missions, in spite of the universal recognition of their importance in the Christian world enterprise and of the supreme value of their proclamation of the Christian message, have not obtained the place they ought to have in the programmes of the great missionary conferences. The reasons for this are evident: medical missionaries are somewhat withdrawn, both by the more technical character of their calling and by the exaction of their duties, from the general body of missionary workers. At Jerusalem, however, they were represented among the delegates, and an important pronouncement was made on their work and its relation to the general missionary task. This *Survey* will, we trust, bring prominently before the Church, and especially the missionary boards, the facts of the medical missionary situation in India, and the aims and requirements of this work.

The survey has been carried through by a group of able doctors who could only with great difficulty spare time for this additional task. The first thing they make clear—as it needs to be made clear—is the fact that medical missions have a permanent place in the task of the Christian Church, in that they exhibit the essential nature of the Christian faith as the service of men in love. Their place is not subsidiary but primary. These doctors further claim that while much noble work has been and is being done with inadequate equipment, this should not receive acquiescence except as an unfortunate necessity. The highest skill and the best possible material should be placed at the disposal of those who seek to reveal by this means the supreme fact of the divine love to men. A third important point in the situation in India that is presented in this *Survey* is the need to keep ever in mind the fact that the Indian Church is the heir of this, as of all, mission work, and must be prepared to take over its inheritance.

The *Survey* (Re. 1, or 1s. 6d.) should be studied by all mission boards, especially by their medical committees, and should prove of much value for guidance. It contains carefully collected statistics and a map showing mission hospitals.

Two Government Commissions

Two weighty Commissions have just been appointed by the Government. The first is a Royal Commission to investigate the whole industrial situation, which is causing much anxiety on account of the almost chronic condition of anarchy among the cotton mills in Bombay. The Commission appointed two years ago by the National Christian Council, in association with the Institute of Social and Religious Research of New York, to investigate the industrial situation specially in its relation to the Christian Church and its missions, has completed its investigation and its report is expected about the end of this year.

The second Government Commission is to examine the position of banks in India, and has a relation to missionary tasks through the fact that it will, no doubt, deal with co-operative banks and the help they may bring to the poor agriculturist. In addition to the central Committee which is to study the problem in the whole land, provincial committees have been selected to co-

operate in preparing the material for the central body. One of the members of the Committee for Bihar and Orissa is the Secretary-Designate of the National Christian Council, the Rev. J. Z. Hodge, who has much knowledge and experience of this important department of service.

Christian School of Islamic Studies, Lahore

The following information regarding the new School of Islamics has been received:

The staff is to consist of the Rev. L. Bevan Jones (B.M.S.), formerly of Dacca, as Principal; the Rev. L. E. Browne (S.P.G.), formerly of Bishop's College, Calcutta; and Mr J. A. Subhan (M.E.M.), formerly of Bareilly Institute.

The members of the staff will arrive in Lahore towards the end of this year and will be prepared to start lectures on Monday, January 6th, 1930. The opening session will be short, probably of three months' duration only, but later on it is hoped that arrangements can be made to hold two terms in the cold season. At the outset lectures will be given in the following subjects: Muhammad: his life and character. The world in Muhammad's day. The history of Islam, with special reference to India. The development of Islamic doctrine. Islam in India to-day. Sufiism: religious orders in India. Christian contact with Islam throughout the ages. The presentation of Christianity to Muslims.

In exceptional cases, where missionaries are prepared to devote most of their time to work among Muslims, and where more prolonged periods of study are contemplated, the course can be made to include Arabic, Persian and advanced work along special lines. Arrangements can be made for the study of Urdu. Students will have opportunities for intercourse with Muslims.

All communications concerning the School should be addressed, in India, to Dr M. T. Titus, Methodist Mission, Budaun, U.P.; or, in England, to the Rev. Bevan Jones, c/o B.M.S., 19 Furnival Street, Holborn, London, E.C. 4.

Church Union in South India

The proposals for church union may be found in the *National Christian Council Review* (1 Staveley Road, Poona) for July. The draft scheme is obtainable from the Christian Literature Society of Madras (4 as.); also from the S.P.C.K. of London (1s.).

Latin America

Havana Evangelical Congress

June 20th to 30th

THIS Christian Congress was attended by the people of the Caribbean Sea, Central America and Mexico. The Congress was planned to provide opportunity for the Evangelical Church in those lands 'to discover itself, to feel its own life, in its own environment, to study how in the light of the idiosyncrasies of the Latin American people the young Church can develop its work,' as the Congress of 1926 at Montevideo provided for the countries of

South America. Delegates attended also from the Spanish-speaking Evangelical Churches of the United States and of Spain.

The four chief themes, dealt with in preliminary papers, were: Evangelical Solidarity, Education, Social Action and Literature. Spanish was the language of the Congress, and of the preparatory papers, the writers of which were almost all Latin Americans.

Chief among the results of the Congress was the recognition that a spirit of Latin solidarity has come into existence, together with a desire for national leadership in the Church, for which there is also capacity. It is confidently expected that the growth of this spirit will strengthen the life of the Evangelical Church in the area of Latin America.

National Christian Council of China

Seventh Annual Meeting, 1929

THE Council met in Hangchow, May 18th to 25th, 1929, and was attended by members from all parts of China. That this gathering should have 78 Chinese delegates out of a total of 130, and that of the Chinese representatives about one-fourth were women, may be taken as some index of the growth and development of the Church in China.

The meeting of the Council had been preceded by five regional conferences held in Canton, Shanghai, Wuchang, Peking and Moukden. The suggestions of these conferences formed the basis of the discussions and ultimate recommendations of the five Commissions which considered the subjects of evangelism, Christian workers, religious education, the relation of the older and younger Churches and Christian literature.

The Commission dealing with evangelism struck what proved to be the dominant note of the meeting of the Council. This Commission had the help and counsel of Dr Mott, who heartily endorsed its recommendation for the inauguration by the Council of a five-year programme of evangelism. The Council, by a unanimous standing vote followed by prayer, adopted the recommendation, and decided to concentrate all its forces upon this great endeavour. The movement has two great objectives: the cultivation among Christians of a deeper knowledge of Christ, of a more intimate fellowship with Him, and of a more courageous following of Him in all the relationships of life; and the carrying out of a vigorous evangelistic programme in the hope that within the next five years the number of Christians will at least be doubled.

This decision affected the whole thinking of the Council; all its other activities are to be carried on with a view to furthering it; Dr Cheng Ching-yi is to be released to serve it; and the members of the Council are individually pledged to it.

The Council also considered the need for foreign missionaries. In the disturbed conditions of recent years missionary staffs have been greatly reduced. The responsibility thus thrown upon Chinese workers has been splendidly borne, and has revealed fine qualities of leadership. But the idea that China no longer wants or needs missionaries was strongly denounced by the delegates. It was urged by one Chinese after another that for long years to come the Chinese Church would earnestly desire and need the help and counsel of devoted men and women from the West. A resolution of appeal to the Churches of the West was passed by a unanimous standing vote of the Chinese delegates.

Co-operating Committee for Philippine Missions

SEVERAL years ago there was organized in America a Co-operating Committee for Philippine Missions, to aid all union missionary work in the Islands. This union work has increased to the point where reorganization of the Committee was necessary.

Four types of united work in the Philippines need the care of the Co-operating Committee: the Union Theological Seminary; the United Christian Literature Society; the care of Filipinos coming to the United States; and a united approach to the Mohammedan Moros in the southern Islands. The reorganized Committee will have two members from each of the mission boards having work in the Philippines. Ten boards have appointed representatives. In addition, the Philippine Student Movement in the United States has been asked to appoint representatives, and an advisory council has been planned of men and women whose interest in the Islands and in missionary work is well known.

Australia

THE National Missionary Council held its annual meeting in Melbourne on April 11th. One session was devoted to two topics of great interest, namely, what the Australian societies are doing for the aborigines, and the Christian responsibility for the peoples of the mandated territory.

Strong dissatisfaction was expressed by the Council with the findings of the Commission appointed by the Federal Government to make enquiries into the killing of certain natives in Central Australia.

The Council gave earnest consideration to an official report prepared by J. W. Bleakley, Chief Proctor of Aboriginals of Queensland, which dealt with the problems of the aboriginal and half-caste people of Central and North Australia. The report is able and comprehensive and its recommendations are a distinct challenge to the Church and the nation. The Council set up a strong committee to deal with the recommendations as they affect the religious well-being of the people, and a handbook that will present to the nation the case for the aboriginal is being contemplated.

Missionary Research Library

New York

THIS fine library has heretofore been housed at the headquarters of the Foreign Missions Conference. In July, however, it was removed to Union Theological Seminary, more adequate quarters having been offered by the Seminary in the new tower. The library will continue to be in the charge of the director and the librarian, Mr C. H. Fahs and Miss Hollis W. Hering, who have been with it from its founding. The new address is 3041 Broadway.

Obituary

At Withington, Manchester, on Wednesday, July 17th, 1929, the Rev. JOHN NICOL FARQUHAR, D.Litt., D.D., Professor of Comparative Religion in the University of Manchester since 1924, well known for his literary work on Indian religions and customs, aged 68.

At Geneva, on Monday, August 5th, 1929, HAROLD A. GRIMSHAW, M.Sc. (Economics), chief of the Native Labour Section, International Labour Office. Mr Grimshaw was a specially co-opted member of the Jerusalem meeting of the International Missionary Council in 1928.

At Woodstock, Ontario, on Monday, May 27th, 1929, the Very Rev. ROBERT PETER MACKAY, D.D., for thirty-four years secretary of the Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church in Canada and one of the founders of the Foreign Missions Conference of North America. Dr Mackay represented that Conference at the meeting of the International Missionary Council at Oxford in 1923.

In Calcutta, on Sunday, July 28th, 1929, the Rev. JOHN REID, Indian secretary of the Baptist Missionary Society. Mr Reid represented the National Christian Council of India at Jerusalem in 1928.

Notes and News

Institute of Pacific Relations.—The Institute, which meets every second year, is planning to meet for its third session in Kyoto, from October 28th to November 9th, preceded by a meeting of the International Research Committee.

Japan.—An article on the evangelistic campaign, known as 'The Kingdom of God Movement,' led by Dr Toyohiko Kagawa, appears in the current issue of the *International Review of Missions*, written by the Rev. Michio Kozaki.

Philippine Islands.—The National Christian Council of the Philippine Islands, under the secretaryship of the Rev. E. K. Higdon, has been organized to take the place of the former Evangelical Union.

Siam.—A council, entitled 'The Siam Christian Council,' has been formed and has received recognition as a member of the International Missionary Council.

Subjects for Intercession

October to December, 1929

THE INTERNATIONAL MISSIONARY COUNCIL

LET US PRAY: For God's blessing on new ventures undertaken, including the Department of Social and Industrial Research and Counsel (p. i); the International Committee on Christian Literature for Africa (p. ii); Dr Butterfield's work in the Far East (p. i), and the appointment of some one to care for missionary work among Jews (p. i).

EVANGELISM

LET US PRAY: For God's blessing on the special work of evangelism now being undertaken in China and in Japan, remembering continually Dr Cheng Ching-yi and Dr Kagawa, and those associated with them (pp. v, vii).

NEW CHRISTIAN COUNCILS

LET US PRAY: For the Christian Councils recently organized in the Philippine Islands and in Siam, and for their officers, that through these Councils the cause of Christ may be promoted in those lands (p. vii).

INDIA

LET US PRAY: For the work of the two government commissions, to enquire into the industrial situation, and the position of banks (p. iii); and for guidance in organizing the proposed Higher Education Commission.

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